

The Illustrious and most Renowned Princesse
ELIZABETH late QVEENE of ENGLAND

I. White Sculp



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Fff. 40

THE

HISTORY

OF

The most Renowned and Victorious

PRINCESS

ELIZABETH,

Late QUEEN of *ENGLAND*;

CONTAINING

All the most Important and Remarkable Passages of STATE, both at Home, and Abroad (so far as they were linked with *English* Affairs) during her Long and Prosperous REIGN.

Written by *WILLIAM CAMDEN*, *Clarenceux* King at Arms.

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The Third Edition,

Revised and compared with the Originall, whereby many gross Faults are amended, severall Periods before omitted are added in their due places, and the English Phrase much altered, more consonant to the Mind of the Authour.

With a new Alphabetical INDEX of all the Principall things contained in the HISTORY.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Flesher*, for *Charles Harper*, and *John Amery*, at the *Flower-de-luce*, and at the *Peacock*, both against St. *Dunstan*'s Church in *Fleetstreet*, 1675.

18...68

To the Reader.

I Shall not trouble thee with any large Account of the Author of this History, whose Learned Writings sufficiently set forth his singular Worth, especially his exquisite and elaborate BRITANNIA. Upon what Motives and Encouragements he undertook the present Task, what Helps he had for the carrying it on, what Difficulties he met withall and overcame, what an Impartiall Pen he wrote with, byassed by neither Prejudice nor Affection towards either Persons or Interests, (a thing in vain to be wished for in most Historiographers) his own ensuing Epistle will abundantly shew thee: with what Ability and Faithfulness he hath performed what he took in hand, it rests at thy door to judge; and sure I am, thou canst not justly condemn him of failing in either. The Business of this Epistle is, to give thee a short Account of this Third Edition of the Author in our English Tongue. Know then, that the Translation which hath hi-

 therto

therto gone abroad was in ſeverall reſpects ſo out of order, and capable of being made better without deſtroying the Ground-work, that upon diſcovery of the one, and conſideration of the other, it was thought convenient, by comparing it with the Originall, to doe ſomething towards the Cure of it. Which, briefly, hath been thus far done. Severall Periods and half Periods, which were hitherto omitted in the Verſion, are here ſupplied and made good: divers unhappy Errours, committed upon the miſtaking of ambignous Words and Phraſes, are here rectified: ſome ſuperfluous Expreſſions more then were due are thrown out: many Sentences, leſs plainly rendred by the inconvenient placing the Members thereof, are new modelled, and made more intelligible: a great part of the Phraſe is much altered, and made more full, plain, ſmooth, and agreeable to the modern (though not fantaſtick) Expreſſion, which before was too ſcanty, rough, and more in Faſhion eighty or ninety Years backward: ſeverall marginall Notes or Heads are added, to give the Reader a perfecter Epitome of the whole Story at the firſt glance of his Eye: and all this (it is hoped) with manifeſt Right to the Authour, and without any evill or ſcurvy Reflection on the firſt Tranſlatour. And if ſomewhat leſs be done in the Firſt of the Four

Books

Books then the reſt, it was partly, becauſe leſs need and reaſon was found for the doing of it; and partly, becauſe there was a better Opportunity for the exact comparing thoſe Three then the Firſt: yet even in that what was more groſs or unhandſome, or any way omitted, was carefully looked after: ſo that thou wilt have ſmall reaſon to complain. And I hope good Satisfaction will be given thee in the whole, though the Preſs ſtill urged for a ſpeedy Diſpatch of the Buſineſs. One thing haply thou mayeſt ſtumble at, viz. *to reade here of the Six and fortieth Year of Queen* ELIZABETH's *Reign, who yet is notoriouſly known to have reigned but Four and forty and odde Months in all. The Reaſon in ſhort is this: She reigned Forty four Years compleat, reckoning the Year from* January *to* January, *and four Months beſides: two of which four Months being before her Four and forty Years, and two after, they are here accounted and called the Firſt and Six and fortieth Years of her Reign, or Years that ſhe reigned part of, and no otherwiſe. And now ſee what the Authour himſelf ſays in his* Prefatory Epiſtle: *then peruſe his* Introduction, *(which is a Summary of the Deſcent, Birth, Life and Troubles of the Lady*

ELIZABETH *before such time as she came to be possessed of the Crown of* England:) *and that leads in the main Work, where thou mayest reap Delight and Advantage to thy full Satisfaction.*

Farewell.

Errata.

PAg. 37. lin. 42. for *first*, read *fifth*. (The rest which follow passed in the Correctour's absence.) Pag. 651. lin. 1. for *Confiscate*, read *Confiscation*. margin, l. 3. read *Jesuites*. l. 5. for *right*, r. *write*. pag. 652. l. 5. r. *Equivocatour*. l. 45. and in the margin r. *Bouillon*. pag. 653. l. 13. r. *Elizabeth's*. l. 21. dele *to*. margin, r. 1602. pag. 657. l. 18. for *his Success*, r. *his ill Success*. l. 21. for *turneth*, r. *tameth*. pag. 658. l. 31. r. *Animosities*.

THE

THE AUTHOUR TO THE READER.

ABove eighteen Years since *William Cecyll*, Baron of *Burghley*, Lord High Treasurer of ENGLAND, (when full little I thought of any such Business) imparted to me, first his own, and then the Queen's Rolls, Memorials and Records, willing me to compile from thence an Historicall Account of the first Beginnings of the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH: with what Intent I know not, unless, while he had a desire to eternize the Memory of that Renowned QUEEN, he would first see an Introduction thereinto by my Pains in this kind. I obeyed him, and not unwillingly, lest I might seem either to neglect the Memory of that most Excellent Princess, or to fail his Expectation and (which I prized as dear as them both) the Truth itself. For in these Papers, if any where, I had confident

confident Hopes to meet the real Truth of Paſſages lodged, as it were, in ſo many Repoſitories.

But at my very firſt Entrance upon the Task, an intricate Difficulty did in a manner wholly diſcourage me. For I lighted upon great Piles and Heaps of Papers and Writings of all ſorts, reaſonably well digeſted indeed in reſpect of the Times, but in regard of the Variety of the Arguments very much confuſed. In ſearching and turning over whereof whilſt I laboured till I ſweat again, covered all over with Duſt, to gather fit Matter together, (which I diligently ſought for, but more rarely found then I expected,) that Noble Lord died, and my Induſtry began to flag and wax cold in the Buſineſs. Not long after that Incomparable Princeſs alſo rendered her celeſtiall Soul to God: when I ſtood in expectation for ſome time, full of Hope that ſome other Perſon, haply ſome one of that great number of Learned men who through her Favour and Bounty did abound both with Wealth and Leiſure, would render her this due and deſerved piece of Gratitude. But when I certainly found that ſome, who were beſt able, could not for their more weighty Employments, and others (I know not for what cauſes) fairly deſired to be excuſed; I buckled myſelf afreſh to my intermitted Study, and plied it harder then before. I procured all the Helps I poſſibly could for writing it: Charters

ters and Grants of Kings and great Perſonages, Letters, Conſultations in the Councill-Chamber, Embaſſadours Inſtructions and Epiſtles, I carefully turned over and over; the Parliamentary Diaries, Acts and Statutes, I throughly peruſed, and read over every Edict or Proclamation. For the greateſt part of all which as I am beholden to that moſt Excellent Gentleman Sir *Robert Cotton*, Knight and Baronet, who hath with great Coſt and ſucceſsfull Induſtry furniſhed himſelf with the choiſeſt things relating to Hiſtory and Antiquity; (for he readily and willingly gave me Light and Direction in my Buſineſs from his own Light and Knowledge of things:) ſo, Reader, if I ſhall in any thing profit or delight thee in this Undertaking, thou art deſervedly obliged to give him Thanks for the ſame.

Mine own Cabinets and Writings I alſo ſearched into: who though I have been a ſtudious Regarder and Admirer of venerable Antiquity, yet have I not been altogether careleſs of later and more modern Occurrences; but have myſelf ſeen and obſerved many things, and received others from credible Perſons that have been before me, men who have been preſent at the tranſacting of Matters, and ſuch as have been addicted to the Parties on both Sides in this contrariety of Religion. All which I have in the Balance of mine own Judgement (ſuch as it

it is) weighed and examined, leſt I ſhould at any time through a beguiling Credulity incline to that which is falſe. For the Love of Truth, as it hath been the onely Incitement to me to undertake this Work; ſo hath it alſo been my onely Scope and Aim in it. Which Truth to take from Hiſtory, is nothing elſe but, as it were, to pluck out the Eyes of the beautifulleſt Creature in the World; and, inſtead of wholeſome Liquour, to offer a Draught of Poiſon to the Readers Minds.

All ſuch things therefore as uſe to obſcure and prejudice the Light of Truth I reſolved to remove. *Ignorance*, and (which ſpring from thence) doubtfull *Uncertainty* and flat *Falſity*, I have to my power diſpelled by the bright Luſtre of uncorrupt Faithfulneſs ſhining forth in thoſe Monuments and Records, which are beyond all Exception: and peradventure I have attained by them no leſs Knowledge of thoſe Affairs then ſome others who have been long and deeply verſed in State-matters. *Prejudice* I have ſhunned, foraſmuch as it taketh away a man's Judgement, and doth ſo blind the Minds of men in matters both of Religion and State, that like dim Eyes they can behold nothing clearly. As for *Danger*, I feared none, no not from thoſe who think the Memory of ſucceeding Ages may be extinguiſhed by preſent Power. And let ſuch remember, that never

ver any were ſevere and cruell towards Writers for keeping to the Truth, but they have heaped Diſhonour upon themſelves, and Glory upon the other. The *Hope of* any *Gain* hath not drawn me aſide. To ſet the Dignity of Hiſtory to Sale, to me (who have been ever well contented with a mean Eſtate) always ſeemed baſe and ſervile. Suſpicion either of *Affection* or *Diſaffection* can here have no place. For of all thoſe that I am to mention I know ſcarce one by whom I have received any Benefit or Advantage, not one from whom I have received any Injury: ſo as no man can reckon me amongſt thoſe that are either obnoxious, or malicious. Such as are living I have ſaid but little of, either in their Praiſe or Diſpraiſe. By inveighing againſt the Enemies of my Countrey, to aim at the Commendation of a good Commonwealths-man, and at the ſame time get the Repute of a bad Hiſtorian, I held a thing ridiculous. This I have been carefull of, that, according as *Polybius* directeth, I might have an Eye to the Truth onely. Neither ſhall any man (I truſt) find lacking in me that ingenuous Freedom of Speech joyned with Modeſty which becometh an Hiſtorian. That Licenciouſneſs accompanied with Malignity and Backbiting, which is cloaked under the counterfeit Shew of Freedom, and is every-where entertained with a

plauſible Acceptance, I do from my Heart deteſt. Things manifeſt and evident I have not concealed; Things doubtfull I have interpreted favourably; Things ſecret and abſtruſe I have not pried into. *The hidden Meanings of Princes* (ſaith that great Maſter of Hiſtory) *and what they ſecretly deſign to ſearch out, it is unlawfull, it is doubtfull and dangerous: purſue not therefore the Search thereof.* And, with *Halicarnaſſæus*; I am angry with thoſe curious inquiſitive people, who will needs ſeek to know more then by the Laws is permitted them.

As for other matters: although I am not ignorant that Affairs of War and Policy are the things proper to Hiſtory; yet Eccleſiaſticall Matters I neither could, nor indeed ought I to omit. (For Religion and the Commonwealth cannot be parted aſunder.) But foraſmuch as the Writer of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory may juſtly challenge thoſe things as belonging to himſelf; I for my part have not touched them but with a light and chary Hand. And whereas it ſtandeth with the Rules and Dignity of Hiſtory, to handle Buſineſſes of greateſt Weight and Importance, and not to enquire after ſmall matters; I have not inſiſted upon ſmall things: yet ſome ſuch there are, which if they pleaſe not one, may yet delight another to know. Circumſtances I have in no wiſe

wiſe omitted, that not onely the Events of Affairs, but alſo the Reaſons and Cauſes thereof, might be underſtood. That of *Polybius* I like well: *Take away from Hiſtory Why, How, and To what end, things have been done, and Whether the thing done hath ſucceeded according to Reaſon; and all that remains will rather be an idle Sport and Foolery, then a profitable Inſtruction: and though for the preſent it may delight, for the future it cannot profit.* Mine own Judgment I have not delivered according to Prejudice or Affection, whilſt writing with an undiſtempered and even Mind, I have rather ſifted out the Senſe and Opinion of others; and ſcarcely have I any-where interpoſed mine own, no not by the Bye, ſince it is a Queſtion whether an Hiſtorian may lawfully doe it. Let every man, for me, have his free liberty to judge according to his Fancy. Speeches and Orations, unleſs they be the very ſame *verbatim*, or elſe abbreviated, I have not meddled withall, much leſs coined them of mine own Head. Short Sentences I have ſeldom interlaced, nor adorned my Diſcourſe with thoſe animadverting Obſervations which the *Grecians* aptly term ἐπιστάσεις, whilſt I have ſolely and cloſely made it my Buſineſs to inform the Mind. Digreſſions I have avoided: Words of form I have uſed: Matters belonging to Topography and Genealogy I have not neglected, nor yet

Chronology; following the Series and Order of Time as near as might be, and beginning the Year, as our Chroniclers of old have uſed to doe, from the Firſt of *January*.

My Work I have intituled by the Name of *ANNALS*, in regard I have diſpoſed every thing in its proper Year: for I have learn'd of *Tacitus*, that Weighty and remarkable Occurrences are to be digeſted by way of Annals; and that the principall Buſineſs of Annals is, to preſerve Vertuous Actions from being buried in Oblivion, and to deterr men from either ſpeaking or doing what is amiſs, for fear of after-Infamy with Poſterity. Beſides, a courſer and curter Style (ſuch as mine here is) is proper and peculiar to things that are writ by way of Annals.

Upon theſe Foundations I ſet myſelf to writing, with this Intention and Deſign I went forward, and in compoſing, poliſhing and perfecting my Undertakings I reſolved to ſpend my whole Pains at ſpare times, and to bequeath them by my laſt Teſtament to that honourable Perſon *Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus*, who hath, with ſingular Commendations of his Fidelity and Moderation, begun an Hiſtory of his own Time. And that, leſt one ſo much reſpected by me (as indeed all Strangers are) ſhould, as one unacquainted in a forrein State, be at a Loſs in the Affairs of our Countrey.

But

But in this my Purpoſe I was (I know not by what Fate) prevented, and a great part of theſe *Annals* were ſent over to him ſome Years before, whilſt they lay yet ſhadowed in their firſt Lineaments, and were ſcarce well begun, disfigured with Blurs and Daſhes, full of Chinks and Patches here and there cobbled together, as they ſlipped from my haſty Pen, and very ill handled by the Tranſcriber. Out of theſe, by taking away ſome things, changing and adding others, he hath inſerted ſome few Paſſages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Tomes of his Hiſtory, but indeed by his grave and ſolid Judgment well rectified and refined. But whereas he, according to the Proportion of his Work, (for he undertakes an Univerſall Hiſtory of his Time,) hath picked out onely a few Paſſages concerning *England* and *Ireland*, and omitted very many things which may delight, and haply concern, our Countrey-men to be acquainted with; and I myſelf have heard that the Knowledge of our Affairs is earneſtly deſired by Forreiners, and that not without ſome Check and Reproach of our Remiſneſs in communicating them; I again ſet my Shoulders to the Work which I had for ſome time diſcontinued, I read it all over again, conſidered of it anew, many things I added, and ſomewhat poliſhed the Phraſe of it, howbeit without any curious trimming or bravery of pleaſing words.

For

For it is enough (I think) for me, if, like a Picture ill drawn with weak and faint Colours, I place it in a good and advantageous Light.

Yet after all, whether I ſhould publiſh it or no, I reſted altogether doubtful. But the truth is, thoſe Cenſures and Prejudices, that Hatred and Backbiting, which I foreſee advance their Enſigns and ſound the Charge againſt me, have not ſo much diſcouraged me, as my Love to the Truth, my Affection to my Country, and the Memory of that Princeſſe, (which amongſt Engliſh-men ought ever to be gratefull and ſacred,) have born me up againſt thoſe men who, having ſhaken off their Allegeance towards their Prince and Countrey, ceaſe not with Hearts full fraught with Malice and Spleen, by their ſcandalous Books publiſhed in forrein Parts, to wound the Reputation of the one, and the Glory of the other; and at this very Inſtant (as they ſtick not to own) are ready to leave unto Poſterity in a large Volume a Monument of their Lewdneſs and Diſhoneſty. For my part, I deſire nothing more then that I may be like myſelf, and they like themſelves. *Poſterity will render to every man his due Honour.*

What the Loftineſſe of the Argument requireth, I confeſſe, and am ſorry, I have not reach'd to; yet have I willingly beſtowed what Pains I was able. Myſelf I have neither in my other Writings nor yet in this any ways ſatisfied.

Never-

Nevertheleſſe I ſhall eſteem myſelf fully recompenſed for my Labour, if by my ready Willingneſſe to preſerve the Memory of Things, to relate the Truth, and to train up the Minds of men to Honeſty and Wiſedom, I may thereby find a Place amongſt the petty Writers of great Matters. Whatſoever it be,

To God, my Country and Poſterity,
at the Altar of Truth, I dedicate
and conſecrate it.

The

Necessitated I shall oftentimes recommend for my Labour, and by my ready Willingness to preserve the Memory of Things, to relate the Truth, and to train up the Minds of men to Honesty and Virtuousness, I may thereby find a Place amongst the petty Writers of great Matters. Whatsoever it be,

To God, my Country and Posterity,

as the Author of Truth, I dedicate

and consecrate it.

THE Introduction.

THE Lineage and Descent of ELIZABETH Queen of England was by her Father's side truly Royall: for she was Daughter to King Henry the Eighth, Grand-daughter to Henry the Seventh, and Great-grand-daughter to Edward the Fourth. By the Mother's side her Descent was not so high; howbeit Noble it was, and branched out by many and great Alliances both through England and Ireland. Her Great-grand-father's Father was Jeffrey Bolen, a man of a good Family in Norfolk, Lord Mayor of the City of London in the Year 1457. and at the same time honoured with the Dignity of Knighthood. A sincere honest man he was, of such Estimation, that Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings, Knight of the Order of Saint George, gave him his Daughter and one of his Heiresses to Wife; and of so large Means, that he matched his Daughters into the Noble Houses of the Cheineys, Heydons and Fortescues, left his Son a fair Estate, and bequeathed a thousand Pounds of English Money to be bestowed upon the Poor in the City of London, and two hundred in Norfolk. This man's Son, William Bolen, was one of the eighteen Knights of the Bath made at the Coronation of King Richard the Third: to whom Thomas Earl of Ormond (who was in such Favour with the Kings of England, that he alone of all the Noblemen of Ireland had his Place and Vote in the Parliament of England, and that also above the Barons of England,) gave his Daughter and one of his Heiresses in Marriage. By her (besides Daughters married to Shelton, Calthrop, Clere, and Sackvill, wealthy men, and

Queen Elizabeth's Lineage by the Father.

By the Mother.

of great Families, and other Children,) he had Thomas Bolen, *whom, being a young man,* Thomas Howard *Earl of* Surrey, *who was afterward Duke of* Norfolk, *(a man much renowned for his worthy Service and Atchievements in the Wars,) made choice of to be his Son-in-law, giving him his Daughter* Elizabeth *in Marriage: and* Henry *the Eighth, after he had performed two or two very honourable Embassies, made him first Treasurer of his Household, Knight of the Order of* Saint George, *and Viscount* Rochford, *and afterwards Earl of* Wiltshire *and* Ormond, *and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. This* Thomas, *amongst other Children, begat* Anne Bolen; *who in her tender Years was sent into* France, *and there waited first on* Mary *of* England, *Wife to* Lewis *the Twelfth, and then on* Claudia *of* Bretaigne, *Wife to* Francis *the First, and after her Death on* Margaret *of* Alencon, *who was a prime Favourer of the Protestant Religion then springing up in* France. *Being returned into* England, *and admitted one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, and being now twenty two years of Age, King* Henry, *in the thirty eighth Year of his Age, did for her Modesty, mixed with a French Grace and Pleasantness, fall deeply in Love with her; and when he could not overcome her Chastity, he sought to make her his Wife, in Hopes of Issue male by her.*

Anne Bolen born 1507.

Loved of the King, being minded to put away his Wife.

He (to fetch the matter a little higher) began now, after seventeen Years Marriage, to grow weary of Queen Katharine *his Wife, a Lady of very Religious Behaviour and Spanish Gravity; howbeit many times miscarrying in the Fruit of her Womb, and having but one onely Daughter living, namely the Lady* Mary. *And this he did through the cunning Artifice of* Thomas Wolsey, *Cardinall, who, being now in the height of Power with the King, had in a manner no Command over himself. For, bearing a Grudge to the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth, Queen* Katharine's *Sister's Son, for denying him the Archbishoprick of* Toledo, *and because he had not favoured him in his aspiring to the Popedome, and being now (out of a Malice to* Charles) *so devoted to the French King, that he designed King* Henry *a Wife out of* France;

The cause of the Divorce.

France; *he cauſed a Scruple to be put into the King's Head, who was already prone enough to his own Deſires, that his preſent Marriage with Queen* Katharine, *who before had been his Brother* Arthur's *VVife, was forbidden by the Law of God, notwithſtanding that* Julius *the Second, Biſhop of* Rome, *had diſpenſed therewith. Afterwards he himſelf preſſed it often upon him, how hainouſly he had offended God in marrying Queen* Katharine, *and in what a great Sin he continued to lie by retaining her; that he had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication, and that God had already evidenced his Anger againſt this ſo unlawfull a Marriage, who would not ſuffer any Iſſue male, though once or twice conceived, to live; and that nothing elſe could be expected, but that thoſe bloudy VVars ſo lately laid aſleep would again break out with freſh Slaughters, unleſs a lawfull Heir to the Crown were once certainly known. To the end therefore that all Scruple might be removed out of the King's Mind, and his Soul, which had for ſo many Years been polluted with Inceſt, unburthened, and withall the Safety and Security of the Realm by the undoubted Succeſſion of a lawfull Iſſue provided for, ſhe was to be divorced from him.*

The matter referred to the Pope.

Hereupon the King petitioneth Clement *the Seventh, Biſhop of* Rome, *that he would depute Commiſſioners to hear and examine the Cauſe; and that either the Diſpenſation of Pope* Julius *might be confirmed by the Authority of Holy Scripture, or he might be abſolved from the Sentence of Excommunication, and it might be decreed that the preſent Marriage was no Marriage, but null and of no Force, and that he might be at Liberty to contract Marriage with any other VVoman whatſoever, any other Canon to the contrary notwithſtanding. The Pope made* Wolſey *and Cardinall* Campeius *his Deputies: to which* Campeius *he alſo privately delivered a Bull, wherein, favourably inclining to the King's Deſire as far as with a good Conſcience before God he lawfully might, he granted all things, in caſe it ſhould prove that the Marriage contracted with Queen* Katharine *were declared to have been and to be void and null.*

The Pope's Reſolution.

But this Bull he appointed to be

The King's Marriage canvaſed in the Univerſities.

Judged void.

The Pope delayeth the buſineſs.

The King, Prelates and Nobility ſupplicate the Pope therein.

either concealed or publiſhed, according as the Emperour's Affairs in Italy *ſucceeded. Now were Queſtions every-where ſtarted, whether it were juſtifiable by the Law of God for the Brother to take his Brother's Widow to Wife: and if this were forbidden by God's Law, whether it might not be made lawfull by the Pope's Diſpenſation. But when ſeverall Univerſities in Chriſtendom and many very Learned men had by their joynt Suffrages declared ſuch a Marriage to be repugnant to the Sacred Laws of both Teſtaments, notwithſtanding the Biſhop of* Rome's *Diſpenſation; the King began to be violently in Love with* Anne Bolen; *and withall the Cardinall, repenting him too late of what he had done, and being put forward with Anger, ſo wrought under-hand with the Biſhop of* Rome, *that he refuſed to confirm by his Papal Authority the Judgments of the Univerſities, and the Cauſe was prolonged and delayed from day to day both at* Rome *and in* England: *for the Cardinall ſtood in Fear of* Anne Bolen, *who, being addicted to the Proteſtant Doctrine, hated his unreaſonable Pomp and Pride. The Pope alſo ſtood in doubt of the Emperour, who was now very ſtrong in* Italy, *and moſt ſtifly defended the Cauſe of his Aunt Queen* Katharine. *Neither yet would the Pope incenſe King* Henry, *who had not long before, when he was taken Priſoner by the Imperialiſts, by his Arms and Money procured his Liberty. King* Henry, *though he were herewith much diſpleaſed, yet did he ſmother it at preſent; and firſt himſelf by his Embaſſadours and Letters, and then the Prelates and Nobility of* England *by a Supplication ſigned and ſubſcribed with their Hands and Seals, with humble Intreaties caſting themſelves down at the Pope's Feet, beſought him, that what the two Univerſities of* England, *the Univerſity of* Paris, *and ſeverall other Univerſities, with divers Learned and ſolid men, both at Home and abroad, had affirmed to be true, and were ready to defend and maintain for Truth as well by Word as Writing, might (to uſe their own words) be confirmed by his Apoſtolicall Authority. And an extraordinary Infelicity it would be, (ſay they) if this could not be obtained of the See Apoſtolick*

by

by that Prince whose onely Help had upholden and supported the Authority of the See Apostolick; who, when it was laid at by many, opposed them severall times, partly by his Sword, partly by his Pen, and partly by his VVord and Authority, and yet he alone could not enjoy the Assistence of her Authority. But that he might enjoy it they besought him again and again, lest Civill Wars should break forth anew about the Title to the Succession.

And the Prelates by themselves.

The Prelates also, fearing lest the Pope should interdict the Realm, or excommunicate the King, did by their own particular Letters put him in minde of the wofull Dissension formerly between Alexander *the Third, Bishop of* Rome, *and* Henry *the Second, King of* England; *and amongst other weighty Reasons, they with humble Prayers advised him in those very words in a manner which* Gilbert *Bishop of* London *at that time used.* Your ardent Zeal we most humbly beseech you for a time to restrain within the Bounds of Modesty and Sobriety, lest by pronouncing either the Sentence of Interdict, or that finall Declaration of Excision or Excommunication, you suffer innumerable Churches to be miserably subverted, and (which God forbid) irrevocably turn away from your Obedience as well the King himself, as infinite numbers of People with him. Better it is that a Member be joyned to the Head, though it be maimed, then quite cut off, and cast from the Body. Maimed Members may be healed again, but being once cut off they never unite to the Body more. Cutting off bringeth Despair, whereas the Chirurgeon's wary Hand many times healeth the Wound. Better it is therefore, if it so please you, that at the present you doe your best to heal the Wound, (if any there be,) then by cutting off so Noble a Part from God's Church, you bring matters (which are already in a high Confusion) into greater Disorder then can be expressed. Then at length doth the Bloud Royall know how to be overcome, when it hath overcome; and is not ashamed to yield when it hath vanquished. With Mildness it is to be dealt withall, and to be overcome with

Admonitions

Admonitions and Patience. For what if Patience either already ſhewed, or to be ſhewed a little longer, do bring ſome Loſs of temporall Concernments? ought there not to be a ſlacking of Severity when the Ruine of the People is threatened? Are not many things to be thrown overboard when the hideous Confuſion of Sea and Waves menaceth Deſtruction? *But when the Pope and his Cardinals gave no Ear to theſe things, but neglected them for the ſpace of five Years or thereabouts, taking it in Diſdain that the Pope's Power in Diſpenſing ſhould be called in Queſtion, and thought fit that the King ſhould be cited to appear at* Rome, *they conſtrained the King, (being a Prince full of Spirit, and already exaſperated with the Perverſeneſs of ſome Church-men at Home, and who thought, that in regard of the Equity of his Cauſe he was moſt unjuſtly dealt withall, in conſideration of his Royall Dignity moſt unworthily, and in reſpect of his Deſerts from the Church of* Rome *moſt ungratefully,) that at one and the ſame time in a manner he both put away Queen* Katharine, *deprived Cardinall* Wolſey *of his Goods and Poſſeſſions, laid a great Fine upon the Biſhops, for owning and ſubmitting to his Legative Power in Prejudice of the King's Preeminence, aboliſhed the Authority of the Biſhop of* Rome, *took upon him the Title of* Supreme Head of the Church of *England* next under *Chriſt, which was given him by a Synod and the Univerſities of* England, *advanced* Anne Bolen *(clad in her Robes of Honour, with a golden Coronet on her Head,) to the Dignity of Marchioneſs of* Pembroke, with the Conſent of the Peers of the Realm, for the Nobility of her Birth, and the great Merit of her Vertues, *(ſo the words run,) took her to Wife, and commanded her to be Inaugurated Queen; whilſt Pope* Clement *the Seventh chafed in vain at it, decreed the former Marriage to be valid and Canonicall, and pronounced the King to have incurred the Pains and Penalties of the greater Excommunication.*

The King being neglected renounceth the Biſhop of *Rome*, &c.

And marrieth *Anne Bolen.*

Queen *Elizabeth* born.

By this Marriage was born the Lady ELIZABETH *at* Greenwich *upon the* Thames, *on the ſeventh of* September

tember 1533. *And ſhortly after the former Marriage contracted with Queen* Katharine *was by the Authority of Parliament declared void and inceſtuous, and this with Queen* Anne *to be juſt and conſonant to the Law of God: the Lady* Elizabeth, *if the King ſhould fail of Iſſue male, was declared Heir apparent to the Crown; and an Oath of Allegeance taken by all the Subjects to the King and his Heirs by Queen* Anne. *And when* Paul *the Third purpoſed to pronounce Sentence afreſh at* Rome *againſt this Marriage, and at Home an holy Maid or Nun in* Kent, *(being ſuborned and ſet on by ſome Religious perſons,) as if ſhe were moved with a Divine and Prophetick Fury, uttered many things againſt the ſame, and againſt the King; the Title of* Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, with all manner of Authority to reform Errours, Hereſies and Abuſes in the ſame, *was given to the King by the Eſtates of the Realm, and the ſaid Oath of Allegeance to the King's Heirs by Queen* Anne *confirmed. Nevertheleſs ſcarce were three Years fully expired, when, falling into new Loves, Jealouſies, Rage, and meditating Bloud and Slaughter, that he might make way for the new Fancy he had to* Jane Seimour, *he called Queen* Anne *to her Triall, accuſing her upon a light Suſpicion of Adultery, after ſhe had miſcarried of a Male child ſhe went withall. Queen* Anne *cleared herſelf ſo far of the Matters objected againſt her, that the Multitude that ſtood by judged her to be innocent, and meerly circumvented. Nevertheleſs her Peers condemned her. Being condemned, ſhe very handſomely and pleaſantly by a Meſſenger ſent her ſingular Thanks to the King for the Favours he had heaped upon her; viz. that, although ſhe were deſcended of no very honourable Lineage, he had advanced her to the noble Dignity of a Marchioneſs, to the Honour to be his Bed-fellow, and to the high Condition of a Queen, and (beyond all the reſt) that when he could exalt her no higher upon Earth, he would now raiſe her up to Heaven, where ſhe ſhould enjoy eternall Glory amongſt Holy and Innocent Perſons. Her Death ſhe underwent quietly and Chriſtianly, wiſhing all Happineſs to the King, and forgiving her Enemies. The*

Declared Heir apparent.

The holy Maid of *Kent.*

Authority granted to the King in Eccleſiaſticall matters.

The King miſliketh Queen *Anne.*

She is beheaded.

The King marrieth *Jane Seimour.*

The Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth* declared illegitimate. Queen *Jane* dieth in child-birth of King *Edward.*

The King rageth againſt Papiſts, Monaſteries, and Proteſtants.

The Law of the Six Articles.

The King the very next day after married Jane Seimour; *and declared by Authority of Parliament the Marriage with Queen* Anne, *as well as that with Queen* Katharine, *to be flatly unlawfull and void, and their Daughters, the two Ladies* Mary *and* Elizabeth, *to be therefore Illegitimate, and to be excluded from the Succeſſion to the Crown. Queen* Jane *fell in Labour of Prince* Edward, *and preſently died, the ſaid Prince being fain to be cut out of her Womb, and ſucceeding his Father after in the Kingdom. The King, being but little troubled for his Queen's Death, preſently applied himſelf to find another Wife, both in* Italy *and* France, *to ſtrengthen himſelf with new Alliances. Nevertheleſs, being doubtfull and unreſolved in Mind, and timorous of every thing, whilſt he ſtood in Fear of the Papiſts for Rebellions formerly raiſed, leſt the Nobility ſhould attempt new Commotions at Home, or joyn with forrein Enemies, ſome of them for ſlight Cauſes, and ſome without any Hearing, be cut ſhorter by the Heads. Many of the Religious, for their Obſtinacy in maintaining the Pope's Power, he put to Death as Traitours; and out of Avarice, as before he had done the leſſer, ſo now he plucked down the greater Abbies, Places of venerable Antiquity and Majeſty, and ſeized upon their Wealth, which had been ſo many Years heaping together, taking Advantage from the Miſcarriage of humane Frailty, and their diſſolute manner of Life. And withall he burned the Proteſtants as Hereticks, by a Law which they called* The Six Articles, *made againſt thoſe who oppoſed the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome *concerning Tranſubſtantiation, one Kind in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt, the Unmarried Life of Prieſts, Vows, Private Maſſes, and Auricular Confeſſion. Inſomuch as at one and the ſame time and place he raged againſt the Papiſts, by Hanging, drawing and quartering, and againſt the Proteſtants, by Burning them alive. Whereby he grew ſo terrible at Home, and was taken for ſuch a Tyrant abroad, that he was rejected firſt by* Mary *of* Lorrain, *the Duke of* Guiſe *his Daughter, whom he wooed, being Rivall therein to* James *King of* Scots, *his Nephew; and then by* Chriſtiana *of* Denmark,

mark, *Dutchess of* Milain, *Niece to* Charles *the Fifth. At length with much adoe he obtained* Anne *of* Cleve *to Wife, thereby endeavouring to secure the Friendship of the Protestants in* Germany: *whom as soon as he had married he cast off, loathing her, as not being beautifull enough for a Prince, giving himself over as well to Disdain as Lust; pretending the Cause to be, because she had been formerly betroathed to the Duke of* Lorrain's *Son, and charging her with I know not what womanish Impotency: and all to bring over her Head* Katharine Howard, *Daughter of* Edmund Howard, *and Niece to* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk; *whom the next Year after he beheaded, as guilty of Incontinency before the Marriage, and took to Wife* Katharine Parr, *of a Knightly Family, whom he left the second time a Widow.*

He marrieth *Anne* of *Cleve*, and putteth her away again.

He marrieth *Katharine Howard.* And beheadeth her.

He marrieth *Katharine Parr.*

Perceiving now his Body to be much decayed through the Intemperance of his Youth, and being inraged against the French King, because he had assisted the Scots *against the* English, *but more favourably inclined toward the Emperour* Charles, (*who, having quite forgotten the Divorce of his Aunt Queen* Katharine, *had secretly given him assured Hope of Reconciliation to the Church of* Rome, *in which Business the French King had formerly deluded him,*) *he entred into a League with the Emperour* Charles *against the* French. *Then projecting in his Mind to invade* France, *that he might the more engage* Charles *the Emperour to him, and withall quiet his exulcerate and galled Conscience, he propounded to the Estates of the Realm in Parliament, that if he should die, and his Son Prince* Edward *also without Issue, first the Lady* Mary, *and, if she should fail of Issue, then the Lady* Elizabeth, *should succeed in the Kingdom. But if all they should die Issueless, then the Crown of* England *should be devolved upon such Persons to whom he should either by Letters Patents, or by his last Will and Testament, assign the same. Which was with the ready and chearfull Consent of all men enacted and established, upon Pain of High treason to the Opposers thereof. After his Return out of* France, *and the Winning of* Bologne, *with a vast Expence of Money, whilst*

He is reconciled to *Charles* the Emperour.

He establisheth the Succession in his Children.

He winneth Bologne.

whilſt he lamented the Diſtraction of England *through new Opinions daily ſpringing up in it, (and* England *itſelf ſate ſighing and groaning to ſee her Wealth exhauſted, her Money embaſed and mingled with Copper, her Abbeys demoliſhed, which were the Monuments of ancient Piety, the Bloud of her Nobility, Prelates, Papiſts and Proteſtants, promiſcuouſly ſpilt, and the Land embroiled in a VVar with* Scotland) *being ſwoln up with Fat, he breathed out his laſt, of a virulent Inflammation called Saint* Antonie's *Fire in his Thigh, in the beginning of the Year* 1547. *A magnanimous Prince he was, in whoſe great Mind were confuſedly mixed many eminent Vertues with no leſs notorious Vices.*

He dieth.

Prince Edward *his Son, being yet ſcarce ten years old, ſucceeded him; his Uncle* Edward Seimour, *Duke of* Somerſet, *being made Protectour: under whoſe auſpicious Government a notable Victory was obtained over the* Scots *at* Muſſelburgh, *whilſt the* Engliſh *by Force of Arms demanded the Performance of a Contract concerning* Mary *Queen of* Scots *eſpouſing to King* Edward. *Alſo the cruell and bloudy Law of* the Six Articles, *and other Laws made by King* Henry *the Eighth againſt the Proteſtants, were repealed; thoſe for aboliſhing the* Pope's *Authority confirmed; the Maſs wholly abrogated; Images removed out of Churches; the Books of both Teſtaments printed in the Vulgar Tongue; Divine Service celebrated in the ſame; and both Kinds adminiſtred in the Euchariſt. But ſacrilegious Avarice ravenouſly invaded Church-livings, Colledges, Chauntries, Hoſpitals, and Places dedicated to the Poor, as things ſuperſtitious: Ambition and Emulation among the Nobility, Preſumption and Diſobedience among the Common people, grew ſo extravagant and inſolent, that* England *ſeemed to be as it were in a downright Phrenſie, miſerably languiſhing at the very Heart by reaſon of Rebellions, Tumults, Factions, embaſing of her Money, and all the Miſchiefs and Maladies which are wont to happen under an Infant-King. Hereupon alſo followed Dammages abroad: the Strong-holds of the* Engliſh *in* Scotland *and* France *were loſt:* Bologne, *which*

Edward the Sixth ſucceedeth him.

The doctrine of the Goſpel brought in.

The unhappineſs of the Kingdom under an Infant-King.

coſt

cost so dear, with all the Forts raised by the English *in the Countrey about it, as also the Ordnance and Munition, were betrayed to the* French *for Money, to the incredible Dishonour of the English Nation: whilst* England, *now rent with civill Seditions, was not able to defend the same; and* Charles *the Emperour, being sued to for his Assistence, according to the late Confederacy, denied to relieve it, (as being wone by the* English *after the Confederacy was made,) yea, and refused to take it into his own Hands when it was offered him* gratis. *And, to increase the Infelicity of those Times, the Protectour, not aware of the cunning Practices of* Dudley *Duke of* Northumberland, *was condemned of Felony by a Law newly made, for attempting to kill the King's Counsellours, (namely* Northumberland *and others,) and beheaded; his Son was by a private Law dispossessed of the greatest part of his Inheritance and his Father's Honours; and the King himself, being now destitute of the Assistence of his Friends, and exposed to the Cruelty of Ambitious persons, was taken away by an untimely Death, (whether through any naturall Disease, or by Poison, is uncertain,) leaving behind him an incredible Miss of himself amongst the People, for his singular and rare Vertues above his Years.*

The Protectour beheaded.

The Death of King *Edward* the Sixth.

In this dolefull Time, when Dudley *had by his subtle Contrivances dissolved the Knot of brotherly Love between the Protectour and* Thomas Seimour *his Brother, taking Occasion from a womanish Emulation betwixt the Queen Dowager, now* Thomas *his Wife, and the Dutchess of* Somerset *the Protectour's Wife, amongst other things to convict* Thomas *of High treason, it was objected, that he intended to seize the King into his Hands, and to take the Lady* Elizabeth *the King's Sister to Wife. All this she was utterly ignorant of, and far from any Suspicion, growing up daily to riper Years, and continuing in great Grace and Favour with King* Edward *her Brother, (who called her by no other Name then his sweet Sister* Temperance,) *as likewise in singular Esteem with the Nobility and People. For she was of admirable Beauty, and well deserving a Crown, of a modest Gra-*

The Lady *Elizabeth's* great grace with her Brother. Her Commendations,

and Study of Learning.

vity, excellent Wit, Royall Soul, happy Memory, and indefatigably given to the Study of Learning; insomuch as before she was seventeen Years of Age she understood well the Latine, French and Italian Tongues, and was indifferently well seen in the Greek. Neither did she neglect Musick, so far as it might beseem a Princess, being able to sing sweetly, and play handsomely on the Lute. With Roger Ascham, who was her Tutour, she read over Melanchthon's Common places, all Tully, a great part of the Histories of Titus Livius, certain select Orations of Isocrates, (whereof two she turned into Latin,) Sophocles's Tragedies, and the New Testament in Greek: by which means she both framed her Tongue to a pure and elegant way of Speaking, and informed her Mind with apt Documents and Instructions; daily applying herself to the Study of good Letters, not for Pomp and Ostentation, but in order to Use in her Life, and the practice of Vertue; insomuch as she was a kind of Miracle and Admiration for her Learning amongst the Princes of her Time.

But these her liberall Studies were interrupted by the Death of her Brother King Edward: whose Breath was scarce out of his Body, when certain Messengers were sent from Dudley Duke of Northumberland, (who affected the Crown for Jane Grey, to whom he had betroathed his Son,) to move her to resign her Title to the Crown for a Summe of Money, and certain Lands to be settled on her. She modestly answered, that her elder Sister the Lady Mary was first to be agreed withall: for as long as the said Lady Mary lived, she for her part could challenge no Right at all. Shortly after the Lady Jane Grey, Grand-daughter to the second Sister of King Henry the Eighth, was publickly proclaimed Queen of England. To colour which, it was pretended that the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth were by Act of Parliament judged Illegitimate, which Act was never duly repealed; (notwithstanding that the King their Father had by the same Law declared, that they should succeed in Order after Edward the Sixth, in case he should fail of Issue:) and that

Jane Grey in vain proclaimed Queen.

the

the ſaid Siſters could not by the Law of England *hereditarily ſucceed King* Edward, *becauſe they were not Germans, that is, of the whole Bloud by Father and Mother, but* (*as our Lawyers term it*) of the half Bloud. *It was alſo alledged, that* Henry *the Eighth by his laſt Will and Teſtament conveyed the Title of the Crown to the ſaid Lady* Jane Grey. *And withall it was objected, how dangerous it might be, if either the Lady* Mary *or the Lady* Elizabeth *ſhould marry a forrein Prince, who might reſtore the Biſhop of* Rome's *Authority at preſent thrown out of* England, *and ſubject the* Engliſh *under a forrein Yoak. And to the ſame purpoſe alſo they produced Letters Patents of King* Edward *the Sixth, made a little before his Death, and ſigned with the Hands of many Noblemen, Biſhops, Judges, and others.*

Nevertheleſs the ſtrong Inclination and Affection of the Nobility and Commons towards King Henry *the Eighth his Daughters within twenty days diſperſed this Storm, to the fatall Ruine of the Duke and the Lady* Jane; *and the Lady* Mary *was proclaimed Queen all over* England: *who coming to* London *with an Army, the Lady* Elizabeth *went forth to meet her with five hundred Horſe, leſt ſhe ſhould be wanting to her Siſter's and her own Cauſe, which was then ſo much concerned.*

The Lady *Mary* proclaimed Queen. The Lady *Elizabeth* joyneth with her.

In the firſt Parliament which Queen Mary *held, whatſoever had been decreed againſt the Marriage between Queen* Katharine, *her Mother, and King* Henry *the Eighth, was repealed, and the ſaid Marriage adjudged to be conſonant to the Law of God, and valid to all Intents and Purpoſes, for theſe Reaſons: Becauſe it had been contracted and celebrated with the Conſent of their Parents, wiſe and prudent Princes, by Advice of the graveſt men as well in* England *as* Spain, *and upon mature Deliberation with the moſt Learned men of all Chriſtendom, and compleated and perfected by the Procreation of Children betwixt them. The ſame Form alſo of Religion and Service of God, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, which was in uſe at the Death of* Henry *the Eighth, was reſtored; howbeit without any Acknowledgment or*

A Parliament.

Popery reſtored.

or Mention at all of the Pope's Authority: which very much troubled both the Queen and Cardinall Poole, who both of them were of Opinion, that in the matter of the Marriage the Conſent of the Parents and Judgement of the wiſe and learned men depended meerly and ſolely upon the Diſpenſation of Pope Julius the Second; and were highly offended that the Uſe of the Sacraments was, without the Pope's Authority, permitted to ſuch as were not yet ſolemnly received into the Church. But the Eſtates of the Realm (as Queen Mary found) were afraid to admit and acknowledge again the Authority of the Biſhop of Rome, which they had now ſhaken off. Neither would they endure that the Queen ſhould lay down the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, which moſt of the Biſhops, Nobility and Commons had confirmed by Oath to Henry the Eighth, his Heirs and Succeſſours; beſides, many of them had increaſed their Eſtates by the Revenues of the Church. But ſhe was heartily deſirous to lay it down, as being perſwaded that her whole Title to the Crown was upheld and ſtrengthened by no other means but by the Power of the Biſhop of Rome, who had given Sentence in her behalf, after that her Father had procured her to be declared Illegitimate. And indeed at this time many bare ſuch an Hatred againſt the Pope's Power and the Thoughts of a forrein Yoak, that Sir Thomas Wyat and ſome Kentiſh-men, within ten days after the Marriage contracted betwixt Queen Mary and Philip of Spain, brake forth into open Rebellion, being perſwaded that it was made up to no other end, but by the Power of the Spaniards to hamper the Engliſh-mens Necks the more ſtreightly under the Yoak of the Biſhop of Rome, and to make away the Lady Elizabeth, the next Heir to the Crown of England. And the Emperour Charles the Fifth, well knowing the Temper of men in England, layed ſuch Rubs and Delays in Cardinall Pool's way, (who was coming into England with the Power of a Legate from the Pope,) and that not without the Privity of the Queen, leſt he ſhould give occaſion of Offence while matters were yet unſettled, that he came not into

The *Engliſh* loth to ſubject themſelves to the Pope's Authority.

Wyat's Rebellion.

into England *till after fifteen Months, when the Queen's third Parliament was now holden, and the Marriage betwixt Queen* Mary *and King* Philip *celebrated by Diſpenſation of* Julius *the Third, Biſhop of* Rome, *becauſe they were within the ſecond and third Degree of Conſanguinity, and the ſaid* Charles *the Emperour had formerly contracted Marriage* de futuro *with the Lady* Mary, *being then a very Infant.* Poole *at laſt diſmiſſed by the Emperour came into* England, *and, being reſtored in Bloud, propounded to the Eſtates with Prayers and great Intreaties that the Laws againſt Hereticks might be revived and reinforced, that all the Laws enacted againſt the See of* Rome *ſince the twentieth Year of* Henry *the Eighth might be repealed, and that the whole Body of the Realm might be reconciled to the Church of* Rome. *Which things at length with much adoe he obtained, but not before ſuch time as by the ſame Statute the Revenues taken by King* Henry *the Eighth and* Edward *the Sixth from Abbeys, Colledges, Biſhopricks, &c. were confirmed to the Queen and the preſent Poſſeſſours,* left the Quiet of the Realm ſhould be diſturbed. *Hereupon he preſently abſolved the Clergy and People from the Guilt of Schiſm; a ſolemn Maſs was celebrated at* Rome *by Pope* Julius *the Third himſelf for Joy, Proceſſions were decreed, a Jubilee appointed, and plenary Indulgence granted to every one which ſhould give God Thanks for the Re-uniting of the Kingdom of* England. *To* Rome *were ſent* Anthony *Viſcount* Montacute, Thurlbey *Biſhop of* Ely, *and Sir* Edward Carne, *to give Thanks for Pardon of the Schiſm, and to tender in the name of the King, Queen and Realm, due Submiſſion and Obedience to the Pope and See Apoſtolick. To whom in the Apoſtolick Palace and Court of Kings was granted by* Paul *the Fourth (for* Julius *was now dead) a publick Conſiſtory or Audience, their Obedience accepted, the Pardon and Abſolution given by Cardinall* Poole *approved and new confirmed. And the more to oblige Queen* Mary *and King* Philip, *the Pope, out of his plenary Apoſtolicall* Power, *erected* Ireland *into a Kingdom for ever, and honoured*

Queen *Mary* marries the Son, though ſhe was before contracted to the Father.

Upon what Conditions *England* is reconciled to the Church of *Rome.*

Great joy therefore at *Rome.*

Ireland erected into a Kingdom by the Biſhop of *Rome.*

noured and adorned it with Regall Title, Dignity and Preeminences, &c. All which notwithstanding the Estates of Ireland had by their own Authority before amply conferred on Henry the Eighth, and the Queen herself already used and enjoyed. But these things are not proper to this place.

The Papists stand in fear of the Lady Elizabeth.

Now the Romish Religion seemed to be fully established in England. Nevertheless the Ecclesiasticks in England, seeing small Hope of Issue by the Queen, who was now forty years old, barren, and sickly, still stood in Fear of the Lady Elizabeth: for they knew she was bred up in the Protestant Religion, and perceived all mens Hearts and Eyes to incline towards her as towards the rising Sun. Seriously therefore they consulted from the first beginning of Queen Marie's Reign, that the Religion now restored might receive no Detriment by her means. To make away the Royall Issue by wicked Hand, seemed to the soberer sort, and to Queen Mary herself, (naturally a mild and loving Princess, though bearing her no great Good will, in regard of the Grudges and Displeasures betwixt their Mothers,) a hainous Sin. But some other ill-disposed persons thought the contrary, who were of Opinion that, for establishing of the Catholick Religion, any thing was to be adventured on, any thing to be committed, though it were in itself never so unjust. And it fell out very opportunely for them, that Sir Thomas Wyat, Sir Peter Carew, Sir James a Croftes, and other Protestants, had seditiously raised Tumults and Commotions, and endeavoured to joyn the Lady Elizabeth in Marriage with Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire. Hereupon she, as privy to the Design, was thrust into Prison: and first uncertain Rumours were spred abroad, that she was accessary to the Rebellion; then some were called in Question for their Lives, and others put to the Rack. Croftes openly affirmed with religious Protestations, that she was not accessary, and that she was clear from all Hand in the Sedition. Wyat also, (who was reported to have secretly accused her,) being now ready to suffer Death, publickly avowed the same. She nevertheless was poasted hither and thither, having

They trouble her.

Keepers

Keepers ſet over her; her Servants and Watting-women were forthwith carried to Priſon, and herſelf more hardly and rigorouſly treated then ſtood with her Quality and Dignity.

In the mean while Henry *the Second King of* France *cheareth her up by private Letters full of Love and Affection; and, promiſing her many and great matters, inviteth her into* France: *whether out of reall Love I cannot ſay, or onely a cunning Deſign to work her greater Danger, and make way for the Queen of* Scots *(who was deſigned to be his Daughter-in-law) to the Crown of* England *after Queen* Mary. Chriſtian *the Third King of* Denmark *(who had not long before made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion) offereth her alſo all Kindneſs, and withall dealeth with her privately about a Marriage with his Son* Frederick: *which was no ſooner perceved by the Papiſts in* England, *but they again threaten her with new Miſchief, and, ſuſpecting their Condition, cry out, that the Romiſh Religion, the Queen and Realm, can never be ſafe as long as ſhe is alive. Needs therefore muſt ſhe be condemned, either of High treaſon, or Hereſie. At the ſame time, whilſt great Cruelty was uſed againſt the Proteſtants of leſſer note,* John Story *Doctour of Law, and other mercileſs men, gave out in their Meetings, that the Root of Hereſie (meaning her) was rather to be ſtubbed up, then the ſmaller Branches to be lopped off. The Lady* Elizabeth, *now governing herſelf as it were a Ship in ſtormy Weather, both heard Divine Service after the Romiſh manner, and was often Confeſſed, yea, at the rigorous Inſtances and Menaces of Cardinall* Poole, *profeſſed herſelf, for Fear of Death, a Romiſh Catholick: yet did not Queen* Mary *believe her, as remembring that ſhe herſelf, for Fear of Death, had by Letters written with her own Hand to her Father (which I myſelf have ſeen) both for ever renounced the Biſhop of* Rome's *Authority in* England, *and withall acknowledged her Father to be* Supreme Head of the Church of *England* under *Chriſt, and her Mother's Marriage with King* Henry *her Father to have been inceſtu-*

The French King and the King of Denmark comfort her.

New Plots of her Enemies againſt her.

They force her by terrour to diſſemble the Romiſh Religion.

ous and unlawfull. Neither could the Cardinall himself and the reſt of the Biſhops be perſwaded ſhe was reall, who, for ſecuring the Romiſh Religion, wiſh'd ſhe were made away. Which notwithſtanding could not ſound pleaſingly in the Ears of King Philip, Queen Marie's Husband, and the Spaniards, who were more favourable to the Lady Elizabeth; not ſo much pittying the Fortune of the afflicted Maiden Princeſs, as providently reſpecting their own particular Intereſts. For they foreſaw that, the Lady Elizabeth being once made away, the Kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland, might by Mary Queen of Scots, next Heir to the Crown of England, and already eſpouſed to the Daulphin of France, be united to the French Sceptre; then which nothing could be more dreadfull to the Spaniard's Grandeur, who had then continuall Wars with the French.

Why the Spaniard ſpared the Lady Elizabeth's life.

A deſign to ſend her out of the Land, and exclude her from the Succeſſion.

Since therefore they could not without Impiety make away the Lady Elizabeth, ſome thought beſt to remove her at a Diſtance out of England, and to match her with Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy. Neither did this pleaſe the Spaniard, who had before deſigned her for his Son Charles. And Sir Thomas Cornwallis, one of the Queen's Councill, diſſwaded it, alleaging that the People of England would take it very ill, nay, would not at all endure, that the next Heir to the Crown ſhould be conveyed out of the Land. At the ſame time Queen Mary, out of her inveterate Hatred to the Lady Elizabeth, and becauſe the ſaid Lady was averſe from a Marriage with the Savoyard, was ſo tranſported with Anger, that ſhe loaded her with Checks and Taunts, and ſtuck not ever and anon to affirm, that Mary Queen of Scots was the certain and undoubted Heir to the Crown of England next after herſelf. Theſe Conſultations againſt the Lady Elizabeth were diverted by a War declared by Queen Mary againſt the French in Favour of her Husband: which though it were the chief and principall Cauſe of the War, yet other Reaſons alſo concurred, and thoſe very reall and plauſible. Viz. That the French, contrary to the Articles of the former League, had by his Miniſters encouraged and

War declared againſt France.

and ſupported the Rebellions of the Duke of Northumberland *and Sir* Thomas Wyat, *and the Deſigns of* Dudley *and* Aſhton *againſt her: That he had commiſſioned Pirates againſt the Engliſh Merchants, furniſhed* Stafford *with Arms and Shipping to ſeize upon* Scarborough *Caſtle, attempted* Calice *by ſiniſter means, ſuffered the Engliſh Money to be embaſed in* France, *and invaded the* Netherlands, *which the* Engliſh *were bound by Agreement to protect. During the Heat of this War, and while the* Scots, *whom the* French *had excited, infeſted the Marches of* England, Calice, *the Caſtles of* Risbank, Newnambrug, Mere, Oye, Hammes, Sandgate, *and the Caſtle and Town of* Guines, *are loſt; and, together with the Death of many Biſhops, (which by a ſad Preſage ſeemed to have denounced the Wrath of God againſt the Land,) Queen* Mary *alſo, being neglected of her Husband, and languiſhing with Grief for the Loſs of* Calice, *(which had for the ſpace of two hundred Years been in the Hands of the* Engliſh,) *departed this Life, on the ſeventeenth of* November 1558. *of a Six months Fever and a Tympany, when ſhe had Reigned five Years and four Months. A Princeſs never ſufficiently to be commended of all men, for her pious and religious Demeanour, her Commiſeration towards the Poor, and her Munificence and Liberality towards the Nobility and Church-men. Howbeit her Days are ill ſpoken of, by reaſon of the barbarous Cruelty of the Biſhops, who (which was a ſad Spectacle to behold) polluted* England *in all Parts thereof by burning the Proteſtants alive. For they deſtroyed more of all Ranks and Qualities, Biſhops, Miniſters of God's Word, and of the Common people, by this horrible kind of Death, within the ſpace of five Years, then (as ſome have obſerved) King* Henry *the Eighth did in full ſeven and thirty Years; or then* England *ever ſaw ſo ſerved ſince the time that in the Reign of King* John *Chriſtians firſt began amongſt us to tyrannize one over another with Fire and Faggot.*

Calice and other places loſt.

The death of Queen *Mary.*

And of Cardinal *Poole.*

The same day that Queen Mary *died, died also within few Hours after Cardinall* Poole, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *after he had for some time struggled with a quartan Ague. A man much more renowned for his Piety, Learning and Integrity, then for the Glory of his Royall Descent, though he were Son to the Daughter of* George *Duke of* Clarence, *Brother to* Edward *the Fourth, King of* England.

The

The True

HISTORIE OR ANNALS OF ENGLAND,

During the whole Life and Reign of the Ever-Renowned and Victorious Princeſs,

ELIZABETH,

Late Queen of *ENGLAND.*

Together with Her

Peerleſs Government, both in *Peace* and *War*; and all the moſt remarkable things that happened in *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*.

The Firſt Book.

The Firſt Year of Her Reign, Ann. 1558.

The death of Queen *Mary* made known.

THE Death of QUEEN *MART* having been certain hours concealed, the firſt news thereof was brought to the Biſhops and Nobility in the Parliament-Chamber, (for the Eſtates of the Realm were aſſembled a little before in Parliament.) They, out of ſingular Grief, for a time ſtand mute: yet comforting one another, they ſoon gather heart again; and mingling Mirth with Mourning,

1558. ning, lest they should seem either to sorrow for her which was to succeed, or to joy for her which was dead, they turn themselves to the publick Cares of the State, and with general Consent decree the LADY *ELIZABETH* to be proclaimed true and lawful Heir to the Crown, according to the Act of Succession of the 35. year of *Henry* the Eighth. Soon after, those of the Lower House being assembled, *Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellour of the Realm, with Sighs and Sobs signifieth unto them, "That their "most Excellent Queen is by untimely Death taken away both from "Religion and Commonwealth; that every of them had taken such "inward Grief thereat as it exceeded all Consolation, were it not that "Almighty God had of his mercy towards the English Nation pre"served the LADY *ELIZABETH*, the other Daughter of "King *Henry*, alive. Of whose most undoubted Title to the Suc"cession seeing there is none that can, none that ought, to doubt, the "Prelates and Peers had with one voice and mind decreed (in case "they would assent) presently to proclaim her *QUEEN*. Scarce had he spoken the word, when all from all sides cried and recried, *God save Queen* ELIZABETH, *Reign She most long, Reign She most happily*. And forthwith the Parliament breaking up, they proclaimed her in the greater Palace of *Westminster*, and immediately after in *Cheapside*, the chief Street of the City of *London*, *QUEEN OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDRESS OF THE FAITH*, and that with happy Acclamations and most joyful Applause of the People, and certainly with a most prosperous and auspicious beginning: neither did the People ever embrace any other Prince with more willing and constant mind and affection, with greater observance, more joyful applause, and prayers reiterated, whensoever she went abroad, during the whole course of her Life, then they did her.

The Lady *Elizabeth* proclaimed Queen.

She being now 25 years of age, and taught by Experience and Adversity, (two most effectual and powerful Masters,) had gathered Wisedome above her age: the first proof whereof she gave in chusing her Counsellours. For into her Privy Council she took

She chuseth Her Counsellours.

Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of *York*, before mentioned, a man of great wisedome and modest disposition;

William Powlet, Marques of *Winchester*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*;

Henry Fitz-Allen, Earl of *Arundel*;

Francis Talbot, Earl of *Shrewsbury*;

Edward Stanley, Earl of *Darby*;

William Herbert, Earl of *Pembroke*;

Edward Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admiral of the Sea; and *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlain;

Sir *Thomas Cheiney*,
Sir *William Peter*,
Sir *John Mason*,
Sir *Richard Sackvill*,
} Knights;

and

and *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*: 1558.
all which were of Queen *Mary*'s Council, and of the ſame Religion with her. To theſe, with a certain moderation and temperature, according to the reſpect of the Times, ſhe joyned of her own,

William Parr, Marqueſs of *Northampton*;
Francis Ruſſell, Earl of *Bedford*;
Edward Rogers;
Ambroſe Cave;
Francis Knolles; and
William Cecyl, who had been Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth, an exceeding wiſe man, and as good as many: and within a while after,
Nicholas Bacon, to whom ſhe committed the keeping of the Great Seal:

all theſe embracing the Proteſtant Religion, and in no place under Queen *Mary*. Whom, as others ſubſtituted ever after in their rooms, ſhe tempered and reſtrained in ſuch ſort, that they were to her moſt devoted, and ſhe was always her own free-woman, and obnoxious to none.

Her firſt Care is for Religion.

In the firſt beginning of her Reign ſhe applied her firſt Care (howbeit with but a few of her inwardeſt Counſellours) to the reſtoring of the Proteſtant Religion, which both by her Inſtruction from her tender years, and by her own Judgement, ſhe verily perſwaded herſelf to be moſt true, and conſonant to the Sacred Scriptures, and the Sincerity of the Primitive Church; and to reſtore the ſame ſhe had with a ſettled and conſtant reſolution determined in her mind. Then with the reſt of her Council ſhe adviſeth, That the Ports ſhould be ſhut up; That the Tower of *London* ſhould be committed to ſome man of approved fidelity; That a new Commiſſion ſhould be ſent over to *Thomas* Earl of *Suſſex*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, (who kept *Ireland* in awfull duty, ſo that it was never more quiet and peaceable, with three hundred and twenty horſe, and eight hundred and ſixty foot, lying there in Garriſon;) That the Commiſſions alſo to the Juridicall Magiſtrates ſhould be renewed, (leſt the Term or Juridicall Aſſembly, which was then holden, ſhould be broken up,) with a Clauſe added, *That they ſhould not beſtow any office*; That new Juſticers and Sheriffs ſhould be appointed in every County; That Money ſhould not be tranſported in exchange into Countries beyond the Seas; and That Preachers ſhould abſtain from Queſtions controverted in Religion. And for forrein matters, That Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent to the Princes of Chriſtendome, to ſignify unto them the Death of Queen *Mary*. To the Emperour *Ferdinand* therefore is forthwith ſent Sir *Thomas Challoner* with Letters, wherein the Queen with her own hand gave him to underſtand, *That her Siſter was dead; that ſhe by God's goodneſs did by right of Inheritance and Conſent of her Subjects ſucceed her in her Kingdoms, and deſired nothing more, then that the ancient Amity betwixt the Houſes of* England *and* Auſtria *might not onely be kept, but alſo increaſed.*

She diſpoſeth of matters at home.

She taketh care of matters abroad.

1558. To the *Spaniard* in the *Netherlands* is sent the Lord *Cobham* with Instructions to the same purpose; and also with a Commission, whereby the Earl of *Arundell*, *Thurlbey* Bishop of *Ely*, and Doctour *Wotton*, Commissioners lately sent by Queen *Mary* to treat a Peace at *Cambray*, are made Commissioners anew in the Queen's name: And with them is joyned in Commission *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*. Sir *Henry Killegrew* also is privily sent to win the minds of the *German* Princes, out of their affection to the purer Religion; *D. B.* to the King of *Denmark*, and *Armigill Waad* to the Duke of *Holstein*.

She is wooed by King *Philip*.

King *Philip* understanding of the Death of Queen *Mary* his Wife, fearing lest he should lose the Strength and Title of the Kingdom of *England*, which were to him of special use, and that the Kingdoms of *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*, would by *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, be annexed unto *France*, dealt seriously, by means of the Count of *Feria*, (whom he had sent to visit both his sick Wife, and the Lady *Elizabeth*,) with Queen *Elizabeth* about a Marriage to be contracted with her, promising to procure a special Dispensation from the Bishop of *Rome*. This much troubled her, that the most potent Prince of *Europe*, and one that had very well deserved of her, should be rejected by her, when of his own voluntary motion he sought to her for Marriage: which to her seemed the part both of an unwise and an unthankful woman. This also troubled the *French* King, who could not but misdoubt *France*, if by this new Marriage *England* should fall again to the *Spaniard*, his Enemy. He laboured therefore all he could at *Rome*, by the Bishop of *Angoulesme*, that no such Dispensation might be obtained, forasmuch as Queen *Elizabeth* was thought to favour the Protestant Doctrine, yea, was pronounced as *Illegitimate*. But these things he did very closely, lest he might seem to incense the *English*, matters being not yet fully compounded betwixt them. The Count of *Feria*, to effect this Marriage, beateth into the Papists heads every-where in *England*, "That they have no other means to uphold the Catholick "Religion, and maintain their ancient Honour; and this Marriage "being neglected, he cannot but pity *England*, as being exhausted "of her Wealth, needy of Military men, ill strengthened with For-"tresses and Holds, as ill provided of warlike Munition, and as if the "Counsellours of the Land were void of Counsel. And certainly the State of *England* lay now most afflicted, imbroiled on the one side with the Scottish, on the other side with the French War; overcharged with Debt incurred by *Henry* the Eighth and *Edward* the Sixth; the Treasure exhausted; *Calice* and the Country of *Oye*, with great Provision for the Wars, lost, to the great Dishonour of the English Nation; the people distracted with different Opinions in Religion; the Queen bare of potent Friends, and strengthened with no Alliance of forrein Princes.

She putteth him off:

And why.

The Queen, when she had in her mind more advisedly considered of this Marriage of a woman with her deceased Sister's Husband, judged it *ex rationis paritate*, that is, by the like reason, prohibited by Sacred Au-

Authority, as is the marriage of a man with his Brother's Widow, and therefore unlawful, notwithſtanding the Pope's Diſpenſation. And ſhe perceived that by contracting ſuch a Marriage by Diſpenſation, ſhe could not but acknowledge herſelf to be born in unlawful Wedlock, whom her Father King *Henry* had begotten after he had put away Queen *Katharine* of *Spain*, for that ſhe was his Brother's Widow. Which Wedlock, notwithſtanding, the Univerſities of Chriſtendome and a Synod at *London* had approved to be moſt juſt by the Law of God, as that with Queen *Katharine* to be unjuſt, and altogether undiſpenſable. Her Suitor therefore King *Philip* ſhe putteth off by little and little, with a moſt modeſt anſwer, and honeſt and maidenly ſhamefac'dneſs, but in very deed out of ſcruple of Conſcience. But when he inſtantly preſſed her by many Letters, and ſhe admired and rejoyced to imitate the manners and behaviour of ſo great a King joyned with moſt modeſt gravity and grace, moſt beſeeming his Royal Majeſty, ever and anon extolling the ſame; forth ſtepped certain Courtiers, which declaimed againſt the *Spaniards* as a People puffed up with Pride: and ſome of her inwardeſt Counſellours, fearing leſt her mind, being in doubt, might eaſily be perſwaded, whiſpered daily into her ears, being a Virgin of a moſt mild diſpoſition, "That She and her Friends were undone, and *England* overthrown, "if ſhe once acknowledged the Pope's Authority in diſpenſing, or in "any other matter whatſoever; That two Popes had pronounced "her Mother to have been unlawfully married to *Henry* the Eighth, "and thereupon, by their Sentence already pronounced, the Queen "of *Scots* did lay claim to the Kingdome of *England*; That the Pope "would never revoke his Sentence, neither was any indifferent "dealing to be expected from thoſe of *Rome*, who had been moſt "unjuſt both towards her Mother and her: moreover, That the "French King did now labour tooth and nail at *Rome*, that *Mary* "Queen of *Scots* might be pronounced lawfull Queen of *England*.

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Queen *Elizabeth* being moſt averſe to this Marriage, and moſt deſirous to promote the Proteſtant Religion, thought nothing more pleaſing to God, nothing more effectual to put off her importunate Suitour, then that Religion ſhould forthwith be altered. For Religion being once changed, ſhe doubted not but his mind in ſuing for Marriage would change alſo. She commanded therefore the Conſultation to be haſtned amongſt her moſt inward Counſellours, how the Proteſtant Religion might be re-eſtabliſhed, and the Popiſh aboliſhed, all Perils being weighed which might grow thereby, and by what means they might be put by. Theſe Perils they foreſaw would be either inward, or outward. Outward, either from the Biſhop of *Rome*, who would ſend forth his fulmination of Excommunication, and expoſe the Kingdome as a Prey to ſuch as would invade the ſame; or from the *French* King, who, taking occaſion thereby, would delay the buſineſs of Peace begun at *Cambray*, or rather move War againſt the *Engliſh* in the Queen of *Scots* behalf, as againſt not one-

She conſulteth about bringing in the Proteſtant Religion.

She weigheth the Dangers, Outward;

ly

1558. ly Enemies, but Hereticks alſo, and would excite *Scotland* to doe the like, which was now at his devotion; or from the *Iriſh*, a people moſt addicted to the Romiſh Religion, and moſt forward to Rebellion; or elſe from the *Spaniard*, a Prince moſt potent in the *Netherlands* hard by. They reſolved, "That for the Pope's Excommunication "it was not to be fear'd, but ſlighted as a ſenſleſs lightning: That Peace, "if it were offered by the *French*, was to be embraced, if not, then to "be ſued for; foraſmuch as the ſame Peace would comprehend *Scot-*"*land* alſo: nevertheleſs, that the Proteſtants of *France* and *Scot-*"*land* were in no wiſe to be forſaken: That *Berwick*, the *Mar-*"*ches* towards *Scotland*, as alſo *Ireland*, ſhould be manned with ſtron-"ger Garriſons: That Amity was to be holden with the *Spaniard* by "any means whatſoever, and the ancient League with the Houſe of Inward. "*Burgundy* confirmed. The Dangers inward they foreſaw would be, from the Noblemen removed from the Queen's Council, from the Biſhops and Church-men that were to be diſplaced, from the Judges which ſate in the Courts of Juſtice, from the Juſticers of Peace in every County, and from ſuch of the Common ſort of people as in the Reign of Queen *Mary* were both in deed and eſtimation great men, becauſe devoted to the Romiſh Religion. "Theſe they held "were to be thruſt out of their places, and reſtrained by rigour of "Law, (as Queen *Mary* had done againſt the Proteſtants:) and That "none were to be employed in any place of Government, nor choſen "into any Colleges of both the Univerſities, but Proteſtants: and "withall, That the Popiſh Preſidents, Heads and Maſters were to "be removed out of the Univerſities, and the Popiſh School-maſters "out of *Wincheſter*, *Eaton*, and other Schools: That thoſe Prote-"ſtants which then begun to frame a new Eccleſiaſticall Polity, be-"ing tranſported with a humour of Innovation, ſhould be repreſſed "betimes: and That but one onely Religion was to be tolerated, "leſt diverſity of Religions amongſt the *Engliſh* (a ſtout and warlike "Nation) might miniſter continuall fire to Seditions. The care of correcting the Liturgy, which under King *Edward* the Sixth was ſet forth in the vulgar Tongue, was committed to *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Coxe*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead*, and *Pilkinton*, learned and moderate Divines, and to Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, a moſt learned Gentleman; the matter being imparted to no man but the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, *John Grey* of *Pyrgo*, and *Cecyl*.

She repreſſeth the Impatience of Miniſters. But ſome Miniſters of the Word, impatient of Delay, whileſt they choſe rather to fore-run then expect Laws, began to ſow abroad the Doctrine of the Goſpell more freely, firſt in private houſes, and then in Churches; and the People, greedy of Novelties, began to flock unto them in great number, and to wrangle amongſt themſelves, and with the Papiſts, about Queſtions controverted in Religion: in ſuch ſort, that, to cut off occaſions of Contentions, the Queen ſet forth a ſtreight Proclamation, that they ſhould not handle any ſuch Queſtions. But the Epiſtles, Goſpels and Ten Commandments ſhe per-

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permitted to be read unto the people in the Engliſh Tongue, howbeit without any Expoſition: alſo the Lord's Prayer, the Apoſtles Creed and the Litany ſhe ſuffered to be uſed in the vulgar Tongue. But in all other things they were to uſe the Romiſh Rites and Ceremonies, till a perfect Form of Religion ſhould be concluded on by the Authority of Parliament. In the mean time ſhe performed the Obſequies of her Siſter, Queen *Mary*, with ſolemn and ſumptuous Preparations, in the Church of *Weſtminſter*; and ſhortly after of *Charles* the Fifth alſo, who had two years before (a rare example amongſt Emperours, but more glorious then all their Victories) overcome himſelf, renounced the Empire, and given over the World, that he might wholly live to God, and attend upon his Service onely.

She alloweth the Service of God in part in the Engliſh tongue.

She celebrateth the Funerals of Queen *Mary*, and of *Carles* the 5.

The Second Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1559.

IN the beginning of the new Year the Queen anew created *William Parr* Marquels of *Northampton*, who in Queen *Marie*'s days was put from his Degree for Treaſon: *Edward Seimour*, who by a private Law had, through the malice of his Adverſaries, been deſpoiled of a great part of his Inheritance, and of his Father's Honours, ſhe raiſed to the Barony of *Beauchamp* and Earldome of *Hertford*: *Thomas Howard*, the ſecond Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, ſhe dignified with the Honour of Viſcount *Howard* of *Bindon*; and *Henry Cary* of *Hunſdon*, her Couſin-german by *Mary Bolen*, and *Oliver Saint-John* of *Bletneſhoe*, with Title of Barons. All which were averſe from the Popiſh Religion. And now is ſhe brought with Royal Pomp from the Tower of *London* through the midſt of the City to *Weſtminſter*, with incredible Applauſe, (which by her ſweet Countenance and gracious Speech ſhe increaſed above meaſure,) where the next day, after the Rites of her Fore-fathers, ſhe is inaugurated and anointed by *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carliſle*; for that the Archbiſhop of *York* and the reſt of the Biſhops refuſed to perform that Office, out of a ſuſpicious and jealous fear of the Romiſh Religion, which both her firſt Breeding up in the Proteſtant Religion had ſtricken them into, and alſo for that ſhe had very lately forbidden the Biſhop in ſaying Maſs to lift up the Hoſt to be adored, and permitted the Litany, with the Epiſtle and Goſpell, to be read in the vulgar Tongue: which they held for moſt hainous Sins. Yet was ſhe truely Religious, who every day, as ſoon as ſhe aroſe, ſpent ſome time in Prayers to God, and afterwards alſo at ſet hours in her private Chappell: every Sunday and Holy-day ſhe went unto her Chappell; neither was there ever any other Prince preſent at God's Service with greater Devotion. The Sermons in Lent attentively ſhe heard, being all

She reſtoreth and raiſeth Noblemen.

She is crowned.

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all in black, after the manner of old: although ſhe many times ſaid, (as ſhe had read of *Henry* the Third, her Predeceſſour,) "that ſhe "had rather talk with God devoutly by Prayer, then hear others "ſpeak eloquently of God. But concerning the Croſs, the Bleſſed Virgin and the Saints, ſhe had no contemptuous opinion, nor ever ſpake of them but with reverence, nor ſuffered others patiently to ſpeak unreverently of them.

Her opinion of Holy things.

She holdeth a Parliament.

What matters are Enacted therein.

Some few days after her Coronation a Parliament was holden, wherein it was firſt by general voice of all men Enacted, "That the "Lady *Elizabeth* was, and (to uſe the very words of the Statute) "ought by the Law of God, the Common Law of *England*, and the "Statutes of the Realm, to be, the lawfull, undoubted and moſt cer- "tain Queen of *England*, and was juſtly and lawfully iſſued from the "Bloud Royall, according to the order of Succeſſion preſcribed by "the Eſtates of the Realm in the 35. year of *Henry* the Eighth. Nevertheleſs the Statute wherein her Father had excluded her and Queen *Mary* from the Succeſſion of the Crown was not repealed. Wherein *Bacon*'s wiſedome (upon whom, as the Oracle of the Law, the Queen wholly relied in ſuch matters,) in ſome mens opinion failed him; eſpecially conſidering that *Northumberland* had objected it againſt Queen *Mary* and her, (and in that reſpect Queen *Mary* had repealed it as far as concerned herſelf) and ſome Seditious perſons afterward took occaſion thereby to attempt dangerous matters againſt her, as being not lawfull Queen: albeit that the Engliſh Laws have long ſince pronounced, *That the Crown once worn quite taketh away all Defects whatſoever.* But by others this was imputed to *Bacon*'s wiſedome, who, in ſo great a perplexity and inconſtancy of Acts and Statutes, whereas thoſe things that made for Queen *Elizabeth* ſeemed to be joyned with the Ignominy and Diſgrace of Queen *Mary*, would not new gall the Sore which was with age over-skinned; and therefore applied himſelf unto that Act of the 35. year of *Henry* the Eighth, which in a manner provided for both their Fames and Dignities alike.

A Propoſition for change of Religion.

Then in this Parliament, after other matters, an Act was made for reſtoring the Crown of *England* to its former Juriſdiction in matters Eccleſiaſticall: to wit, by renewing the Laws of *Henry* the Eighth againſt the See of *Rome*, and of *Edward* the Sixth for the Proteſtants, which Laws were repealed by Queen *Mary*; and alſo by Enacting, "That whatſoever Juriſdictions, Priviledges and Spiritual Preemi- "nences, had been heretofore in uſe by any Eccleſiaſticall Authority "whatſoever, to viſit Eccleſiaſticall men, and correct all manner of Er- "rours, Hereſies, Schiſms, Abuſes and Enormities, ſhould be for ever "annexed to the Imperial Crown of *England*; That the Queen and her "Succeſſours might by their Letters Patents ſubſtitute certain men "to exerciſe that Authority: howbeit with Proviſo, That they "ſhould define nothing to be Hereſy but thoſe things which were "long before defined to be Hereſies out of the Sacred Canonicall "Scriptures, or the four firſt Oecumenicall Councils, or other Coun-

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"Councils by the true and proper ſenſe of the Holy Scriptures; or "ſhould thereafter be ſo defined by Authority of the Parliament, "with Aſſent of the Clergy of *England* aſſembled in a Synod: That "all and every Eccleſiaſticall perſons, Magiſtrates, Receivers of Pen- "ſions out of the Exchequer, ſuch as were to receive Degrees in the "Univerſities, Wards that were to ſue their Liveries, and to be in- "veſted in their Livings, and ſuch as were to be admitted into the "number of the Queen's Servants, *&c.* ſhould be tied by Oath to "acknowledge the Queen's Majeſty to be the onely and Supreme "Governour of her Kingdoms, (the Title of *Supreme Head of the* "*Church* of *England* liked them not,) in all matters and Cauſes, as "well Spiritual as Temporall, all forrein Princes and Potentates "being quite excluded from taking cognizance of Cauſes within her "Dominions.

Againſt theſe Statutes nine Biſhops in the Higher Houſe, which were preſent that day, (for now there were no more but fourteen left alive,) ſtifly repugned; namely,

Oppoſed by ſome Biſhops; 18. *Martii.*

The Archbiſhop of *York*, *Heath*,
The Biſhop of *London*, *Bonner*,
The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *White*,
The Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Pate*,
Llandaff, *Antony*,
Coventry, *Bayne*,
Exceſter, *Turbervill*,
Cheſter, *Scot*,
Carliſle, *Oglethorp*,
and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, *Feckenham*.

Of the Temporal Lords not a man oppoſed them, ſave onely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Antony Brown* Viſcount *Montacute*: which Viſcount the Eſtates of the Realm in the Reign of Queen *Mary* ſent (as I have ſaid) to *Rome*, with *Thurlbey* Biſhop of *Ely*, that *England* might be reduced into the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, and Obedience to the See Apoſtolick. This man, out of a certain burning Zeal to Religion and regard of Honour, ſharply urged, "That it "were a great Diſhonour to *England*, if it ſo ſoon revolted from the "Apoſtolick See, to which it had of late humbly reconciled itſelf: "and greater Perill it would be, if, Excommunication being once "thundered forth, it ſhould by this Defection be expoſed to the Fury "of her neighbouring Enemies. That he, for his part, had, by Au- "thority of the Eſtates of *England*, tendered Obedience to the Bi- "ſhop of *Rome*, and the ſame he could not but perform. Moſt ear- neſtly therefore again and again he beſought them, that they would not fall away from the See of *Rome*, to which they did owe the firſt receiving and perpetuall conſervation of the Chriſtian Faith. But when theſe things were propounded in the Lower Houſe, the far major part with joynt mind gave their Voices and Aſſent unto them; while the Papiſts murmured, "that moe of the Proteſtants were

and 2 Noblemen.

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A Conference betwixt the Papists and the Protestants.

Now, when mens minds differed concerning Religion, it was by one and the same Proclamation commanded, That no man should speak unreverently of the Sacrament of the Altar; and both Kinds were permitted in the Administration. A Conference was also appointed at *Westminster* between the Papists and the Protestants against the last day of *March*.

For the Protestants were chosen,

Richard Coxe, *Whitehead*, *Edmund Grindall*, *Robert Horne*, *Edwin Sandes*, *Edmund Guest*, *John Elmar*, and *John Juell*:

and of the Papists were chosen,

John White, Bishop of *Winchester*, *Ralph Bayn*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *Thomas Watson*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, Dr. *Cole*, Dean of *Saint Pauls*, Dr. *Langdall*, Archdeacon of *Lewis*, Dr. *Harpsfield*, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Chadsey*, Archdeacon of *Middlesex*.

The Questions propounded were;

1. *Concerning Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the vulgar Tongue.*
2. *Concerning the Authority of the Church in constituting & abrogating Ceremonies to Edification.*
3. *And concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass.*

With what success.

But all came to nothing. For a few words passed to and fro about Writing, for that they could not agree upon the manner of Disputing: the Protestants triumphing as if they had gotten the Victory; and the Papists complaining "that they were hardly dealt withall, "in that they were not forewarned of the Questions above a day or "two before; and that *Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, (a "man little versed in matters of Divinity, and a bitter Enemy of the "Papists,) sate as Judge, whereas he was onely appointed Moderatour, or Keeper of order. But the very truth is, that they, weighing the matter more seriously, durst not, without consulting the Bishop of *Rome*, call in question so great matters, and not controverted in the Church of *Rome*; exclaiming every where, *When shall there be any Certainty touching Faith? Disputations concerning*

Religion

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Religion do always bend that way that the Scepter inclines: and such like. And so hot were the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, that they thought meet that the Queen and the Authours of this Falling away from the Church of *Rome* should be stricken with the Censure of Excommunication: who for this cause were imprisoned. But the wiser sort resolved, that this Censure was rather to be left to the Bishop of *Rome*, lest they, being Subjects, should seem to shake off their Obedience to their Prince, and take up the Banner of Rebellion.

Carne quitteth his Office of Embassadour at *Rome*, and why.

Neither was the Bishop of *Rome* ignorant of these things, who, being now more stirred, commanded Sir *Edward Carne*, a Welsh Knight and a Lawyer, (who had been Embassadour at *Rome* for King *Henry* the Eighth and Queen *Mary*, and now for Queen *Elizabeth*,) to lay down his Office of Embassadour, and (to use the very words themselves) *by vigour of a Commandment given* vivâ voce *by the Oracle of the most Holy Lord the Pope, in the virtue of his holy Obedience, and under pain of the greater Excommunication, and loss of all his goods and lands, not to depart the City, but to take upon him the Government of the English Hospitall:* (indeed, lest he should give intelligence of the secret Practices of the French against Queen *Elizabeth*, which he had carefully done before, out of his love to his Country.) Yet is it thought by some, that this crafty old man did voluntarily chuse this Banishment, out of his burning Zeal to the Romish Religion.

Contention about *Calice.*

In the mean while (to follow the order of time, and omit for a season these Ecclesiasticall and Parliamentary matters,) the Commissioners of *England* and *Spain*, which treated a Peace at *Cambray*, contending hard with the *French* for the Restitution of *Calice*, could by no means get them to give over the same, though they offered to set off, in regard thereof, above three millions of Crowns due by the French by lawfull Obligation. The *Spaniard*, because for his sake the English lost it, and because he foresaw that it would be for the benefit of the *Netherlands* that it should be under the English Jurisdiction, truely and honestly stood for the English, otherwise he would quite draw back from the Peace. On the contrary the French opposed, "That *Calice* alone was not sufficient to recompense the "Dammages done to the French by the English, it being by their "help that their Towns were taken by the *Spaniards*, many Villa-"ges of *Little Britain* being burnt and sacked by the English Fleet, "their Ships taken, Commerce (the Strength of the Kingdome) "interrupted, and an infinite mass of money spent to prohibit the "landing of the English. Besides, *Calice* was the ancient Inheritance "of the Crown of *France*, lost in old time by War, and now by War "recovered, and therefore in no wise to be restored: yea and so also "the Estates of *France* had decreed. For to restore it, were nothing "else but to put a Sword into the Enemie's hands, and to alienate for "ever the hearts of the French from their King. Unjustly therefore

1559. "and abſurdly did the Engliſh demand it again. The Engliſh maintained to the contrary, "that moſt juſtly and with very great "reaſon they demanded it; to wit, That *Calice* had for theſe one or "two hundred years been a parcell of the Kingdome of *England*, and "purchaſed not onely by right of War, but alſo by Inheritance, and "granted by Compoſition, in lieu of certain other Places which the "Kings of *England* had reſigned. That thoſe Dammages received "were to be imputed to the *Spaniards*, who had drawn the Engliſh "againſt their wills into this War, by which they had received very "great Loſs, and no Commodity at all. Whatſoever the Eſtates of "*France* decree, becauſe it is gainfull to them, is not therefore juſt. "Neither could *Calice* be juſtly detained, foraſmuch as, by Cove-"nant already agreed upon, all places taken in the laſt War are re-"ſtored to the other Princes. The French anſwered, "That this was "done in regard of Marriages to be contracted betwixt the other "Princes. They propounded therefore, that the eldeſt Daughter of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* by the Dolphin of *France* ſhould be married to the eldeſt Son of Queen *Elizabeth*, which Daughter ſhould have *Calice* for her Dowry; and withall the Queen of *Scots* ſhould relinquiſh her Title which ſhe had in *England*: or elſe, that Queen *Elizabeth*'s eldeſt Daughter ſhould marry with the eldeſt Son of the Queen of *Scots*; and withall the Engliſh ſhould renounce the Claim they laid to the Crown of *France*, and all ſhould be remitted which the French did owe to the Engliſh, and *Calice* in the mean time ſhould remain in the French-mens hands. Theſe things, as matters uncertain and of another Age, and deviſed onely to work Delays, the Engliſh neglected, and would not hearken unto.

The *Spaniard* diſſatisfied with the Queen.

Thus far was the matter come, when the *Spaniard* received intelligence that Queen *Elizabeth* not onely avoided his offered Marriage, but alſo altered and changed almoſt all things in Religion. From this time therefore his care for the Reſtoring of *Calice*, which before ſeemed to be conſtantly ſettled, began to faint; and the Spaniſh Delegates, impatient of delay, when they and the French were in a manner agreed about all other Points, pretended that they would no longer be troubled with a War for *Calice*, unleſs the Engliſh would ſupply both money and men for a ſix years War more largely then before. Thereupon the Cardinall of *Lorrain* taking courage, boldly affirmed to the Spaniſh Delegates, "that the Queen "of *Scots*, his Niece, was the true and undoubted Queen of *Eng-"land*; the *Spaniard* therefore, if he loved Juſtice, ought to la-"bour that *Calice* might be delivered unto his Niece, being moſt "juſt Queen of *England*. This ſounded not very pleaſingly in the *Spaniard*'s ears, to whom the Power of the French was ſuſpect: and they aſſaied privily to withdraw out of *England* the Lady *Katharine Grey*, Grand-daughter to *Henry* the Eighth's Siſter, that they might have one to oppoſe againſt the Queen of *Scots* and the French, if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe then well to Queen *Elizabeth*, to the

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the end that *France* might not be augmented with the Addition of *England* and *Ireland*. And very ſtifly they urged, that a Truce might be treated between *England* and *France* untill they came to an Agreement; and that *Calice* in the mean time might be put into the *Spaniard*'s hands, as an indifferent Umpire and Arbitratour. Which the French, and no leſs the Engliſh, refuſed.

Theſe things had Queen *Elizabeth* underſtood before-hand, who having neglected the Marriage with the *Spaniard*, and altered Religion, could hope for no good at all from the *Spaniards*. She knew alſo that the Treaty of *Cambray* was undertaken on purpoſe for the rooting out of the Proteſtant Religion. And certainly in reſpect of Sex, and want of Treaſure, Peace ſeemed to her more to be deſired then the juſteſt War, who was wont to ſay, "It was more glorious "to eſtabliſh Peace with wiſedom, then to make an end of War with "Armies in the field. Neither did ſhe think it to ſtand with her Dignity, or the Honour of the Engliſh Nation, to rely upon the Aid of the *Spaniard*. She thought it therefore beſt to make her own Peace apart, and to compound with the French about *Calice*, being thereunto ſolicited by many Letters of the French King, of *Montmorency* Conſtable of *France*, and *Francis* of *Vendoſme*, and by Meſſages from the Duke of *Guiſe* ſent by the Lord *Grey*, who, having been taken priſoner at *Guines*, was ſet at liberty by him for that cauſe. For the making of this Agreement, *Guido Cavalcanti*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, brought up in *England* from his childhood, was imployed; with whom the French King having ſecret Conference, thought it the ſafeſt courſe that theſe things ſhould be treated of without the knowledge of the *Spaniard*, in ſome obſcure Village of *England* or *France*, by Delegates ſent privily. Contrariwiſe, Queen *Elizabeth*, being a Virgin of a manly Courage, profeſſed that ſhe was an abſolute free Princeſs to manage her actions by herſelf or her Miniſters. And though in the Reign of her Siſter nothing was done without conſulting the *Spaniard*; yet her will was, that this matter ſhould be treated and agreed upon betwixt her Commiſſioners and the Commiſſioners of *France*, without acquainting the *Spaniard*, not in an obſcure place, but at the * Caſtle of *Cambray*, which is not far from the City of *Cambray*. And hereby ſhe incurred no leſs Diſpleaſure with the *Spaniard* then before for ſlighting his Marriage and altering of Religion. Nevertheleſs the *French* being wiſe and wary, to the end to feel how ſhe ſtood affected towards Marriage and towards the *Spaniard*, requeſted firſt to be reſolved of two Scruples. The one, "If he ſhould render up *Calice* before he knew "for certain whom the Queen would take to Husband, *Calice* might "eaſily fall into the *Spaniard*'s hands, who would buy it at any rate, "and Wives would grant any thing to their Husbands whom they "loved. The other, "Whether the *Engliſh* were (as the *Spaniards* "gave out) tied by ſuch a League to the *Spaniards*, that they were "to war with them againſt all people whatſoever. To theſe two Points

A Peace treated with the *French*, without the *Spaniard*.

* *Chaſteau* in *Cambreſie*.

1559. Points it was answered, "That the Queen bare such a Motherly "Love to *England*, that she would not for her Husband's sake forgoe "*Calice*; and though she would never so fain, yet the People of "*England* would in no wise suffer it: That there was no such Confe- "deracy with the *Spaniard*, but onely an Amity and Friendship: "And that she was most free to contract a Confederacy which might "be for the benefit of *England*, with any Prince whatsoever. Here- upon it was thought good, that at the Castle of *Cambray* Commissio- ners on both sides should treat about compounding of Controversies, and concluding a Peace. For the Queen of *England*,

Thurlbey, Bishop of *Ely*;

William Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and

Nicholas Wotton, Dean of the Metropolitan Churches of *Canter- bury* and *York*:

and for the French King,

Charles, Cardinal of *Lorrain*, Archbishop and Duke of *Rhemes*, first Peer of *France*;

Annas, Duke of *Montmorency*, Peer, Constable, and Great Master of *France*;

Jaques Albon, Seigniour of *Saint Andrew*, Marques *Fronsac*, and Marshall of *France*;

J. Morvillier, Bishop of *Orleance*; and *Claud Aubespine*, Secre- tary to the Privy Council.

Peace made with the French King. The Articles of the Peace.

Betwixt these Commissioners an Agreement was made in these words, or the like in effect.

Neither Prince shall invade other, or assist any which shall invade the other.

If the Subjects shall attempt any thing against this Peace, they shall be punished, and the Peace not broken.

Commerce shall be freely exercised.

The Ships of war, before they put to Sea, shall give security that they shall not rob the other Prince's Subjects.

The Fort of Aymouth *in* Scotland *shall be razed.*

The French King shall peaceably enjoy for the term of eight years the Town of Calice *with the Appertinences, and sixteen great pieces of Ordnance.*

Which term being expired, he shall restore the same with the Town to Queen Elizabeth.

Eight forrain Merchants, not Subjects to the French King, shall pass their words for the payment of 500000 *Crowns, in the name of a pain for not restoring* Calice.

Nevertheless Queen Elizabeth's *Title to the same Town shall conti- nue good.*

Five Hostages shall be delivered till the Merchants bind themselves.

If any thing during the time aforesaid shall be attempted or innova- ted by Arms, directly or indirectly, by the Queen of England, *or her Sub-*

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Subjects by her Authority, Commandment or Approbation, againſt the moſt Chriſtian King or the Queen of Scots, *they ſhall be freed and abſolved from all Promiſe and Faith given, and the Hoſtages and Merchants ſhall be ſet at liberty.*

If any thing in like manner ſhall be attempted or innovated by the moſt Chriſtian King, the Queen of Scots, *or the Dolphin, againſt the Queen of* England, *they ſhall be bound without all delay to give over the Poſſeſſion of* Calice.

Peace alſo made with *Scotland.*

In the ſame place, at the ſame time, and by the ſame Commiſſioners, a Peace alſo was concluded betwixt the Queen of *England*, and *Francis* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scots*; certain Articles concerning the granting of Safe-conducts to Homicides, Thieves, Rank-riders upon the *Marches*, and Fugitives, being referred to Engliſh and Scottiſh Commiſſioners: Which when they were agreed upon at *Upſalington* betwixt

Thomas Earl of *Northumberland*,
Cuthbert Tunſtall, Biſhop of *Dureſme*,
William Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*, and
Sir *James a Croſts*, Captain of the Town and Caſtle of *Berwick*,
} Engliſh Commiſſioners;

and

The Earl of *Morton*,
the Baron of *Humes*, and
Saint Clere, Dean of *Glaſcow*,
} Scottiſh Commiſſioners;

a Peace was proclaimed over all *England* betwixt the Queen of *England*, the King of *France*, the Dolphin, and the Queen of *Scots*: which was ill taken by the people, as diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* for the Loſs of *Calice*, and not reſtoring thereof; while the Proteſtants laid the blame upon the Biſhops and the Papiſts, and they again caſt it upon the Lord *Wentworth* the Governour, being one of the Proteſtants. And he indeed in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, being abſent and unheard, was in that behalf called in queſtion; but now the times being changed, was called again to his Trial, heard, and acquitted by his Peers. But *Ralph Chamberlain*, who was Captain of the Caſtle of *Calice*, and *John Harleſtone*, who had the charge of the Tower at *Riſbanck*, were afterward condemned of Treaſon for abandoning their Quarter: but their Puniſhment was remitted.

The Lord *Wentworth* and others called to their Trial for *Calice.*

When the Aſſembly of Parliament was now to be diſſolved, they all thought good that the Third Eſtate, or Lower Houſe, ſhould adviſe the Queen to marry betimes: yet would not the Temporal Lords joyn with them, leſt any of them might ſeem to propound it in hope to preferr himſelf. *Thomas Gargrave* therefore, Speaker of the Lower Houſe, with ſome few ſelected men, after leave obtained, came unto the Queen, and making his excuſe by his Office, the Queen's Courteſie, and the Weightineſs of the matter, went forward to this purpoſe: "There is nothing which with more ardent affec-"tion we beg of God in our daily prayers, then that our Happineſs hitherto

The Eſtates exhort the Queen to Marriage.

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"petuated to the Engliſh Nation unto all eternity. Whileſt in our
"mind and cogitation we caſt many ways how this may be effected,
"we can find none at all, unleſs your Majeſtie ſhould either reign
"for ever, (which to hope for is not lawfull;) or elſe by Marri-
"age bring forth Children, Heirs both of their Mother's Vertue and
"Empire, (which God Almighty grant.) This is the ſingle, the
"onely, the all-comprehending Prayer of all Engliſh-men. All other
"men, of what place and degree ſoever, but eſpecially Princes, muſt
"have a care, that though themſelves be mortal, yet the Common-
"wealth may continue immortal. This Immortality may your
"Majeſty give to the *Engliſh*, if (as your humane nature, Age, Beauty
"and Fortune do require,) you will take ſome man to your Hus-
"band, who may be a Comfort and Help unto you, and a Conſort in
"Proſperity and Adverſity. For (queſtionleſs) more availeth
"the Help of one onely Husband for the effecting of matters, then
"the joynt Induſtry of many men. Nothing can be more contrary
"to the publick Reſpects, then that ſuch a Princeſs, in whoſe Marri-
"age is comprehended the Safety and Peace of the Common-
"wealth, ſhould live unmarried, and as it were a Veſtal Virgin. A
"Kingdome received from Anceſtors is to be left to Children, who
"will be both an Ornament and Strength to the Realm. The Kings
"of *England* have never been more carefull of any thing, then that
"the Royall Family might not fail of Iſſue. Hence it was, that
"within our freſh memory *Henry* the VII. your Grandfather, provi-
"ded his Sons *Arthur* and *Henry* of Marriage even in their tender
"years. Hence it was that your Father ſought to procure *Mary*
"Queen of *Scots* to be a Wife for his young Son Prince *Edward*, then
"ſcarce eight years old: and very lately your Siſter, Queen *Mary*,
"being well in years, married *Philip* of *Spain*. If lack of Children uſe
"to be inflicted by God as a great Puniſhment as well upon Royall
"as private Families; what and how great a Sin may it be, if the
"Prince voluntarily pluck it upon himſelf, whereby an infinite heap
"of Miſeries muſt needs overwhelm the Commonwealth with all
"Calamities which the mind even dreadeth to remember? Which
"that it may not come to paſs, not onely we few that are here
"preſent, but even all *England*, yea all Engliſh-men, do proſtrate our
"ſelves at your feet, and with humble voice and frequent Sighs do
"from the bottom of our hearts moſt ſubmiſſively pray and be-
"ſeech you. Theſe things ſpake he eloquently and more amply.

Her Anſwer. She anſwered briefly: "In a matter moſt unpleaſing, moſt plea-
"ſing to me is the apparent Good will of you and my People, as
"proceeding from a very good mind towards me and the Common-
"wealth. Concerning Marriage, which ye ſo earneſtly move me
"to, I have been long ſince perſwaded, that I was ſent into this
"world by God to think and doe thoſe things chiefly which may tend
"to his Glory. Hereupon have I choſen that kind of life which is
moſt

1559.

"moſt free from the troubleſome Cares of this world, that I might "attend the Service of God alone. From which if either the "tendred Marriages of moſt potent Princes, or the danger of Death "intended againſt me, could have removed me, I had long agone "enjoyed the honour of an Husband. And theſe things have I "thought upon when I was a private perſon. But now that the "publick Care of governing the Kingdome is laid upon me, to draw "upon me alſo the Cares of Marriage may ſeem a point of inconſide-"rate Folly. Yea, to ſatisfie you, I have already joyned myſelf in "Marriage to an Husband, namely, the Kingdome of *England*. "And behold (ſaid ſhe, which I marvell ye have forgotten,) the "Pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with my Kingdome. (And therewith ſhe drew the Ring from her Finger, and ſhewed it, wherewith at her Coronation ſhe had in a ſet form of words ſolemnly given herſelf in Marriage to her Kingdome.) Here having made a pauſe, "And do not (ſaith ſhe) upbraid me with miſerable lack "of Children: for every one of you, and as many as are Engliſh-"men, are Children and Kinſmen to me; of whom if God deprive "me not, (which God forbid) I cannot without injury be ac-"counted Barren. But I commend you that ye have not appoin-"ted me an Husband, for that were moſt unworthy the Majeſty of "an abſolute Princeſs, and unbeſeeming your Wiſedome, which are "Subjects born. Nevertheleſs if it pleaſe God that I enter into an-"other courſe of life, I promiſe you I will doe nothing which may "be prejudiciall to the Commonwealth, but will take ſuch a Huſ-"band, as near as may be, as will have as great a Care of the Com-"monwealth as myſelf. But if I continue in this kind of life I have "begun, I doubt not but God will ſo direct mine own and your "Counſels, that ye ſhall not need to doubt of a Succeſſour which "may be more beneficiall to the Commonwealth then he which may "be born of me, conſidering that the Iſſue of the beſt Princes many "times degenerateth. And to me it ſhall be a full ſatisfaction, both "for the memoriall of my Name, and for my Glory alſo, if, when I "ſhall let my laſt breath, it be ingraven upon my Marble Tombe, "*Here lieth* ELIZABETH, *which Reigned a Virgin, and died a* "*Virgin.*

In this Aſſembly of the Eſtates, beſides thoſe matters which I have already related, ſome things were Enacted and eſtabliſhed concerning the not offering of Violence to the Queen's Perſon; of Tenths and Firſt-fruits to be reſtored to the Crown; of an uniform Order of Publick Prayers to be uſed in all Churches, to wit, the Liturgy and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments which was in uſe under *Edward* the Sixth, ſome few things being changed, and a Penalty inflicted upon the Depravers thereof, or ſuch as ſhould uſe any other whatſoever; of going to Church upon Sundays and Holy-days, a Mulct of twelvepence for every day's abſence being impoſed upon thoſe that ſhould abſent themſelves, and the ſame to be beſtowed

Other things enacted in this Parliament.

1559. ſtowed upon the Poor: alſo concerning ſeditious Rumours againſt the Queen, Merchandiſe, Shipping, Cloathing, Iron-works, and of tumultuous and unlawfull Meetings; and, to omit the reſt, (by a Law unprinted) concerning the Poſſeſſions of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, *That they ſhould not give, grant or leaſe out the Livings of the Church, but for one and twenty years, or three Lives*, (as they term it,) *to others then to the Queen and her Succeſſours, reſerving the old Rents.* But that exception, *for the Queen*, proved gainful to her Courtiers, that abuſed her Bounty, and to the Biſhops, that ſought their own Profit; but to the Church very hurtfull, untill ſuch time as King *James* in the beginning of his Reign took it away, to the great good of the Church. In this Parliament there was not a man proſcribed, a thing uſuall to be done in the firſt Parliaments of Kings: there were reſtored in Bloud *Gregory Fines* Lord *Dacres*, and *Thomas* his Brother, whoſe Father had been put to death in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth; *Henry Howard*, who was afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, and his three Siſters, the Children of *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, who was for light cauſes beheaded by *Henry* the Eighth a little before he died; *John Grey* of *Pyrgo*, Brother to the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*; Sir *James a Croſts*, Sir *Henry Gates*, who were convict of high Treaſon in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and ſome others.

Noblemen reſtored.

The Liturgy in the Engliſh tongue.

The Oath of Supremacy offered.

Popiſh Biſhops diſplaced.

The Parliament being diſſolved, by Authority of the ſame the Liturgy was forthwith brought into the Churches in the vulgar Tongue; Images were removed without Tumult; the Oath of Supremacy offered to the Popiſh Biſhops, and others of the Eccleſiaſticall profeſſion, which moſt of them had ſworn unto in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth. As many as refuſed to ſwear were turned out of their Livings, Dignities, and Biſhopricks: and thoſe (as themſelves have written) in the whole Realm, which reckoneth more then 9400 Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, not above 80 Parſons of Churches, 50 Prebendaries, 15 Preſidents of Colleges, 12 Archdeacons, as many Deans, 6 Abbots and Abbeſſes, and 14 Biſhops, being all which ſate, ſaving onely *Antony* Biſhop of *Llandaff*, the Calamity of his See; namely,

Nicholas Heath, Archbiſhop of *York*, who of late had voluntarily given over his Office of Chancellour, and lived ſecurely many years, ſerving God, and following his Studies, in his Manor of *Cobham* in *Surrey*, being in ſuch great grace with the Queen, that ſhe viſited him many times with marvellous kindneſs.

Edmund Bonner, Biſhop of *London*, one that had been employed in Embaſſies to the Emperour, the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the French King; but with his Authority had joyned ſuch a Sournes of nature, that amongſt all men he underwent the note of Cruelty, and was kept in Priſon a great part of his life.

Cuthbert Tunſtall, Biſhop of *Dureſme*, a man paſſing well ſeen in all kind of more poliſhed Literature, having run through ma-

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ny degrees of Honour at home, and worthily performed Embaſſies abroad, who, being a young man, ſharply impugned the Pope's Primacy in a long Epiſtle to Cardinal *Poole*; and, being an old man, died at *Lambeth* in free Cuſtody. Where alſo 1559.

Thomas Thurlbey, Biſhop of *Ely*, led his life, having gotten great commendation of Wiſedome by an Embaſſie to *Rome*, about tendering Obedience to the See of *Rome*, and by the Treaty of *Cambray*:

Gilbert Bourn, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Welles*, who had deſerved well of his See:

John Chriſtopherſon, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who, being a very learned Grecian, moſt faithfully tranſlated much of *Euſebius* and *Philo*, for the uſe of Chriſtendome:

John White, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, meanly learned, and a tolerable Poet, as thoſe times afforded:

Thomas Watſon, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, learned in deep Divinity, but ſurly with an auſtere gravity:

Ralph Bayn, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who was a ſecond Reſtorer of the Hebrew Tongue, and the King's Profeſſour thereof at *Paris*, when good Letters reflouriſhed under *Francis* the Firſt:

Owen Oglethorpe, Biſhop of *Carliſle*:

James Turbervill, Biſhop of *Exceſter*: and

David Pole, Biſhop of *Peterborough*.

Afterward was diſplaced

Feckenham, Abbot of the *Benedictines* at *Weſtminſter*, a learned and good man, who lived a long time, and, by publickly deſerving well of the poor, drew unto him the love of his Adverſaries.

Theſe men were firſt ſent to Priſon, but moſt of them were ſhortly after committed to the cuſtody of their Friends, or of Biſhops; ſave two that were more perverſe, namely *Lincoln* and *Wincheſter*, who threatned to excommunicate the Queen. But three, namely, *Cuthbert Scot* of *Cheſter*, *Richard Pate* of *Worceſter*, and *Thomas Goldwell* of *S. Aſaph*, voluntarily departed the Land, and alſo certain Nuns, as did likewiſe afterwards ſome Noblemen: of whom thoſe of better Note were

Henry Lord *Morley*,
Sir *Francis Ingleſield*, } both of them of Queen *Marie*'s Privy
Sir *Robert Peckham*, } Council,
Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and
Sir *John Gage*.

In the rooms of the dead and fugitive Biſhops were ſubſtituted the learnedeſt Proteſtants that could be found. Proteſtants put in their rooms.

Matthew Parker, a religious and learned man, and of moſt modeſt manners, who, being Chaplain to King *Henry* the Eighth, had

1559. had been Dean of the Collegiate Church of *Stoke-Clare*: he was solemnly elected to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and consecrated at *Lambeth*, after a Sermon and Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and celebration of the Eucharist, by the laying on of the hands of three *quondam* Bishops, *William Barlow* of *Bath*, *John Scory* of *Chichester*, *Miles Coverdale* of *Exceſter*, and *John* Suffragane of *Bedford*. He afterward consecrated

Edmund Grindall, an excellent Divine, Bishop of *London*:

Richard Cox, who had been Schoolmaster to *Edward* the Sixth, Bishop of *Ely*:

Edwin Sands, a ready and eloquent Preacher, Bishop of *Worceſter*:

Rowland Merick, Bishop of *Bangor*:

Thomas Young, a learned Professour of both Laws, Bishop of *Saint Davids*:

Nicholas Bullingham, Doctour also of the Laws, Bishop of *Lincoln*:

John Juell, a man very well seen in all liberal Learning, Bishop of *Salisbury*:

Richard Davis, Bishop of *Saint Asaph*:

Edward Gueſt, Bishop of *Rochester*:

Gilbert Barkley, Bishop of *Bath*:

Thomas Bentham, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*:

William Alley, an eloquent Expounder of the Holy Scriptures, Bishop of *Exceſter*:

John Parkhurſt, a man very well skilled in humane Learning, Bishop of *Norwich*:

Robert Horne, a man of flowing and ready Wit, Bishop of *Winchester*:

Richard Cheiney, one most addicted to *Luther*, Bishop of *Glouceſter*: and

Edmund Scambler, Bishop of *Peterborough*.

William Barlow also, who in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth had been Bishop of *Saint Davids*, and after of *Welles*, he confirmed Bishop of *Chichester*: and

John Scory, a man of learned Judgement, who had before been Bishop of *Chichester*, he confirmed Bishop of *Hereford*.

In like manner in the Province of *York*, *Young*, being removed from the Bishoprick of *Saint Davids* to the See of *York*, consecrated

James Pilkinton, a man of singular Learning and Honesty, Bishop of *Dureſme*:

John Beſt, Bishop of *Carliſle*: and

William Downham, Bishop of *Cheſter*.

What manner of men these were, and what they suffered, being Exiles in *Germany* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, or else hiding themselves in *England*, I leave to the Ecclesiastical Historian to relate.

But whereas Learned men were more rare to be found, many mechanical men out of the Shop, and no less unlearned then the Popish Priests, attained to Ecclesiastical Dignities, Prebends, and rich Benefices.

fices. Nevertheleſs moſt of the Popiſh Prieſts thought it more behovefull for themſelves and their Religion, to ſwear Obedience to their Prince, renouncing the Pope's Authority, were it for nothing elſe but that they might ſhut the Proteſtants out of their Churches, and withall be able to relieve the Wants of thoſe of their own Side which were thruſt out. And this they thought to be pious wiſedome, and in a manner meritorious; and therefore they hoped that the Biſhop of *Rome* would, according to his Authority, diſpenſe with their Oath.

1559. Moſt of the Prieſts take the Oath.

Thus was Religion in *England* changed, whilſt all Chriſtendome admired that it was wrought ſo eaſily, and without Commotion. But indeed it was no ſudden Change, (which is never lightly endured,) but ſlow and by degrees. For (to repeat ſummarily what I have ſaid already) the Romiſh Religion ſtood a full moneth and more after the Death of Queen *Mary* in the ſame ſtate as it was before. The 27. of *December* it was permitted that the Epiſtles, Goſpels, Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Litany ſhould be uſed in the vulgar Tongue. The 22. of *March*, when the Eſtates of the Realm were aſſembled, by the renewing of a Law of *Edward* the Sixth, was granted the whole uſe of the Lord's Supper, to wit, under both Kinds. The 24. of *June*, by Authority of an Act *Concerning the Uniformity of Publick Prayer and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*, the Sacrifice of the Maſs was aboliſhed, and the Liturgy in the Engliſh Tongue eſtabliſhed. In the moneth of *July* the Oath of Supremacy was miniſtred to the Biſhops and others: and in *Auguſt* Images were removed out of the Churches, broken or burnt. But whereas certain calumnious ſpirits defamed the Queen, as if ſhe arrogated to herſelf the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*, and Authority to celebrate God's Service in the Church, She by a publick Writing declared, that *She arrogated nothing elſe but what long ſince belonged to the Crown of* England *in right, to wit, that She had, next under God, the higheſt and ſupreme Government and Power over all Eſtates of the Realm of* England, *Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal; and that no Forrein Power had, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction over them.*

By what degrees Religion was changed.

The Queen's Authority in Eccleſiaſticall matters explained.

By means of this Alteration of Religion, *England* (as the Politicians have obſerved) became of all the Kingdoms of Chriſtendome the moſt free, the Scepter as it were manumitted from the forrein Servitude of the Biſhop of *Rome*; and more wealthy then in former Ages, an infinite maſs of Money being ſtayed at home, which was wont to be exported daily to *Rome* (the Commonwealth being incredibly exhauſted thereby) for Firſt-fruits, Pardons, Appeals, Diſpenſations, Palls, and other ſuch like.

The profit by Change of Religion.

The Proteſtant Religion being now by Authority of Parliament eſtabliſhed, Queen *Elizabeth*'s firſt and chiefeſt Care was, for the moſt conſtant Defence thereof againſt all the practices of all men, amidſt thoſe that were her Enemies in that reſpect: neither indeed did ſhe ever ſuffer the leaſt Innovation therein. Her ſecond Care was, to hold

The Queen's care for defence of Religion and Commonwealth.

1559. Her Motto.

hold an even course in her whole life and all her actions: whereupon she took for her Motto, *SEMPER EADEM*, that is, *ALWAYS THE SAME*. The rest of her Counsels consisted in these points: That she might carefully provide for the Safety of her People; for (as she often had in her mouth) *that the Commonwealth might ever be in Safety, she was never without Care:* And that she might purchase herself Love amongst her Subjects, amongst her Enemies Fear, and Glory amongst all men. For those things she knew to be firm and durable which Wisedome beginneth, and Care conserveth. How by these manly Cares and Counsels she surpassed her Sex, and what she effected by most wisely preventing, diverting, and most stoutly resisting, let present and future Ages judge by those things which with uncorrupt Faithfulness shall be delivered out of the very Commentaries of the Kingdome, as I may so term them.

She answereth Forrein Princes that made Intercession for the Papists.

At this time, whereas the Emperour and the Catholick Princes by many Letters made Intercession that the displaced Bishops might be mercifully dealt withall, and that Churches might be allowed to the Papists by themselves in Cities, she answered; *Although those Popish Bishops have insolently and openly repugned against the Laws and Quiet of the Realm, and do now obstinately reject that Doctrine which most part of themselves, under* Henry *the Eighth and* Edward *the Sixth, had of their own accord, with heart and hand, publickly in their Sermons and Writings taught unto others, when they themselves were not private men, but publick Magistrates: yet would she, for so great Princes sakes, deal favourably with them, though not without offence to her own Subjects. But grant them Churches to celebrate their Divine Offices in apart by themselves, she cannot with the Safety of the Commonwealth, and without wrong to her own Honour and Conscience. Neither is there any cause why she should grant them, seeing* England *embraceth no new or strange Doctrine, but the same which* Christ *hath commanded, the Primitive and Catholick Church hath received, and the ancient Fathers have with one voice and mind approved. And to allow Churches with contrary Rites and Ceremonies, besides that it openly repugneth against the Laws established by the Authority of Parliament, were nothing else but to sow Religion out of Religion, to distract good mens Minds, to cherish faction mens Humours, to disturb Religion and Commonwealth, and mingle Divine and Humane things: which were a thing in deed evill, in Example worst of all, to her own good Subjects hurtfull, and to themselves to whom it is granted neither greatly commodious, nor yet at all safe. She was therefore determined, out of her naturall Clemency, and especially at their Request, to be willing to heal the private Insolency of a few by some Connivence; yet so, as she might not incourage their obstinate minds by her Indulgence.*

The *Spaniard* having now cast off all hope of Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, and being now ready to match with the French King's Daughter, seriously thought notwithstanding of *England*, which he would by no means should be joyned to the Scepter of *France*.

France. To retain therefore the Dignity of ſo great a Kingdome in his own Family, he perſwaded the Emperour *Ferdinand*, his Uncle, to commend one of his Sons to Queen *Elizabeth* for an Husband: which he forthwith did by Letters full fraught with Love, and dealt earneſtly to that purpoſe by *Gaſpar Preinor*, free Baron in *Stibing*. And the *Spaniard* himſelf, the better to effect it, moſt frankly promiſed to Queen *Elizabeth* his ſpecial and ſingular Love: and ſhe in like manner as largely offereth unto him, being now ready to paſs into *Spain* by Sea, both her Ships and Havens, and all offices of Kindneſs, by Sir *Thomas Chaloner*.

1559. The Emperour *Ferdinand* commendeth his Son *Charles* to Queen *Elizabeth* for an Husband.

The French King on the other ſide, in favour of his Son the Dolphin, and of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, (caſting his eyes into *England*) drew not his French Forces out of *Scotland*, as by Covenant he had promiſed to doe, but ſent more underhand, and more earneſtly then before dealt with the Biſhop of *Rome*, that he would pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick and Illegitimate, and *Mary* of *Scotland* to be lawfull Queen of *England*. Which notwithſtanding the *Spaniard* and the Emperour by their Agents at *Rome* moſt carefully, but cloſely, laboured to croſs. Nevertheleſs the *Guiſes* had put the French King, being ambitiouſly credulous, into ſuch a ſweet hope of joyning *England* to the Scepter of *France* by the Queen of *Scots* their Niece, that he openly claimed *England* for his Son and his Daughter in Law; and commanded, when he could not prevail at *Rome*, that in all publick Inſtruments they ſhould uſe this Title, FRANCIS *AND* MARY *BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING AND QUEEN OF* SCOTLAND, ENGLAND *AND* IRELAND, and every-where ſet forth the Arms of the Kingdome of *England*, quartered with the Arms of *Scotland*, in their Houſhold-ſtuffe, and painted upon the Walls, and wrought into the Heralds Coats of Arms: while the Engliſh Embaſſadour in vain complained, that this was done in exceeding great wrong to Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom he had very lately contracted Amity, foraſmuch as he had not done it while Queen *Mary* of *England* lived, who had denounced War againſt him. He levied alſo men both Horſe and Foot in *France* and *Germany*, to be tranſported into the parts of *Scotland* bordering upon *England*. So that Queen *Elizabeth* could not but miſdoubt the French King, who now breathed nothing but bloud and ſlaughter againſt the Proteſtants. But his Attempts were cut off by ſudden death, which he caught by running at Tilt at the Nuptiall ſolemnities of his Daughter with the *Spaniard*, and his Siſter with the *Savoyard*. And certainly in very good time for Queen *Elizabeth*'s good, whom, both as an Heretick, and alſo Illegitimate, he was minded to aſſail with all the power he could, on the one ſide out of *Scotland*, and on the other ſide out of *France*. Yet ſhe (to doe him Honour being dead) ſolemnized his Funerall as for a King her Friend, with great Pomp, in *S. Paul*'s Church at *London*. And withall, by him which is now Lord

The French King claimeth the Kingdome of *England* for the Queen of *Scots*.

He is ſlain while he prepareth War.

1559.

Lord Admirall of *England* and *Ireland*, *Charles* the Son of the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, ſhe condoled with his Son for his Father's Death, and, congratulating his Succeſſion, put him in mind to obſerve the Amity lately entred into.

Francis the 2. and the *Scottiſh* Queen uſurp the Title of the Kingdome of *England*.

But *Francis*, and the Queen of *Scots* his Wife, (by the counſell of the *Guiſes*, who now in a manner bare all the Sway in *France*,) bear themſelves openly for King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, and abſtain not from the Arms of *England* which they had uſurped, but more and more ſhew them abroad every-where. And to Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, Embaſſadour-Legier there, a ſtout and wiſe man, when he ſharply expoſtulated theſe matters, firſt it was anſwered, That it was lawfull for the Queen of *Scots* to bear them with ſome ſmall Note of Difference, to ſhew the nearneſs of her Kindred to the Bloud Royall of *England*. *Throckmorton* flatly denied out of the *Law of Arms* (as they call it) that it was lawfull for any to uſurp the Arms of any Family, who is not born of a certain and known Heir of the ſame Houſe. Afterwards they ſaid, That ſhe arrogated thoſe Arms to no other purpoſe, but that the Queen of *England* ſhould abſtain from the Arms of *France*. To this he put them in mind of that which Dr. *Wotton* had before alleaged in the Treaty of *Cambray*, That Twelve Kings of *England* had born the Arms of *France*, and that with ſo undoubted Right, that in all the Confederacies between the *Engliſh* and the *French* nothing had been provided to the contrary. At the length he prevaileth, through the Mediation of *Montmorency*, an Emulatour of the *Guiſians*, ſo as they abſtained quite from the Title and Arms of *England* and *Ireland*. For he thought it to be no Honour to the Kingdome of *France*, that any other Title or Arms ſhould be aſſumed or engraven in the King's Seal then thoſe of the King of *France*; that this one Title was as good as many: and he ſhewed that the former Kings had uſed no other Title when they proſecuted their Right to *Naples* and *Millain*, &c. But in very deed from this Title and Arms, which, through the perſwaſion of the *Guiſes*, *Henry* King of *France* had impoſed upon the Queen of *Scots* being now in her tender age, flowed as from a fountain all the Calamities wherein ſhe was afterwards wrapped. For hereupon Queen *Elizabeth* bare both Enmity to the *Guiſes*, and ſecret Grudge againſt her; which the ſubtle Malice of men on both ſides cheriſhed, Emulation growing betwixt them, and new occaſions daily ariſing, in ſuch ſort that it could not be extinguiſhed but by Death. For a Kingdome brooketh no Companion, and Majeſtie more heavily taketh Injuries to heart.

The original of the Diſpleaſures betwixt the Engliſh and Scottiſh Queens.

The *French* deal injuriouſly with the *Engliſh*.

Some reaſonable time after there were ſent over no more but three Hoſtages for *Calice*, whereas by the Treaty there ſhould have been four; the Engliſh Merchants are injuriouſly handled in *France*; a Servant of *Throckmorton* the Embaſſadour is forcibly taken in the open Streets by *Francis*, Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke of *Guiſe* his Brother, and thruſt into the Gallies; Piſtols are diſcharged at the Embaſſadour

Embaſſadour himſelf within his own walls; and, in deſpight, he is ſerved with no other Veſſels to his Table then ſuch wherein the Arms of the Kingdome of *England* are quartered with thoſe of *France*: Monſieur *de Broſſy* alſo is ſent into *Scotland* with a choice Power of men; and from *Marſeilles* and the Mediterranean Sea are Gallies ſent for into the Britiſh Sea. 1559.

They ſend Souldiers into *Scotland*.

Now the Profeſſours of the Proteſtant Religion in *Scotland*, who had taken upon them the name of *The Congregation*, (being perſwaded by ſome importune Miniſters, and eſpecially by *Knox*, a moſt fervent Impugner of the Queen's Authority, that it was the Duty of the Nobility and Eſtates, by their own Authority to aboliſh Idolatry, and by force to reduce Princes within the preſcript of the Laws,) had refuſed to yield Obedience to the Regent, the Queen's Mother, a moſt modeſt Matron, changed Religion, tumultuouſly firing and ſacking Religious places; and had drawn to their party *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, (the powerfulleſt man in the whole Kingdome, one that had been incenſed by Injuries of the *French*,) and many of the chief Nobility, allured with hope of the Revenues of the Church. Inſomuch as they ſeemed to the Lady Regent, and the French Souldiers that ſerved in *Scotland*, not to aim at Religion, but to attempt a flat Revolt: and *James*, Prior of *Saint Andrews*, the Queen's baſe Brother, (who was afterwards Earl of *Murray*) the Ring-leader amongſt them, was by them accuſed for affecting the Crown againſt his Siſter. He laboureth to remove the Suſpicion, moſt religiouſly proteſting, that he ſought nothing elſe but God's Glory and the Liberty of his Country, and could not but ſorrowfully bewail the oppreſſing thereof by the Lady Regent and the *French*.

The Scots refuſe to obey the Lady Regent.

The *Maſters of the Congregation* began now to complain to Queen *Elizabeth* by *William Maitland* of *Lidington*, Lord Secretary, in a lamentable Oration: to wit, "That from the time the Queen of "*Scots* was married to the Dolphin, the Government of the King-"dome was changed, forrein Souldiers waſted all places, the higheſt "Offices of the Kingdome were beſtowed upon French-men, the "Caſtles and ſtrong Holds delivered into their hands, and the purer "Money of the Realm embaſed for their Gain; and that by theſe "and ſuch like cunning practices the *French* did craftily make them-"ſelves way to ſeize upon the Kingdome of *Scotland*, if any thing "ſhould befall the Queen other then well. *Cecyl* (whom for his ſingular Wiſedome Queen *Elizabeth* employed as her chiefeſt Miniſter in theſe and other matters) dealt by *Henry Percy*, Earl afterwards of *Northumberland*, that he might underſtand what was the Scope which thoſe Maſters of the Congregation propounded to themſelves, by what means they were able to compaſs that they ſought, and (if at any time they were aided) upon what Conditions Amity might grow between the two Kingdoms. They anſwer, with eyes lifted up to Heaven, "That they have no other Aim but to advance the

They crave Aid of Queen *Elizabeth*.

1559.

Their Pretenſions.

"Glory of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the ſincere preaching of God's Word, "to root out Superſtitions and Idolatry, to reſtrain the Fury of their "Perſecutours, and preſerve their ancient Liberty. By what "means they may be able to effect this, flatly they know not: but "what God had begun, they hope he will bring to an happy end, "with the Confuſion of his Adverſaries. And that a mutuall Ami-"ty betwixt the two Kingdoms is the ſumme of their Prayers; "and for confirmation thereof, they vow their Wealth, their Fide-"lity, their Conſtancy.

Deliberation hereof in *England*.

Theſe things are ſlowly deliberated of in *England*, becauſe the *Scots* were unprovided of Arms and Money, and amongſt themſelves of unſtable Conſtancy: onely they are adviſed, not raſhly to try the chance of War. But as ſoon as it was once known that the Marqueſs of *Albeuf*, the Queen of *Scots* Uncle, levied Forces by means of the *Rhinegrave* in *Germany* for the Scottiſh War; that Pieces of great Ordnance were conveyed to the Ports; that greater Proviſions were made then to ſuppreſs a few unarmed *Scots*, (for this was pretended;) and that the French-men alſo promiſed the Daniſh King, (to the end to draw him to their party) that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould reſign his Claim to the Kingdome of *Denmark*; and that they again more importunately urged the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Cenſure againſt the Queen, and his Sentence declaratory for the Queen of *Scots* Title to *England*: Sir *Ralph Sadler*, a wiſe man, was ſent to the Borders of *Scotland*, to be aſſiſtent by his Counſel to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Warden of the *middle March*, and to Sir *James a Croſis*, Governour of *Berwick*. For to what end theſe things tended, the Council could not ſee, unleſs to invade *England*, and to proſecute that by War which by Titles and Arms they made ſhew of.

It is decreed that the French be removed out of *Scotland*.

Seriouſly therefore they conſult hereof in *England*. That a Prince ſhould yield Protection to the Rebellious ſubjects of another Prince, ſeemed a matter of very bad example; but to fail the Profeſſours of the ſame Religion, a point of Impiety. Again, it were a part of prepoſterous Wiſedome, to ſuffer the *French*, ſworn Enemies to the Engliſh Nation, who laid Claim to the Kingdome of *England*, and enjoyed now a ſettled Peace on all ſides, to remain armed in *Scotland*, a Country ſo near neighbouring, and ſo commodious to invade *England* in that part of it where the Nobility and the common people were moſt addicted to the *Romiſh* Religion. For this were nothing elſe but to betray negligently to the Enemies the Safety of every particular, and the Tranquillity of all in generall. They muſt not therefore reſt in dull Counſels, but addreſs themſelves to Arms. It hath ever been a point of Engliſh Providence, to prevent, not to attend, the Enemy: and it hath been always lawfull as well to prevent, as to repell, Dangers, and with the ſame Policies to defend by which the Enemies do offend. *England* is never ſecurely ſafe but when it is armed and powerfull; and the more powerfull will it be

1559.

be when it feareth nothing from *Scotland:* and that it may not fear, the Profeſſours of the ſame Religion are to be relieved, and the *French* driven out of *Scotland*, againſt whom not Counſels, but Arms, may prevail: Which having not long ſince been groſſely neglected, *Calice* was loſt, not without great Dammage and Diſhonour; and a little before, while the *French* egregiouſly diſſembled a deſire of Peace, *Ambleteul* and the Forts about *Boulogne* were ſurprized at unawares and taken, whereby *Boulogne* of neceſſity was rendered. Neither is there any other to be expected of *Berwick* and the Frontier-Towns, unleſs Arms be taken out of hand, and no credit given to the *French* in *Scotland*, who now pretend a deſire of Peace; conſidering that the French-mens Deſigns are cloſe, their Ambition infinite, and their Revenues numberleſs; inſomuch as it is long ſince grown to a Proverb amongſt the Engliſh, *That* France *can neither be poor, nor abſtain from War three years together.* Queen *Elizabeth* alſo many times uſed that ſaying of *Valentinian* the Emperour, *Have the French thy Friend, but not thy Neighbour.* It was therefore thus reſolved, That it was juſt, honeſt, neceſſary, and profitable, to drive the *French* forthwith out of *Scotland.*

Engliſh Forces ſent by Sea and land into *Scotland.*

Hereupon was *William Winter*, Maſter of the Munition for the Navy, ſent with a Fleet into *Bodotria*, (now called *Edenborough Frith*,) who, to the great terrour of the *French*, ſet upon their Ships of war that lay upon the Coaſt, and upon the French Garriſon in the Iſle of *Inchkeith.* Soon after the Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lieutenant-generall in the North parts towards *Scotland*; *William* Lord *Grey*, a moſt martiall man, (who had of late ſtoutly, but unfortunately, defended *Guines* againſt the *French*,) was made Warden of the *Middle* and *Eaſt Marches:* and *Thomas* Earl of *Suſſex*, who had been in the Reign of Queen *Mary* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, was ſent back again into *Ireland*, with Inſtructions that he ſhould above all things beware leſt the *Iriſh* being an uncivil People, and therefore the more ſuperſtitious, ſhould by the cunning practices of the *French* be excited to Rebellion under pretext of Religion; that he ſhould fortifie *Ophale* with Caſtles and Forts; that he ſhould grant large livings and poſſeſſions to thoſe that had ſerved long in the Wars, *To hold to them and the Heirs male of their body*; that he ſhould admit *Surley Boy*, a Wild-Iriſh-man, into thoſe Poſſeſſions which he claimed by Inheritance in *Ulſter*, to hold in fee to perform Services; that he ſhould augment the Queen's Revenues moderately, and reduce her Exchequer to the form of the Exchequer in *England.*

Iriſh matters ſettled.

In the mean time *Francis Talbot*, who was one of the chiefeſt Counſellours of the Realm, departed this life, being the firſt Earl of *Shrewsbury* of that Family; leaving for his Succeſſour his onely Son *George*, by *Mary* Daughter to *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland.*

The death of *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury.*

1560.

The Third Year of Her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1560.

NO ſooner was the Duke of *Norfolk* come to *Berwick*, but preſently there reſort unto him *James* the Baſtard, Prior of *Saint Andrews*, the Baron of *Rethuen*, and others, who, in the name of the Duke of *Chaſtel-herault* and the Confederates, made a League with him in the name of the Queen of *England*, to this effect:

The Confederacy of *Berwick*.

" Whereas the *French* goe about againſt all right and reaſon to ſubdue *Scotland*, and unite it to the Scepter of *France*, the Queen of " *England* ſhall take the Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, Heir apparent to " the Crown of *Scotland*, and the Scottiſh Nobility and People, into " her Protection, as long as the French King hath *Mary* Queen of " *Scots* in Marriage, and a year after. She ſhall ſend an Army by " Sea and Land, with all warlike Proviſion, to expell and exclude " the *French* out of *Scotland*. She ſhall not enter into Peace with " the *French*, but with condition that *Scotland* may enjoy her ancient Liberty. The Forts and ſtrong Holds recovered by aid of the " *Engliſh* from the *French* ſhall forthwith be razed, or elſe delivered " into the hands of the Duke of *Norfolk*, at his choice. The *Engliſh* " ſhall fortifie no places in *Scotland*, but by Conſent of the Duke of " *Chaſtel-herault* and the Nobility of *Scotland*. The Confederates ſhall " aid the *Engliſh* all they can. They ſhall hold for Enemies all whoſoever ſhall be Enemies to the *Engliſh*. They ſhall not ſuffer the Kingdome of *Scotland* to be united to *France* by any other means then as " they are now conjoyned by Marriage. If *England* be invaded by the " *French* on this ſide the River *Tine*, the *Scots* ſhall ſend 2000 Horſe " and 1000 Foot under the Queen of *England*'s Pay: But if it be invaded beyond the *Tine*, they ſhall joyn with the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt them " with all the Power they can make, and that at their own Charges, " the ſpace of thirty days, as they uſe to doe for the Defence of " *Scotland*. The Earl of *Argile*, Juſticer-general of *Scotland*, ſhall doe " his beſt that the North part of *Ireland* be reduced into Order, upon " certain Conditions on which the Lieutenant of *Ireland* and he ſhall " agree. Finally, it is preſcribed what both of them ſhall perform, in " caſe *Mac-Conel* or other *Hebridians* ſhall attempt any thing in *Scotland* or *Ireland*. For Confirmation of theſe Articles, before ſuch " time as the Engliſh Army enter into *Scotland*, Hoſtages ſhall be ſent " into *England*, to be changed every ſixth or fourth month, at the " choice of the *Scots*, during the Marriage betwixt the French King " and the Queen of *Scots*, and a year after. The Duke of *Chaſtel-herault* and the Confederate Earls and Parliamentary Barons ſhall " ratifie theſe Articles by their Hands and Seals within twenty " days: and withall (foraſmuch as the Queen of *England* undertaketh theſe things in no other reſpect then in regard of Amity and Neigh-

"Neighbourhood, to defend the *Scots* from the yoak of Servitude,) "they ſhall make declaration, that they will yield Obedience to the "Queen of *Scots* and the King her Husband in all things which ſhall "not make for the taking away of their ancient Liberty. 1560.

And now by ſundry Meſſages from forrein Princes, and by Letters intercepted, it came to be known for certain that the *French* were determined to invade *England*. And withall *Sebaſtian Martigues*, a very noble young Gentleman of the Houſe of *Luxemburg*, arrived in *Scotland* with a thouſand Foot, all old Souldiers, and one or two Cornets of Horſe. *D' Oiſely*, a French-man, who was of inward Counſel with the Lady Regent of *Scotland*, being too confident, propounded to the Nobility of *Scotland* at *Aymouth* near *Berwick*, that they would now with joynt Forces put the King and Queen of *Scots* in poſſeſſion of *England*. But they, well knowing the difficulty of the matter, and leſt they might ſeem to break the Peace lately entred into, refuſed it. Nevertheleſs the ſound Counſell of the Lady Regent hardly reſtrained *Martigues*, who youthfully inſulted, and was inflamed with heat to invade *England*. But that heat was ſoon cooled, when the Marqueſs of *Albeuf*, who ſet ſail toward *Scotland* with greater Forces, having ſtriven with the violence of a Tempeſt upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, was with the loſs of ſome Ships and many men driven back to *Diep*, from whence he had put to Sea.

Martigues cometh with French Forces into *Scotland*.

Albeuf driven off by foul weather.

There was come now into *England* from the *Spaniard* one *Philip Stavely à Glaion*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and Maſter of the Munition, to lay open the Complaints of the *French* againſt the Queen concerning the matters of *Scotland*, and to perſwade a Peace and Concord in the King his Maſter's name. Nevertheleſs he ſecretly warned the Queen to proceed reſolutely in her Enterprizee in *Scotland*; although the *Spaniard* on the contrary openly prohibited the tranſporting of her Proviſion for War into *England* which ſhe made at *Antwerp*, ſo as ſhe was fain to make new Proviſion thereof out of *Germany*. Neither was it without ſuſpicion which *Stavely* propounded, that certain Companies of *Spaniards* might be ſent into *Scotland*, which joyning with the *French* might repreſs the Scottiſh Rebels, and withall hold back the *French* if they ſhould attempt any thing againſt *England*. All this while *Michael Seury*, the French King's Ordinary Embaſſadour, ſundry times ſolicited the Queen to call home her Fleet and Army out of *Scotland*. Neither did ſhe refuſe it, ſo as the *French* might likewiſe be called home. But Delays being ſought on both ſides, the matter was put off from day to day, untill *J. Monluke*, Biſhop of *Valence*, a man not averſe from the Proteſtant Profeſſion, came out of *France*; who, when he was come hither, anſwered, that he had no Commiſſion for this matter. Nevertheleſs, being a man of very eloquent ſpeech, he perſwaded all he could that the Army and Fleet might be called home out of *Scotland*; and maintained ſtifly, that the bearing of the Arms of *England* was no ways prejudicial to the Queen, but rather an

The *Spaniard* perſwadeth a Peace.

He ſtayeth the Engliſh Proviſion.

The *French* labour that the *Engliſh* may be called home out of *Scotland*.

1560.

an Honour to the Royal Bloud of *England*. But when he could neither perſwade this latter, which ſeemed abſurd, nor that other, which was thought dangerous, *Seury* requeſted *Stavely*, and the Biſhop of *Aquila*, the *Spaniard*'s Ordinary Embaſſadour in *England*, that they would be preſent as witneſſes, what time he ſhould proteſt againſt the Queen for Breach of the League of Peace: which they refuſed, becauſe they had no warrant thereunto. He nevertheleſs proteſted in a very long Oration: To whom an Anſwer was delivered, being publiſhed in print, wherein ſhe *proteſteth to the whole world, that the breaking of the Leagues, and all the cauſes of the War, had proceeded altogether from the* French; *and that nothing could befall her more grievous, nothing more odious, then this War*; and other ſuch like matters, which may be eaſily gathered by that which hath been ſpoken already, and by another Writing ſet forth before, wherein ſhe declared, *That though ſhe had received moſt unworthy Injuries, the Title and Arms of her Kingdome being uſurped, yet could ſhe never be brought to believe that this was done by the Aſſent of the King or Queen of* France, *or the Princes of the Bloud, but by the bad practices of the* Guiſes, *who, abuſing the wealth of the King and of the* French, *were now ready to wound* England *through the ſides of the* Scots. *But for her part, ſhe could not be careleſs of her own and her People's Safety.* And queſtionleſs the *Guiſes*, out of their love to the Queen of *Scots* their Niece, and hatred to Queen *Elizabeth* for Religion's ſake, and Ambition to deſerve well of *France*, by joyning unto it new Kingdoms, bent themſelves with might and main to work the Deſtruction of Queen *Elizabeth*, relying upon the Promiſes of ſome *Engliſh* that were averſe from the Proteſtant Religion. But the Grudges and Heart-burnings which aroſe in *France*, about the tranſlating of the publick Government of the State from the Princes of the Bloud to the *Guiſes*, diverted them: and ſhe ſo maturely and circumſpectly oppoſed herſelf againſt the hoſtile Deſigns of them and others, that from this time ſhe was to her Friends an Admiration, and a Terrour to her Foes.

They proteſt concerning the Breach of the Peace. They are anſwered.

The hoſtile mind of the *Guiſes* againſt Q. *Elizabeth*.

Calice offered by the French;

and refuſed.

The ſame day that *Grey* entred into *Scotland* with an Army, *Seury* and *Monluke* exceedingly urged to have the Army called home again, putting the Queen in hope of the Reſtitution of *Calice*, in caſe ſhe would revoke the ſame. She anſwered flatly, that ſhe little eſteemed *Calice*, a poor Fiſher-town, in compariſon of the Safety and Security of all *Britain*. And the very ſame day ſhe ſent into *Spain Antony Brown*, Viſcount *Montacute*, a man of ſingular wiſedome, but moſt devoted to the Romiſh Religion, and one that in that reſpect would be the more welcome to the *Spaniard*; who, with Sir *Thomas Chamberlain*, her Embaſſadour Legier there, ſhould, amongſt other things, inform the *Spaniard* for how juſt Cauſes ſhe had ſent an Army into *Scotland*, namely the ſame which I have delivered already: and ſhould alſo ſhew him, "That the Queen of *Scots*, a ſickly "young Woman, was married in *France* to a ſickly King, without "hope of Iſſue; That, by the practices of the *Guiſes*, a Plot was "laid

Viſcount *Montacute* ſent to the *Spaniard*.

He informeth him of the Cauſes of the Scottiſh War.

1560.

"laid to intrap *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, (who was by Au-
"thority of Parliament declared Heir apparent to the Crown of
"*Scotland*) and his Son that was travelling in *France*; That their
"Deſigns tended to the joyning of the Crown of *Scotland* to the
"Kingdome of *France*, and not to preſerve it for the Queen; which
"of how dangerous conſequence it might be to his *Netherland* Pro-
"vinces and to *Spain*, he might himſelf ſeriouſly conſider. On the
"other ſide, That the Confederacy of the Nobility of *Scotland* was
"not to be branded with the note of Rebellion, which was made to
"no other purpoſe then to preſerve the Kingdome (as in duty they
"ought) to the Queen and her lawfull Succeſſours; which they
"could not, without Injury to themſelves and theirs, ſuffer to be
"undermined by the Practices of the *Guiſes*, or transferred to the
"*French*.

He excuſeth the Scottiſh Confederates.

In the beginning of *April* the Engliſh Army, wherein were 1200 Horſe and 6000 Foot, approached near *Leith*. This Town is ſituated upon *Edinborough-Frith*, the greateſt Æſtuary or In-let of the Sea in all *Britain*, where the River *Leith* emptieth itſelf with a wide mouth, and yieldeth a commodious Harbour for Shipping, ſcarce two miles from *Edinborough*, the chiefeſt City of *Scotland*: and for this commodiouſneſs of the Situation, the *French* had fortified it for a Refuge and Receptacle to let in their auxiliary Forces. *Martigues*, drawing forth his Companies of Foot, chargeth the *Engliſh* that firſt approached, that thereby he might keep them from a Hill where he thought they would intrench themſelves: but after they had skirmiſhed about the ſpace of four hours, ſome being ſlain on both ſides, he was beaten back into the Town. Then a Trench was drawn, and Mounts caſt up, from whence, no leſs then from the Ships, they thundered into the Town every day. The *French* now and then ſallied forth with more Courage then Strength, and gave many proofs of their Valour. Amongſt other times, they wone the Trench the 15. of *April*, cloyed three great Pieces, and took Sir *Maurice Barkley* priſoner. But Sir *James a Croſts* and *Cuthbert Vaghan* ſoon drove them out, and beat them back into the Town, not without ſlaughter of their men. At which time *Arthur Grey*, Son to the Lord *Grey*, who commanded in the Army in Chief, was ſhot in the Shoulder. Then the Camp removed near unto the Town, for that the great Shot, by reaſon of the long diſtance between, fell many times ſhort. Shortly after, by ſudden caſualty of Fire, ſome part of the Town and certain Garners took fire, to the great Terrour of the Townſmen: which Fire the *Engliſh* increaſed by bending their great Ordnance to that part, and in the mean time, entring the Ditches, they meaſured the height of the Walls. The 6. of *May* (as was agreed by common Conſent between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*) they labour moſt ſharply with their whole Strength to ſcale and win the Walls: but for that their Ladders were too ſhort, and the Water by ſtopping of the Sluce very deep, they were beaten back, being

Leith beſieged.

Arthur Grey hurt.

The Engliſh beaten back.

1560.

Crofts accused.

ing over-charged with a multitude of small Shot from above, very many slain, and more hurt. The blame of this Overthrow lighted upon *Crofts*, for that he, as if misliking the Attempt, (whether out of Judgement, or Favour towards the *French*, or Malice against *Grey*, I cannot say,) had stood an idle Spectatour in the Quarter assigned him, and had not relieved them that were distressed. Certainly *Norfolk* and *Grey* privily accused him by their Letters to the Queen, not onely in this respect, but also that he had held secret Counsels with the Lady Regent of *Scotland*, and opposed himself against this Expedition. Whereupon being afterwards called in question in the Council-Chamber, he was removed from his Government of *Berwick*, and *Grey* substituted in his place. Nevertheless he lost not the Queen's Favour, who afterwards made him (and that worthily) Controller of her Houshold. The English and Scottish mens minds being dejected with this first ill Fortune, *Norfolk* presently confirmed them by sending new Supplies to relieve them. Then they fought by light Skirmishes; untill the French King, being advertised that his men were shut up at *Leith* in such sort that all passages both by Sea and Land were stopped, and could not well be relieved, by reason of the long distance, and that Seditions at home increased daily,

The French King propoundeth Peace.

granted authority to the Bishop of *Valence*, and *Charles Rochfoucald Randan*, to compound the matter with Queen *Elizabeth*'s Commissioners; who presently sent into *Scotland William Cecyl*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*: For the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* were pleased to descend beneath their Majesty, to an equal debating of matters with their own Subjects. What time *Murray* propounded such things as *Cecyl* judged neither meet to be propounded by Subjects, nor by Princes to be granted. During this

The Death of the Lady Regent.

Parley died *Mary* of *Lorrain*, the Queen's Mother, and Regent of *Scotland*, a Religious and Prudent Princess, having been spightfully used with unworthy Reproaches by certain hot-spirited Preachers, (as in their own Ecclesiasticall History of *Scotland*, which Queen *Elizabeth* suppressed at the Press, is to be seen,) and also by the Masters of the Congregation, who, as Native Counsellours of the Realm, had, in the Queen of *Scots* and her Husband's name, suspended her by their own Authority from all Government, as one that set herself against the Glory of God and the Scottish Liberty.

The Treaty of *Edinborough*, and Articles of Agreement.

The Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners the third month after the Siege began are these.

The Treaty of Peace in the Castle of Cambray, *between Queen* Elizabeth *and* Henry *the Second of* France, *shall be renewed and confirmed:*

The Treaty there likewise betwixt England *and* Scotland *shall be ratified:*

Preparations for War on both sides shall cease:

The Fort at Aymouth *in* Scotland *shall be razed:*

The

1560.

The King of France *and Queen* Mary *ſhall abſtain from the Title and Arms of* England *and* Ireland:

The Debating of Satisfaction for Wrongs offered Q. Elizabeth, *and about Caution for the Fifth Article, is referred to another Meeting to be holden at* London; *and if then it cannot be agreed, it ſhall be committed to the Catholick King:*

The King and Queen ſhall be reconciled with the Noblemen of Scotland *their Subjects:*

The Confederates, eſpecially the King Catholick, ſhall be comprehended.

This Treaty ſhall be confirmed within ſixty days, and an Oath taken on both ſides for Confirmation thereof.

Peace proclaimed.

This Peace was publiſhed in the Camp and Town to the general rejoycing of all men, foraſmuch as they were all weary of the War, the *Engliſh* of waſting the Country round about, the *French* for lack of Victuals and Proviſion, and the *Scots* for want of Pay. And certainly this Peace was holden to be commodious for all *Britain*, whereby the ancient Liberty of *Scotland* was retained, the Dignity of *England* preſerved, and its Security obtained, which from that time feared nothing from *Scotland:* inſomuch as the *Engliſh* joyfully acknowledged Queen *Elizabeth* to be the Foundreſs of their Security, and the Scottiſh Proteſtants as gladly acknowledged her Defendreſs of their Liberty.

Suitours to Q. *Elizabeth.*

Charles of *Auſtria.*

The Earl of *Arran.*

Erric King of *Swethland.*

She, out of her ſingular Love to her Country, was all this while ſo attentive to the Publick good, that in the mean time ſhe almoſt quite put out of her mind the Love of potent Princes. For at the ſame time there ſought to her for Marriage *Charles* Archduke of *Auſtria*, a younger Son of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, by mediation of the Count of *Elphenſtein*: *James* Earle of *Arran*, commended by the Proteſtants of *Scotland*, with purpoſe to unite by him the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; which purpoſe was ſoon rejected, with Commendation of the man: *Erric* King of *Swethland*, by means of *John* his Brother Duke of *Finland*, whom *Guſtavus* their Father had ſent a little before into *England* for that purpoſe, having the more hope to ſpeed, for that he was of the ſame Religion with her; and that with ſuch a credulous Importunity, that he determined to come himſelf into *England*, notwithſtanding that the *Dane* in his hoſtile mind towards him was purpoſed to intercept him, who thought it ſtood not with his good, that *England* and *Swethland* (between which two *Denmark* lieth) ſhould be united by this Marriage. His great and ſingular Love ſhe acknowledged and commended: She anſwered, "He ſhould be welcome; but ſhe could not yet perſwade "herſelf to change her Single life, moſt pleaſing to her, for a Mar-"ried life. She prayed him therefore to try her Kindneſs in any o-"ther matter, and though he ſped not in this Suit, yet he would not "think his Love ill beſtowed. She adviſed him alſo that he would "not long defer the chuſing of a Wife, and wiſhed he might obtain

1560. one moſt worthy of himſelf. With ſuch Anſwers *John* Duke of *Finland* returned home the ſixth month after, when he had left no means untried to advance the Marriage, wooing the Queen every day, giving liberally to the Courtiers, and alluring the love of the meaneſt, amongſt whom many times he caſt Silver money, ſaying that his Brother, when he came, would diſtribute Gold amongſt the people. His Brother, notwithſtanding, being ſuſpicious of him, intreated him hardly at his coming home, as if he had wooed her for himſelf, and, perſevering in his purpoſe, ceaſed not to woo her for almoſt two years together, ſending Conditions by *Nicholas Guldenſtein*. And withall (ſuch was his inconſiderate Lightneſs) he ſued for *Philip*, the Landtgrave of *Heſſe* his Daughter, to Wife; by whom being alſo rejected, he married with a young Woman of mean condition.

But *Charles* of *Auſtria* hoped and expected that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which had been moſt fortunate by matching with the greateſt Princeſſes, ſhould be greatned by the Addition of *England*; and alſo that by him the old Religion ſhould be, if not reſtored, yet at the leaſt-wiſe tolerated. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* at the firſt daſh cut off his Hope. For ſhe made ſhew openly, and proteſted before *Elphenſtein*, and by Letters to the Emperour, "That amongſt many "moſt honourable Matches propounded, none was more honoura-"ble then this with *Charles* of *Auſtria*. But yet neither the ſtorm of "Danger before, nor the fair gale of Honour now, could remove "her from her Courſe of life begun; yet not ſo far, that ſhe would "flatly renounce a wedded life. And ſhe aſſuredly hoped that God, "upon whoſe Bounty ſhe relied wholly, would in theſe and other "matters direct her Counſels to her own and her People's Safety.

Her Anſwer to Archduke *Charles*.

Adolph Duke of *Holſtein*. *Adolph* alſo Duke of *Holſtein*, Uncle to *Frederick* the Second King of *Denmark*, being excited thereunto by the *Dane*, to the end to break off the Marriage with the *Swede*, came into *England*, being alſo rapt with the hope of Marriage by occaſion of a Letter wherein Queen *Elizabeth* had wiſhed, *that he were joyned to the* Engliſh *in the ſame nearneſs as he had been in time paſt to the* Spaniards, *and moſt lovingly promiſed him Kindneſs*. To whom, after moſt honourable Welcome, ſhe bountifully gave the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Penſion, and by her ſingular Kindneſs bound the Prince unto her; a Prince that had gotten great Glory by the Wars, having of late conquered the *Dithmarſians*.

Sir *William Pickering*. And at home alſo there were not lacking ſome which (as Lovers uſe to doe) feigned unto themſelves vain Dreams of marrying with her: namely, Sir *William Pickering* Knight, who had ſome Nobility of Birth, a mean Eſtate, but ſome Honour by his Studies of good Arts, Elegancy of life, and Embaſſies in *France* and *Germany*; *Henry* Earl of *Arundell*, a man of a very ancient Nobility, great Wealth, but of declining age; and *Robert Dudley*, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s younger Son, who was reſtored in bloud by Queen *Mary*, a man of a flouriſhing age, and comely Feature of body and limbs; whoſe Father

The Earl of *Arundell*. *Robert Dudley*.

1560.

Her Favour towards him.

Father and Grand-father were not ſo much hated of the people, but he was as much favoured by Queen *Elizabeth*, through her rare and Royall Clemency, who heaped Honours upon him, ſaving his life, whoſe Father would have had Her deſtroyed. Whether this proceeded from any Vertue of his, whereof he gave ſome ſhadowed tokens, or from their common condition of Impriſonment under Queen *Mary*, or from his Nativity, and the hidden conſent of the Stars at the hour of their Birth, and thereby a moſt ſtreight conjunction of their Minds, a man cannot eaſily ſay. (Certainly the Inclination of Princes to ſome men, and their Diſfavour towards others, may ſeem fatal.) For a beginning of Honour, and firſt argument of Kindneſs, having made him Maſter of the Horſe, ſhe choſe him, (to the admiration of all men) in the firſt year of her Reign, into the Order of the Garter, which amongſt the *Engliſh* is moſt honourable, together with the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Rutland*.

Montacute's Embaſſie in *Spain*.

In *Spain* in the mean time the Lord Viſcount *Montacute* layeth open before the King the neceſſity of the Scottiſh War; clearing all he can the *Scots* from the note of Rebellion: by proofs he coldly ſhewed, (as one that was a moſt devout follower of the Romiſh Religion) that no other Religion was brought into *England* then that which was conſonant to the Holy Scriptures and the four firſt Oecumenicall Councils: and requireth that the League of *Burgundy*, made of old between the Kings of *England* and the King of *Spain*'s Forefathers, may be renewed. The *Spaniard* anſwereth, "That the renew-
The *Spaniard* refuſeth to renew the League.
"ing of the League was needleſs: (Whereas notwithſtanding the renewing of Leagues is much in uſe amongſt Princes, which putteth as it were life into the Leagues themſelves, and witneſſeth their mutuall Kindneſs to the whole world; and he himſelf and his Father *Charles*, in the Treaty of Marriage with Queen *Mary* of *England*, in the year 1553. had bound themſelves to confirm the ſaid League.) "He bewaileth the Change of Religion in *England*; grie-
"veth at the ſending of the Army into *Scotland*, and the relieving of
"Rebels; and complaineth that he was not acquainted with theſe
"things till it was too late. Nevertheleſs he ceaſed not to oppoſe
Yet favoureth the Queen againſt the *French*.
himſelf ſecretly againſt the Practices of the *French*, who ſought to have Queen *Elizabeth* Excommunicated, and wrought by his Agents at *Rome*, that ſhe might not be ſtricken with the Eccleſiaſticall Cenſure without his Conſent. He gave ſecret warning alſo, for his own Advantage, but too late, that it ſhould be inſerted in the Articles with the *French*, *That it might be lawfull for the* Engliſh *to drive the* French *out of* Scotland, *if they ſhould return again*; *and that Caution ſhould be interpoſed in plain words for the reſtoring of* Calice. The Viſcount notwithſtanding diſcovered that he was offended in mind, and the Queen alſo perceived it, both by that which I have ſpoken, and eſpecially by the re-delivery of the Enſigns of the Order of Saint *George* into the Viſcount's hands: for hereby he ſeemed quite to renounce
He ſendeth back the Garter.

1560.

He taketh unkindly a Repulse in small matters.

Amity with the *English*. But he was more offended for a Repulse which he afterwards received, when he made intercession in *England* by his Embassadour (through the procurement of the Count of *Feria*, who had married the Daughter of *William Dormer* by *Mary Sidney*,) that *Jane Dormer*, the Daughter of *Thomas Newdigate*, Widow of Sir *Robert Dormer* Knight, and Grandmother to the Countess of *Feria*, *Clarentia*, a little old Woman, which had been very inward with Queen *Mary*, and the Distributer of her private Alms to poor women, *Richard Shelley*, called afterwards *the Prior of the Order of Saint John in England*, and *Thomas Harvey*, men most devoted to the Popish Religion, and most dear to the *Spaniard*, might with good leave remain in the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, whither they had withdrawn themselves for Religion's sake without Licence. For by the ancient Laws of *England* it was provided, under pain of Confiscation of goods and lands, that none but the great Noblemen of the Land and Merchants should without the King's special Licence depart the Realm, nor abide in forrein Countries beyond a time prefixed; and this, either for the recovery of their Health in a hoter Climate, or for the more plentifull adorning of their Wits in the Universities, or else to learn the Discipline of the Wars: and (as she wrote back to the *Spaniard*) *It was without example, that such a Licence should be granted to Women, of perpetuall Absence from their Country. And though the thing itself, in itself, seemed a matter of no moment; yet seeing they should not receive so much good thereby for their own private benefit and commodity, as others might take courage by the Example to the hurt of the Commonwealth, she thought it a thing not to be granted.* The Count of *Feria*, interpreting this to be done in injury to him, lest he should let it goe unrevenged, forcibly drew a Servant of *Chamberlain*'s, the English Ordinary Embassadour in *Spain*, into the Inquisition, as guilty of Heresie; and being discontented with the Queen and the *English*, he kindled the Coals of the displeased King's mind, his Wife in vain labouring to the contrary. Yea, it is also reported that he dealt with *Pius Quartus*, Bishop of *Rome* new elect, to have her Excommunicate. But he (upon what hope I know not) sent unto her *Vincentio Parpalia*, Abbot of *Saint Saviour*, with secret Instructions and Letters of Flattery, which I will here set down wholly as they are, though to some I may seem to offend against the Laws of an History.

The Count of *Feria* more incenseth him,

and exciteth the Pope against the Queen.

The Pope's Letter to her.

To our most dear Daughter in *Christ*, *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*.

OUR most dear Daughter in Christ, *Greeting and Apostolicall Benediction. How greatly we do desire (according as our Pastorall Office requireth) to take care of your Salvation, and to provide as well for your Honour as the Establishment of your Kingdome, both God the Searcher of our hearts knoweth, and You your self may understand by the Instructions which we have given to this our beloved Son* Vincentio Parpalia, *Abbot of* Saint Saviour, *a man known unto you, and of us well approved,*

ved, to be by him imparted unto you. We do therefore (moſt dear Daughter) exhort and admoniſh your Highneſs again and again, that, rejecting bad Counſellours, which love not you but themſelves, and ſerve their own Deſires, you would take the Fear of God to counſell, and acknowledge the time of your Viſitation, obeying our Fatherly Admonitions and wholeſome Advices; and promiſe to yourſelf all things concerning us which you ſhall deſire of us, not onely for the Salvation of your Soul, but alſo for the eſtabliſhing and confirming of your Royall Dignity, according to the Authority, Place and Function committed unto us by God; who, if you return into the Boſome of the Church, (as we wiſh and hope you will) are ready to receive you with the ſame Love, Honour and Rejoycing, wherewith that Father in the Goſpell received his Son that returned unto him. Although our Joy ſhall be ſo much the greater then his, in that he rejoyced for the Salvation of one Son onely; but you, drawing with you all the People of England, *ſhall not onely by your own Salvation, but alſo by the Salvation of the whole Nation, repleniſh us and all our Brethren in generall (whom, God willing, you ſhall hear ſhortly to be congregated in an Oecumenicall and Generall Councill for aboliſhing of Hereſies,) and the whole Church with Joy and Gladneſs: yea, you ſhall alſo glad Heaven itſelf, and purchaſe by ſo memorable a fact admirable Glory to your Name, and a much more renowned Crown then that which you wear. But of this matter the ſame* Vincentio *ſhall treat with you more at large, and ſhall declare unto you our Fatherly Affection, whom we pray your Highneſs that you will graciouſly receive, diligently hear, and give the ſame credit to his ſpeech which you would doe to ourſelf. Given at* Rome *at* Saint Peter's, *&c. the* 15. *day of* May 1560. *in our firſt year.* 1560.

What matters *Parpalia* propounded I find not, for I do not think his Inſtructions were put in writing; and to roave at them, with the common ſort of Hiſtorians, I liſt not. That Queen *Elizabeth* ſtill perſiſted like Herſelf, *Semper Eadem, Always the Same*, and that the matter ſucceeded not to the Pope's deſire, all men know. The report goeth, that the Pope gave his faith, "that he would diſannull the "Sentence againſt her Mother's Marriage as unjuſt, confirm the En- "gliſh Liturgy by his Authority, and grant the Uſe of the Sacraments "to the *Engliſh* under Both kinds, ſo as ſhe would joyn herſelf to "the Romiſh Church, and acknowledge the Primacy of the Chair "of *Rome*; yea, and that certain thouſand Crowns were promiſed to thoſe that ſhould procure the ſame. What he is ſaid to have offered her.

Now was the time come for Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edenborough*; which when Queen *Elizabeth* had duly confirmed by ſolemn Oath, and ſent over the ſame to the King and Queen of *France*, that they likewiſe, according to the Covenant, ſhould ratifie it, *Throckmorton*, the Embaſſadour-Leiger in *France*, could by no means perſwade them to it: no more could Sir *Peter Mewtas* Knight, who was afterward ſent into *France* for that purpoſe; notwithſtanding that in the Commiſſion whereby the Biſhop of *Valence* was authorized to make the ſaid Agreement they had promiſed in expreſs words, that The French King and his Wife refuſe to confirm the Treaty of *Edenborough*.

1560.

For what cauſes.

that they would confirm the ſame *bonâ fide and in the word of a King*. Why they refuſed to confirm it, they alleaged theſe Cauſes. For that the *Scots* had entred into the Confederacy of *Berwick* with the *Engliſh* not by the Royall Authority, but by their own, which they ought not to have done: for that it was entred into by Rebels, and ſigned with the counterfeit Seals and Subſcriptions of their faithfull Subjects: and for that they had not performed the Obedience promiſed in the ſaid Confederacy.

The Death of *Francis* the Second, King of *France*.

Whileſt theſe things are debated, *Francis* the Second, King of *France*, departed this life, before he was full eighteen years of age, in the ſecond year of his Reign, leaving the Queen of *Scots* a Widow, whether to the greater Grief of the Papiſts, or Joy of the Proteſtants, throughout all *Britain*, I cannot ſay.

Q. *Elizabeth* ſetteth forth a Proclamation againſt Anabaptiſts,

Queen *Elizabeth* being now more ſecure, to the end that the Church might both continue uncorrupted, and alſo be propagated, and that the Commonwealth might the more flouriſh in Glory and Riches, ſet forth two wholeſome Proclamations. By the one ſhe commanded the *Anabaptiſts* and ſuch like Hereticks, which had flocked to the Coaſt-Towns of *England* from the parts beyond the Seas, under colour of ſhunning Perſecution, and had ſpread the Poiſon of their Sects in *England*, to depart the Realm within twenty days, whether they were natural-born people of the Land or Forreiners, upon pain of Impriſonment and loſs of goods. By the other ſhe reſtrained a Sacrilegious kind of people, which, under pretence of aboliſhing Superſtition, began to demoliſh ancient Tombs, to raze and deface the Epitaphs and Coat-armours of moſt noble Families, and other Monuments of venerable Antiquity, which had remained after the Fury of prophane men under King *Henry* the Eighth and *Edward* the Sixth, to take the Bells out of the Churches, and to pluck off the Lead from the Church-roofs.

and Sacrilegious perſons.

She foundeth a Collegiate Church at *Weſtminſter*.

The Abby alſo of *Weſtminſter*, moſt renowned for the Inauguration of the Kings of *England*, their Sepulture, and the keeping of the Regal Enſigns, ſhe converted to a Collegiate Church: and there ſhe inſtituted, to the Glory of God, and increaſe of good Literature, a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a School-maſter, an Uſher, forty Scholars, (called *the Queen's Scholars*, whereof ſix or more are preferred every year to the Univerſities,) Miniſters, Singing-men, twelve Almes-men, *&c.* and this certainly with happy increaſe of Learned men both for the Church and Commonwealth.

She reduceth Money to the juſt value;

And (which turned to her greater, yea greateſt, Glory,) ſhe began by little and little to take away the Braſs Money, and reſtore good Money of clean Silver, for the repairing of the Glory of the Kingdome, and to prevent the Fraud of thoſe which embaſed Moneys both at home and abroad, exchanged the beſt Commodities of the Land for baſe Moneys, and exported the currant Money into forrein Countries; and alſo for the abating of the Prices of things vendible, which were very much raiſed, to the great dammage of the Commonwealth,

wealth, and eſpecially of ſuch as received Stipends, Souldiers, Servants, and all that took Day-wages for their Labour. And this ſhe happily performed within a few months without Commotion, firſt, by prohibiting any man at any time to melt either good or brazen Money, or to carry it out of the Kingdome; then, by reducing the braſs Money to his juſt Value, the brazen Penny to an Half-penny-farthing, the Coin of Two-pence to Three-half-pence, the Teſton of Six-pence to Four-pence, another Teſton to Two-pence-farthing, for more Silver there was not in them; and laſtly, by buying in the ſame from the Owners for good Money, (but not without Loſs to herſelf) if it were brought into the Mint within certain days prefixed. So as to Queen *Elizabeth* it is to be aſcribed, that there hath been better and purer Money in *England* then was ſeen in two hundred years before, or hath been elſewhere in uſe throughout all *Europe*. And within a while after ſhe ſtamped good Money (which we call *Sterling*) for the Kingdome of *Ireland*, of ſuch Value, that the Shilling ſhould be worth Twelve-pence in *Ireland*, and Nine-pence in *England*. Certainly this was a great and memorable Act, which neither King *Edward* the Sixth could, nor Q. *Mary* durſt doe, after that King *Henry* the Eighth had, firſt of all the Kings of *England*, mixed the Money with Braſs, to the great Diſhonour of the Kingdome, and the Dammage of his Succeſſours and People; leaving thereby a notable example of Riot and Prodigality; conſidering that his Father left him more Wealth then any other King of *England* ever left to his Succeſſour, very much he gathered by Taxes and Tributes, (and yet we may not believe Cardinall *Poole*, who hath written that he exacted more then all the Kings ſince the Norman Conqueſt,) and infinite Riches he ſcraped together when by Act of Parliament he ſeized upon all the Lands in *Ireland* which the *Engliſh* held being abſent, all the Firſt-fruits and Tenths of Eccleſiaſticall Benefices in *England* and *Ireland*, and upon all the Rents, Livings and Goods of Abbies and Monaſteries.

1560.

which King *Henry* the Eighth had embaſed.

This was the laſt year of *Francis Haſtings*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, the ſecond Earl of that Stock, who begat on *Katharine Poole*, Daughter of *Henry* Baron *Montacute*, Brother to *Reginald Poole* Cardinall, *Henry* his Succeſſour, and many other Children, in brotherly Love agreeing, but not in Religion.

The Death of *Francis* Earl of *Huntingdon*.

In *Ireland Shan* or *John O-Neal*, a Nobleman of very great Power in *Ulſter*, the true and lawfull Son of *Con O-Neal*, ſurnamed *Bacco*, that is, *The lame*, (whom King *Henry* the Eighth had created Earl of *Tir-Oen*,) when he had made away *Matthew* Baron of *Dungannon*, his baſe Brother, (thought falſely to be a legitimate Son,) had deſpoiled his Father of all Rule, who died ſoon after for Grief, and by a barbarous kind of Election, throwing up his Shoe over his Head, had taken upon him the Title of *O-Neal*, fearing now leſt the Law would take hold on him, brake forth in open Rebellion. Whereupon five hundred Foot were ſent out of *England*, and certain Troops of Horſe levied

Shan O-Neal rebelleth in *Ireland*.

1560. levied in *Ireland*. But after light Skirmiſhes, when he ſaw himſelf too weak for the *Engliſh*, and hated of his own, and *Surly Boy*, *James Mac-Conel* and *O-Donel* up in Arms againſt him, he layed down Arms, (being perſwaded thereunto by the Earl of *Kildare*, his Kinſman,) and promiſed to come into *England* to beg his Pardon: which alſo he did, as in proper place we will declare.

The Fourth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1561.

The Scottiſh Q. deferreth the Confirmation of the Treaty.

IN the beginning of the year *Francis* Earl of *Bedford* was ſent into *France*, to condole the Death of King *Francis*, and congratulate his Succeſſour *Charles* the Ninth: who both by himſelf apart, and together with *Throckmorton*, oftentimes ſolicited the Queen of *Scots* to confirm the Treaty of *Edenborough*, but all in vain. For ſhe gave no other Anſwer, but "that ſhe muſt deliberately determine "of ſo great a matter, and that ſhe neither could nor would confirm it "but by Advice of the Nobility of *Scotland*. Notwithſtanding, *Throckmorton* ceaſed not earneſtly to urge thereunto, by all means he could, both her, and alſo the Cardinall of *Lorrain*, and the reſt of the *Guiſes* her Uncles, and *James* her baſe Brother, who was lately come into *France*. But when they delayed the matter from day to day, framing Excuſes, Queen *Elizabeth*, ſuſpecting that they plotted ſome dangerous Practice againſt *England*, reſolved to prevent them. She ſendeth therefore Sir *Thomas Randolph* into *Scotland*, to exhort the Nobility to mutuall Amity, which is firmly founded in Unity of Religion; and to give them to underſtand, That the Princes of *Germany* had entred into a Confederacy againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that Queen *Elizabeth* heartily wiſhed that the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were comprehended in the ſame; That now was the moſt commodious time (when the Scottiſh Queen was a Widow) to accord all Variance betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*, (who had contended ſo many years to the loſs of both their Blouds) either by their entring into a perpetuall League with the *Engliſh*, or cutting off ſuch Contracts by ancient League with the *French*, as were wont to ſow Diſcord between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*: and finally, to give ſecret warning to the *Scots*, not to ſuffer the Queen-Widow to take any other forrein Prince to Husband again, by whoſe Power ſhe might revenge herſelf on them which very lately reſiſted the *French*, and might bring their Liberty in danger of Thraldome again.

Suſpicion groweth thereupon.

Sir *Thomas Randolph* ſent into *Scotland* with a Meſſage to the Nobility.

The Queen of *Scots* is denied ſafe paſſage into *Scotland* out of *France*.

In the mean time the Queen of *Scots*, purpoſing to come into *Scotland*, (having ſent *D' Oiſeli* a French-man before) requeſted Queen *Elizabeth* that ſhe might croſs the Seas into *Scotland* upon publick Warrantize or Safe-conduct, and that *D' Oiſeli* might paſs through

England.

England. But Queen *Elizabeth*, in preſence of a great multitude ſtanding by, denied both the one and the other; adding the Cauſe, for that ſhe had not yet, according to her Faith given, ratified the Treaty of *Edenborough:* which if ſhe would ratifie, ſhe promiſeth her all Kindneſs which could be expected from a Queen, from a Kinſwoman, and from a Neighbour, whether ſhe took her Journey by Sea or through *England.* With this Repulſe the Queen of *Scots* being moved, ſent for *Throckmorton*, with whom ſhe had long ſpeech about this matter; which I will briefly here inſert out of *Throckmorton's* own Letters, (though ſome things already ſpoken muſt be repeated,) to the end that the beginning and progreſſe of the Grudges and Diſpleaſures between two the moſt potent and prudent Princeſſes of our Age may the more clearly appear. She, having removed all ſtanders by, ſpake in this manner to *Throckmorton: What my womaniſh Infirmity may be, and whither my Heat of mind may carry me, I know not; yet I liſt not to have ſo many witneſſes of my Infirmity, as your Miſtreſs had of late when ſhe ſpake to my Embaſſadour* D' Oiſeli. *There is nothing vexeth me ſo much as that I have asked thoſe things which I needed not. Return into my Country I can (God willing) without asking her Leave, as I came hither contrary to the will and reſiſtence of her Brother King* Edward. *Neither do I want Friends which can and will bring me home again, as they brought me hither. But I choſe rather to make triall of her Friendſhip then of any other's whoſoever. I have often heard of you, that Amity betwixt me and her is moſt neceſſary for our People of both Kingdomes. Yet ſhe ſeemeth to think otherwiſe, elſe had I not born the Repulſe in ſo ſmall a matter. But ſhe, peradventure, favoureth more the* Scots *my Rebells, then me the Queen of* Scots, *her Equall in the ſame Height of Royall Majeſty, in Bloud moſt near her, and her moſt undoubted Heir. Can you think there can be that true Faithfulneſs and Love between the* Scots *my Rebells and her, which may be betwixt her and me? Or doth ſhe think I ſhall be deſtitute of Friends? Certainly ſhe hath driven me to that paſs, that I have craved Help of them of whom willingly I would not. Neither can they ſufficiently wonder to what intent ſhe hath of late aided my Subjects againſt me, and now hindereth my Return to mine own Country being a Widow. Beſides her Friendſhip I ask nothing at her hands; I trouble her not, nor intermeddle with Engliſh matters. Yet am I not ignorant that there are many in* England *that are not well contented with the preſent Times. She upbraideth me that I have ſmall Experience. I confeſs it; Age bringeth Experience. Yet have I Age enough to carry myſelf friendly and juſtly toward my Kindred and Friends, and to blab abroad nothing againſt her which may be unworthy a Queen and my Kinſwoman. Let me alſo ſay, by her favour, that I am a Queen as well as ſhe, and not bare of Friends, and that I bear a Mind as high as ſhe; ſo as we may offer equal Meaſure one to another. But I forbear Compariſon, ſeeing it differeth not much from Contention, and is not without Envy. As for the Treaty of* Edenborough, *it was made in the King my Husband's Life-time, whom I was to obey in all things as in Duty I ought:*

1561.

She expoſtulateth the matter with *Throckmorton.*

1561. *ought: And whereas he deferred the Confirmation thereof, let the Blame lie upon him, and not upon me. After his Death, the Council of* France *left me to mine own Council, neither would my Uncles intermeddle in Scottiſh matters, leſt they ſhould give offence to Queen* Elizabeth, *or to the* Scots. *The* Scots *that are here with me are private men, and not ſuch as I may take to Counſell in ſo weighty matters. As ſoon as I ſhall have conſulted with the Eſtates of my Kingdome, I will give an Anſwer agreeable to Reaſon: and that I may give it the ſooner, I haſten my Journey homewards. But ſhe determineth to ſtop my Journey; ſo as ſhe herſelf is in cauſe that I cannot ſatisfie her, or elſe ſhe will not be ſatisfied: haply to the end we may have no end of Diſcords betwixt us. She reproacheth me many times that I am* young: *and* young *indeed ſhe may think me and unadviſed, if I would treat of matters of ſo great importance without the Advice of my Eſtates. The Wife (as I have heard) is neither bound in Honour nor Conſcience by the Husband's deeds. But that matter I diſpute not. Yet this I may truly ſay, I have done nothing to my deareſt Siſter which I would not have to be done unto myſelf. I have done her all the beſt Offices of Kindneſs: but ſhe either believeth not, or contemneth it. Would to God I were as dear to her as I am near her in Blood: for this were a precious kind of Kindred. God forgive them (if any there be) which ſow Diſſentions betwixt us. But thou that art an Embaſſadour, tell me, I pray thee, for what Cauſe ſhe is ſo diſpleaſed with me, which have never yet hurt her in word nor deed.*

Throckmorton's Anſwer. Hereunto *Throckmorton* anſwered; *To anſwer your Majeſty I have no Commiſſion, but to hear your Anſwer touching the Confirming of the Treaty of* Edenborough. *But if you pleaſe to hear the Cauſe of her Diſpleaſure, I will briefly declare it, laying aſide the perſon of an Embaſſadour. As ſoon as the Queen my Miſtreſs was Crowned, you uſurped the Arms and the Title of the Kingdom of* England, *which you did not before in the Reign of Queen* Mary. *Whether a greater Injury can be offered to a Prince, you may in your Wiſedome judge. Certainly ſuch a Wrong even private men cannot digeſt, much leſs Princes.*

Another Reaſoning betwixt them. *But* (ſaid ſhe) *my Husband's Father and my Husband himſelf would have it ſo, ſo they commanded. Since the time that they died, and that I have been mine own Free woman, I have quite abſtained from thoſe Arms and Title. But yet I know not whether it be any Prejudice to the Queen, if I, being a Queen alſo, whoſe Grandmother was King* Henry *the Eighth his eldeſt Siſter, ſhould bear thoſe Arms, ſeeing others in Kindred more remote have born them.* And certainly *Courtney* Marqueſs of *Exceſter*, and the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, Neece to King *Henry* the Eighth by his younger Siſter, bare the Arms of *England* by ſpecial favour, with Limbs or Borders for a Difference.

When theſe things ſatisfied not Queen *Elizabeth*, who was certainly perſwaded that ſhe did nothing but interpoſe Delays upon ſome new Hope, foraſmuch as ſhe had propounded nothing to the Eſtates of *Scotland* concerning the Confirmation of the Treaty, though they had aſſembled once or twice after the death of her Husband; ſhe,

1561.

She endeavoureth to satisfie Q. *Elizabeth.*

she, being now upon her way, sent for *Throckmorton* again to *Abbeville*, where she gently asked him how she might in word or deed satisfie Queen *Elizabeth*. *By ratifying* (said he) *the Treaty of* Edenborough, *as I have often told your Majesty already.* To whom she replied, *Hearken therefore, that you may judge whether they be not just Reasons, which she thinketh to be Delays and vain Excuses. The First Article in that Treaty, for Ratifying the Treaty at the Castle of* Cambray *between* England *and* France, *concerneth not me at all. The Second, touching the Ratifying of the Treaty there made between* England *and* Scotland, *was Ratified by my Husband and me, and cannot be Ratified again, unless it be concluded in mine own Name alone, whereas my Husband is expressly named therein. The Third, Fourth and Fifth Articles are accomplished already: for, Warlike provisions have ceased, the French Garrisons are called home out of* Scotland, *the Fort at* Aymouth *lieth levell with the ground. I have abstained from the Arms and Title of* England *since my Husband's death. To raze and scrape them out of the Utensils, Buildings and Charters throughout all* France, *is not in my power: As neither is it in my power to send back the Bishop of* Valence *and* Randan, *who are not my Subjects, into* England *to a debating of the Sixth Article. As for the Last Article, I hope my seditious Subjects will not complain of my Unmercifulness. But She (I see) will prevent them, that they may not find proof of my Clemency, whilst she purposeth to hinder my Return. What remaineth now in this Treaty which may be prejudicial to the Queen your Mistress? Nevertheless, for her more full Satisfaction, I will write unto her more at large with mine own hand touching this matter, though she deign not to write back to me but by a Secretary. But I would wish you, that are an Embassadour, to perform that which belongeth to an Embassadour, that is, to qualifie and extenuate matters, rather then to exasperate them.*

But in vain.

But neither was Queen *Elizabeth* satisfied with those Letters, in whose mind stuck deeply the Injury done in usurping her Title and Arms: and now was she very much perplexed lest she should usurp them again, unless by Confirmation of the Treaty, and the conscience of an Oath, she were bound to abstain therefrom.

She returneth into *Scotland.*

In the mean time the Queen of *Scots*, having gotten a fit Opportunity, set sail from *Calice*, and arrived in *Scotland*, passing by the English Ships in a foggy weather: which Ships some thought were sent to doe her Honour by wafting her over; others, to suppress Pirates; and others thought they were sent to intercept her. For *James* the Bastard, returning very lately through *England*, had given secret warning to intercept her, if Queen *Elizabeth* would provide for Religion and her own Safety. The same did *Lidington* perswade, (being glad that *D' Oiseli* was staid in *England*) lest (as he wrote) *she returning should raise Tragedies, stop all intercourse of Letters and Messages with the* English, *weaken the Faction that was addicted to the* English, *and, finally, exercise Cruelty against the Protestants of* Scotland, *not as Traitours, but Hereticks, as Queen* Mary *of* England *had done not long before.*

1561.

Her gentle Government,

and desire of Peace.

before. But the truth is, she, being returned, used all Gentleness towards her Subjects, altered nothing in Religion, (though tumultuously brought in,) and began to order and govern the Commonwealth with passing good Ordinances. And to Queen *Elizabeth* she sent *Lidington* with her own Letters and the Letters of the Scottish Nobility, wherein she expressed all desire to enter into and keep Peace, and requested her that some certain course of Peace might be taken between *England* and *Scotland*: but a more certain course was there none, then if Queen *Elizabeth* would by Authority of Parliament declare her Heir apparent, next to succeed her in her Kingdome of *England*, in case she should have no Issue.

She demandeth to be declared Heir apparent to the Kingdome of *England*.

Q. *Elizabeth*'s Answer.

This seemed strange to Queen *Elizabeth*, who had expected the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edenborough*, promised both under her hand and by word of mouth. Nevertheless she answered, *That as for the Succession, she hoped that the Queen of* Scots *would not take away the Scepter from her and her Children, if she should have any. She promised to derogate nothing from her Title to the Scepter of* England, *though she, through the over-hasty Ambition of others, arrogated the Title and Arms of* England; *for which Injury it was meet she should make Satisfaction. By designing her her Successour, she feared lest Amity would rather be dissolved then confirmed: forasmuch as to those that are in place of Government Successours are always suspected and envied; the People, (such is their Inconstancy) in a loathing of things present, do look to the rising Sun, and leave the setting; and the designed Successours themselves are not able to limit their own and others wicked Hopes within the bounds of Equity and Reason. So as if she should confirm unto her the Succession, she should quite cut off her own Security, and in her life-time lay her own Winding-sheet before her eyes, yea, make her own Grave while she liveth and looketh on.*

She urgeth the Confirmation of the Treaty.

After she had made this Answer, she, by Letters sent by Sir *Peter Mewtas*, lovingly admonisheth her again to confirm the Treaty. Neither did the Queen of *Scots* directly deny it, yet signified that she could not well doe it till Scottish matters were settled. In the mean time Queen *Elizabeth* most bountifully entertained with all kind of Courtesie her Uncles in their Return through *England*, namely *Aumarl*, the Grand Priour, *Albeuf*, and other Noblemen of *France*, which had conducted her into *Scotland*.

She bountifully entertaineth the *Guises*.

The English Merchants were notwithstanding, through the procurement of the Duke of *Guise*, injuriously handled upon the Coast of *Britain*, their Ships being taken and made Prize: and there was close dealing again at *Rome* for an Excommunication to be thundred forth against Queen *Elizabeth*. But *Pius Quartus*, Bishop of *Rome*, thought best she should be dealt withall more mildly. For he (as I have said in the last year) solicited her by inticing Letters: and now, having appointed a day for the Council of *Trent*, (begun heretofore, and by often Wars interrupted,) for the taking away of Dissentions in Religion, and allured thither all Princes, even such as were averse from

They deal hardly with the English.

They urge the Excommunication.

The Pope alloreth the English to the Council of *Trent*.

1561.

from the Popiſh Religion, he ſent the Abbot of *Martinego* into *England* with Letters moſt full of Love and Kindneſs. But the Abbot ſtayed in the *Netherlands*, and requeſted Leave that he might be admitted into *England*: For by an ancient Law it was provided, "That "the Pope's Nuncio's ſhould not enter into *England*, but upon Leave "firſt obtained, and Oath alſo taken that they ſhould attempt no-"thing in *England which might be prejudiciall to the King, or to the Li-"berty of the Kingdome.* And the Council of *England* thought it not ſafe to admit him, conſidering that ſo many in all parts, being nuzzled up in Popery, diligently laboured at home and abroad to diſturb the Quiet of the State. When the Abbot was not permitted to croſs the Seas into *England*, the Biſhop of *Viterbo*, the Pope's Nuncio in *France*, dealt earneſtly with *Throckmorton*, that Queen *Elizabeth* would ſend her Embaſſadours to the Council; and many Princes of Chriſtendome, the *French* King, the *Spaniard*, the *Portugall*, *Henry* Cardinall of *Portugall*, and eſpecially the Duke of *Alva*, (who yet bare her ſingular good will,) perſwaded her by their Letters, that ſhe would rather reſt upon the Oecumenicall Council of *Trent* in matters of Religion, which is the onely Anchor-hold of Chriſtians, and the Prop of Kingdomes, then upon the private Opinions of a few, though never ſo learned. She anſwered, "That ſhe wiſhed "with all her heart an Oecumenicall Council, but to a Popiſh Coun-"cil ſhe would not ſend: with the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhe had nothing to "doe, whoſe Authority was expelled out of *England* by Conſent of "the Eſtates of the Realm: neither belonged it to him, but to the "Emperour, to call Councils: nor could ſhe acknowledge any grea-"ter Authority in him then in any other Biſhop.

His Nuncio is denied acceſs into *England*.

Sundry Princes perſwade her to reſt upon that Council.

Her Anſwer.

The right of convocating a Council belongeth not to the Pope.

The ſame time that this Abbot, the laſt Nuncio of the Biſhops of *Rome* into *England*, was denied Acceſs hither, departed out of this life at *Rome* Sir *Edward Carne* aforeſaid, a wiſe man, and learned in the Civil Law, who was Knighted by the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and was the laſt Embaſſadour of the Kings of *England* to the Popes.

The death of Sir *Edward Carne*.

When *Chamberlain*, the Engliſh Embaſſadour in *Spain*, perceived the *Spaniard* to be more and more eſtranged in mind by this Anſwer, as being joyned with ſome Injury to the Pope, (for he being now, by the Death of *Francis* King of *France*, delivered of his Fear leſt *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* ſhould fall into the hands of the French King, began to neglect the *Engliſh*,) he returned home with good leave. In whoſe room was ſubſtituted Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, who, as ſoon as he arrived in *Spain*, being a man impatient of Injuries, and having been ſundry times Embaſſadour in *Germany*, where he had found nothing but Courteſy, earneſtly laboured by his Letters to be called home again, for that his Cofers were ſearched, according to the Cuſtome of the Country. But Queen *Elizabeth* admoniſhed him, that an Embaſſadour muſt take all things in good part, ſo as his Prince's Honour be not directly violated.

The *Spaniard* more diſpleaſed. The Engliſh Embaſſadour cometh home.

Sir Tho. *Chaloner* ſent in his room.

How far an Embaſſadour muſt bear wrong.

And

1561.

Q. *Elizabeth* prepareth for War.

And now this prudent and provident Woman, (having in ſome ſort eſtabliſhed Religion,) to the end ſhe might prepare Remedies againſt Force, and provide for the Security of Herſelf and her People, and might the more quietly enjoy Peace, though ſhe found her Treaſure exhauſted, began to furniſh her Armoury with all kind of Proviſion for the Wars, laying out a great ſumme of money upon Arms and Weapons in *Germany*, for that the *Spaniard* made ſtay of thoſe which ſhe had bought at *Antwerp*. Very many Pieces of great Ordnance of Braſs and Iron ſhe caſt: And God (as if he favoured what ſhe undertook) diſcovered a moſt rich Vein of pure and native Braſs, which had been long time neglected, near *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, which abundantly ſufficeth for that uſe, and affordeth Braſs to other Countries alſo. The Stone alſo called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is moſt neceſſary for the braſs works, was now (by God's favour) firſt found in *England*, and that in abundance. And ſhe alſo was the firſt that procured Gun-powder to be made in *England*, that ſhe might not both pray and pay for it alſo to her Neighbours. To the Garriſon of *Berwick*, which before conſiſted of five hundred men, ſhe added more, with increaſe of Pay, to the end ſhe might provide for old Souldiers and Martiall men. The Town of *Berwick* ſhe began to ſtrengthen with many Works and Fortifications, and finiſhed the ſame in a ſhort time. She ſent Noble and wiſe men, to re-edifie and repair the Caſtles and ſtrong Holds within twenty miles from the *March* to *Scotland*-ward. She provided her Fleet of all manner of Tackling and Munition, the beſt appointed Navy that ever *Britain* ſaw. For the Defence thereof ſhe erected a Caſtle upon the Bank of *Medway*, near *Upnore*, (where their Station is,) and increaſed the Sailers and Mariners pay; inſomuch as ſhe was worthily named by Forreiners, *The Reſtorer of the glory of Shipping*, and *The Queen of the North Sea*. Neither had ſhe now any need (as her Father and Predeceſſours had) to hire Ships for her uſe from *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Genua*, and *Venice*. The wealthier Inhabitants alſo of the Sea-coaſts, in imitation of their Princeſs, with a certain Alacrity built them Ships of war, ſtriving who ſhould exceed: inſomuch as in a ſhort time the Queen's Navy, joyned with her Subjects Shipping, was ſo puiſſant, that it was able to bring forth twenty thouſand fighting men for Sea-ſervice. The Noblemen alſo and Common people, with no leſs chearfull diligence, provided them Arms every-where, ſo as in Noblemens houſes moſt compleat Armouries were furniſhed. Muſters alſo and Views of Arms were often kept, and the Youth trained very often to the ſcience of War, and audacity of Skirmiſhing. The Country people alſo, when Licence was once granted to tranſport Grain, began to ply their Husbandry more diligently then before, yea and above that which the Laws afterwards made required, by breaking up Grounds which had lain untilled beyond all memory of man. In thoſe days alſo the Queen reſtrained by a ſtrict Proclamation the Covetouſneſs of Merchants, which ſupplied Munition for

A vein of Braſs found for that end,

and *Lapis Calaminaris*.

Gun-powder firſt made here.

She increaſeth the Souldiers pay.

She fortifieth *Berwick*.

She provideth a Fleet.

The Engliſhmen build Ships,

provide Arms,

ply Husbandry and Tillage more eagerly.

An Edict in favour of the *Polonian*.

for War to the Emperour of *Ruſſia* againſt the *Polonians*, and alſo to the Enemies of Chriſtendome: as likewiſe the Greedineſs of the Officers of the Exchequer, which had kept back the Penſions aſſigned to Religious men that had been thrown out of the Abbies. For ſhe commanded that every one of them that were living, and not known by certain teſtimonies to be preferred, ſhould be payed to the uttermoſt farthing.

1561. and of Religious men.

Warrants or Commiſſions for exacting Victuals for the Fleet and the Garriſon of *Berwick* ſhe revoked, delivering Money to the Purveyours to buy it, and not burthen her People. She purpoſed alſo to take away the Commiſſions for Proviſion of her Houſhold, ſome Countries afterwards conſenting to ſupply it at a certain rate, that they might be freed from the Takers or Purveyours, a miſchievous kind of people, whom ſhe termed *Harpyes*. About this time alſo (if my memory fail me not) ſhe augmented the Stipends of the Juſticers of Aſſizes, and firſt granted them Proviſion for their Journies or Circuits. And though ſhe were ſomewhat ſparing, yet knew ſhe where, how far, and when to uſe Liberality, being indeed providently bountifull to Well-deſervers. For whereas King *Henry* her Father, albeit he had three Children, yet gave away prodigally much of his Royall Domain; as alſo did King *Edward* and Queen *Mary*, having no Children: She, though ſhe had none, gave very little of her Domain, nor almoſt any thing elſe, but with Proviſo, that for default of Heirs-male it ſhould return to the Crown. In which regard both her Kingdome and Succeſſours ought to have her provident Care in gratefull remembrance.

Purveyours Commiſſions revoked.

Juſticers Stipends augmented.

The Queen's provident care.

In the midſt of theſe beſt Cares of Queen and People whileſt the Commonwealth ſeemed to revive, to the generall rejoycing of all men, this ſad Accident befell; the moſt beautifull Spire of the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul* in *London*, which for a ſingular Ornament to the City was raiſed to an admirable Height, namely five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and ſixty from the ſquare Steeple upon which it ſtood, being framed of Timber, and covered with Lead, took fire from heaven near the top; and with ſuch violence the devouring Fire deſcended, to the great Terrour of the Citizens, that in five hours ſpace it quite conſumed it, together with all the Roof of the Church, which was very large, and covered likewiſe with Lead. Nevertheleſs the Arches, which were all of Stone, remained untouched. But by the great Bounty of the Queen (who largely ſupplied a great quantity of Money and Materials, and by Money gathered of the Church-men and others,) the Roof was ſoon repaired, onely the Spire is lacking.

Paul's Steeple burnt.

This year departed this life *John Bourchier*, a man of ancient Nobility, the ſecond Earl of *Bath* of this name, and Baron *Fitz-Warin*, who by *Eleanor* the Daughter of *George* Lord *Roſs*, begat a plentifull Iſſue. His Grand-ſon (by his eldeſt Son) *William*, yet living, ſucceeded him.

The Death of the Earl of *Bath*.

The

1562.

The Fifth Year of Her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1562.

The firſt Civil War in *France.*

NOw began the Commotions in *France* to flame forth, whileſt the private Ambition of emulating Princes, during the Minority of *Charles* the Ninth, was masked on both ſides under the glorious Pretext of Religion, and the Profeſſours of the Reformed Religion were moſt grievouſly afflicted. And whereas thereupon the Papiſts in *England* (in what vain Hope I know not) muttered many and great matters in ſecret talk amongſt companies, of Suppreſſing in like manner the Proteſtants in *England*, all places were full of Suſpicion. *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, Niece to *Henry* the Eighth by his eldeſt Siſter, was committed to Sir *Richard Sackvill*, and her Husband, the Earl of *Lenox*, who had ſecret Entercourſe of Letters with the Queen of *Scots*, to the Cuſtody of the Maſter of the Rolls, and were for a time detained. *Arthur Pool* and his Brother, Great-grand-children to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, *Antony Forteſcue*, who had married their Siſter, and others, were arraigned, for that they had conſpired to withdraw themſelves into *France* to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, and to proclaim the Queen of *Scots* Queen of *England*, and *Arthur Pool* Duke of *Clarence*. All which they ingenuouſly confeſſed at the Bar; proteſting notwithſtanding, that they meant not to enterprize theſe things while Queen *Elizabeth* lived, who (they believed) would die ere the Year came about, being induced ſo to think by the unlawfull Arts of conjuring Wizards. Whereupon they were condemned to die: nevertheleſs their Lives were ſpared for reverence to the Bloud Royall. But the Lady *Katharine Grey*, Daughter to *Henry Grey* Duke of *Suffolk*, who was much nearer to the Queen in Bloud, was (as many thought) ſharply handled. For, being Grand-daughter to the other Siſter of King *Henry* the Eighth, and married to *Henry* eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and ſoon after lawfully divorced, and long time neglected, when ſhe was now with child and ready to be delivered, was caſt into the Tower of *London*, profeſſing that ſhe was joyned in lawfull Wedlock with *Edward Seimour* Earl of *Hertford*, and by him gotten with child. He, being ſent for home out of *France*, whither he was gone for his Pleaſure with the Queen's good Leave, openly profeſſed the ſame, and was clapt up in the ſame Tower. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and others were made Delegates to hear and determine the Cauſe without all Appeal. And when he could not within a time preſcribed produce Witneſſes of the Marriage, a definitive Sentence was pronounced by the Archbiſhop, *That he had had undue and unlawfull carnall Copulation with her, and that for ſuch their Exceſs both he and ſhe were to be puniſhed according to their Deſerts.* This Sentence,

The Counteſs of *Lenox* and her Huſband committed.

The *Pools* and others arraigned,

condemned, and pardoned.

The Lady *Katharine Grey* impriſoned,

and the Earl of *Hertford.*

Sentence againſt them.

tence, as unjuſt, unreaſonable, and null, *John Hales*, a man moſt opinionative, but of much variety of Learning, impugned, arguing that they were lawfull Man and Wife by their ſole Conſent. Whereupon he alſo was committed to Cuſtody. She was ſhortly after brought to bed of her firſt-begotten Son in the Tower; and afterwards alſo bare another by *Hertford*, they having corrupted their Keepers: which *Edward Warner* Lieutenant of the Tower, as privy to it, rued, being therefore put by his place, and committed to Cuſtody. And *Hertford* himſelf was accuſed in the Star-chamber of a threefold Crime: that he had deflowered a Virgin of the Bloud Royal in the Queen's Houſe; that he had broken Priſon; and that he had raviſhed her the ſecond time. He, proteſting that he had lawfully contracted Marriage with her, denied not but that he had paſſed through the Doors of the Priſon ſtanding open, to comfort her, who mourned for the Sentence pronounced, and had payed his Marriage-debt. Whereupon he was for every Crime fined at five thouſand pounds, and kept in Priſon the ſpace of nine yeats. Nevertheleſs, being perſwaded by his Counſell, he ceaſed not to interpoſe his Appeal againſt the Archbiſhop's Sentence, and to continue it privily: which notwithſtanding he hath in theſe days voluntarily and publickly renounced. She, after certain years, (that I may here for once joyn together matters of ſeveral and ſundry times,) being taken with a grievous Sickneſs, craved Pardon of the Queen before *Hopton* Lieutenant of the Tower, that ſhe had contracted Marriage without her Privity; and with Obteſtations commending her Children and *Hertford*'s Liberty to her Protection, ſlept piouſly and peaceably in *Chriſt*.

1562.

She is brought to bed in the Tower.

Hertford's Accuſation.

His Defence.

He is fined.

She dieth.

The War now growing hot in *France* between the Princes of the Bloud and the *Guiſes*, both ſides uſing (as I ſaid) the Cloak and Colour of Religion for the ſtrengthning of their Party, Queen *Elizabeth* began to fear leſt *England* ſhould alſo be involved in the fire of the neighbouring War. For ſhe had heard that the *Guiſes*, that they might allure *Antony* of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, to their Party, had ſecretly offered unto him the Kingdome of *Navarre*, and the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots*, together with the Kingdome of *England* in Dowry; and that by the help of the King of *Spain*'s Wealth, and the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, who would diſſolve the Marriage of *Navarre* with his heretical Wife, and withall depoſe Queen *Elizabeth* from her Crown for Hereſie. Hereupon ſhe ſent thither Sir *Henry Sidney*, a man of moſt approved note, to learn theſe things more certainly, and perſwade the Heads of the Parties to Peace. But the matter was now grown to that paſs, that they ſtopped their ears on both ſides againſt Peace. *Sidney*, returning out of *France*, was preſently ſent to the Queen of *Scots*, that the Interview which ſhe had deſired with Queen *Elizabeth* in *England* might be put off till the next year following, or till the French War were pacified.

The *Guiſes* practiſe againſt Queen *Elizabeth*.

Sir *Henry Sidney* ſent into *France*;

and into *Scotland*.

1562.

Consultation about an Interview betwixt the two Queens.

Now was it consulted whether it would be behovefull that these two Queens should descend to an Interview. Whereas the Queen of *Scots* was the first that desired it, it was not without suspicion that she did it to serve her turn, and to temporize, that she might either strengthen her Title to *England*, or else give Hope and Courage to the Papists in *England*, and to the *Guises* her Kinsmen in *France*. Contrariwise others were of opinion, that hereby a most firm Amity might be struck up betwixt them; that the Confederacy betwixt the *French* and the *Scots* might by little and little be dissolved, and the Queen of *Scots* drawn to the Protestant Religion. Others observed, that by such Conferences seeds are sown of Emulation rather then Love; that the ostentation of the Wealth and Power of the one is ever envied of the other; that Presence doth not answer to the opinion and fame of the Comelineſs of the Body, Beauty of the Face, and Gifts of the Mind, and leaveth place of Reprehension to either of them.

The Queen of *Scots* is doubtfull.

Neither did the Queen of *Scots* now think it safe to commit herself into Queen *Elizabeth*'s hands, with whom she had contended about the Title of the Kingdome. Her mind also wavered in uncertain cogitations which part she should incline to, when now she heard that Queen *Elizabeth* stood openly for the Protestants of *France*, *while* (as she wrote herself) *she weighed in her mind, that she drew her Descent by her Father out of* England, *by her Mother out of* France; *that in* France *she had been a crowned Queen, and was now Dowager, in* England *she was the most certain Heir, and in expectance of the Crown; that she ought much to her Uncles in* France *which brought her up, and she desired also to owe very much to the Love of her Sister Queen* Elizabeth.

Nevertheless she feared (so clear was her Understanding) lest if she should apply herself to a streighter Amity with her, she should incurre the Displeasure of the French King, be forsaken of the *Guises* her Uncles, and lose her Dowry out of *France*, whilst she should neglect the certain Love of the *French* for the uncertain Friendship of Queen *Elizabeth*, *which* (to use her own words) *goeth no farther then the person.* Hereupon the Interview, which had been many months in hand, and Articles also propounded, came at length to nothing; especially when the Queen of *Scots* by her Letters flatly refused any Interview, unless she might by Authority of Parliament be designed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, or adopted by Queen *Elizabeth* for her Daughter, and this for the settling of a most certain Peace, and the Union of the Kingdoms so often desired. These things if they might be granted, she promised to be most devoted to Queen *Elizabeth*, even with the Neglect of her Uncles the *Guises*. In these her Letters she also signified, that she urged these things the more earnestly, for that she had heard that there were some which plotted secretly to suborn another Successour, and that in no other respect but for Religion, although she tolerated the Protestant Religion in *Scotland*.

She refuseth it unless upon certain Conditions.

But

1562.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* propoundeth a Marriage to the Queen of *Scots*. Q. *Elizabeth* deterreth her from it.

But whereas at the ſame time the Cardinal of *Lorrain* dealt with the Emperour *Ferdinand*, that ſhe might marry with his Son the Arch-duke *Charles*, who was then a Suitour to Queen *Elizabeth*; Queen *Elizabeth* ſent her word by Sir *Thomas Randolph*, that if ſhe hearkned to the Cardinal, the Engliſh-mens capital Enemy, concerning that Marriage, both the Amity betwixt *England* and *Scotland* might chance to be diſſolved, and haply ſhe might be barred of her Hope of the Kingdome of *England*. Which Hope that ſhe might not loſe, ſhe friendly warned her to chuſe ſuch an Husband in *England*, as in whom ſhe might firſt pleaſe herſelf, and then ſatisfie her own People and the *Engliſh* in embracing Peace, and make a ſure way for herſelf to the Succeſſion in *England*, which could not be proclaimed, unleſs it were firſt known whom ſhe would take to her Husband.

Q. *Elizabeth* entreth into Contract with the Proteſtants of *France*.

With theſe Cares though Queen *Elizabeth* hung ſomewhat in ſuſpenſe, yet was her mind wholly attentive to the French War, that it might not blow over out of *Normandy* into *England*: and, after mature Deliberation, ſhe took into her Protection the French King's Subjects in *Normandy*, who craved her Aid, making a Contract with the Prince of *Conde*, *Rohan*, *Coligny*, and others, "That ſhe ſhould "pay them an hundred thouſand Angels; That ſhe ſhould ſend them "over into *France* ſix thouſand men, whereof three thouſand ſhould "be employed for the Defence of *Diep* and *Roan*; and That they "ſhould deliver into her hands, for Caution, *Franciſcopolis*, a Town "built by King *Francis* the Firſt at the Mouth of the *Seine*, which "the *Engliſh* call *New-haven*, and the *French Port de Grace*, or *Haure* "*de Grace*: which Town three thouſand Engliſh Souldiers ſhould "hold and defend in the French King's name, till *Calice* ſhould be re-"ſtored. The very ſame day that this Contract was made, ſhe by a publick Writing declared the Reaſons of this Deſign, namely, "That "ſhe ſent an Army into *Normandy*, not to recover that Country, "though it were the ancient Inheritance of the Kings of *England*, and "forcibly taken from them againſt all right and reaſon; but to pre-"ſerve it for the French King, being not yet of age, and to deliver it "from the Tyranny of the *Guiſes*, who had begun to practiſe bar-"barous Cruelty againſt the Profeſſours of the purer Religion, to "deprive her of her Right and Title to *Calice* unjuſtly, and now to "ſeize upon the Ports of *Normandy*, from whence they might be ready "at all times to invade *England* lying near unto them, which in hope "they had ſwallowed already. So that ſhe could not but prevent their "Attempts, unleſs ſhe would be ſeen to fail the young King, her Bro-"ther and Confederate, and his oppreſſed Subjects, to envy the Tran-"quillity of Chriſtendom, and (which was moſt of all) to betray "careleſly her own Religion, Security and Safety. And whereas *Paul Foix*, the French Embaſſadour in *England*, ſolicited her that the Vidame of *Chartres*, *Hayes*, and others which had ſubſcribed to the Contract, might be delivered to the King, as Traitours to their Country,

She yieldeth the Reaſons of the Contract.

She excuſeth the French Fugitives.

1562.

according to the Treaty of the Caſtle of *Cambray*; ſhe excuſed it by Letters to the King, and put away the Blame from them, laying it upon the turbulent ſpirits of the *Guiſes*, who had ingaged the King's Father, his Brother and himſelf, in this Storm of Wars.

She ſendeth Forces of men into *France*.

In the month of *September* the one part of the Engliſh Army, under the Conduct of Sir *Adrian Poinings*, who was appointed Marſhal, arrived at *New-haven*, and was joyfully received by the Inhabitants; and the other part at *Diep*. The Earl of *Warwick*, who was General of the Army, came ſomewhat later to *New-haven*, being twice driven back by foul weather into *England*. Then were ſome Excurſions made into the Country adjoyning: for the prohibiting whereof, the *Rhinegrave* approached, and encamped near. Nevertheleſs the *Engliſh* and the *French* had ſundry light Skirmiſhes; and the Mariners of the Fleet, ſcouring the Sea over, brought in many rich Prizes, taking every day French Ships out of the Roads near thereabouts.

The death of the Earl of *Oxford*.

This year *John Vere*, the Sixteenth Earl of *Oxford* of that noble Lineage, rendred his life to Nature: who by his firſt Wife, Daughter of *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, begat *Katharine*, Wife to *Edward* Lord *Windeſor*; by his ſecond Wife, *Margaret Golding*, he begat *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, (who ſet his Patrimony flying,) and *Mary*, married to *Peregrine Berty* Lord *Willoughby*.

Shan-O-Neal cometh into *England*.

Now was *Shan O-Neal* come out of *Ireland*, to perform what he had promiſed a year before, with a Guard of Ax-bearing Galloglaſſes, bare-headed, with curled Hair hanging down, yellow Surplices dyed with Saffron, or man's Stale, long Sleeves, ſhort Coats, and hairy Mantles: whom the Engliſh people gazed at with no leſs admiration then now-adays they do them of *China* and *America*. He being received with all Kindneſs, and falling down at the Queen's Feet, confeſſed his Crime and Rebellion with howling, and obtained Pardon. Being gently asked by what right he had excluded *Hugh*, his Brother *Matthew*'s Son, out of his Foreſathers Inheritance, he anſwered fiercely, (as he had done before already in *Ireland*,) "By very good right: to

He deſcendeth his Cauſe.

"wit, That he, being the certain and lawful Son and Heir of *Con*, as "born of his lawfull Wife, had entred upon his Father's Inheritance: "That *Matthew* was the Son of a Black-ſmith of *Dundalk*, begotten by "a Smith, born after his Marriage with his wife *Aliſon*, but by his Mo-"ther cunningly obtruded upon *Con* for his Son, to bereave him of "his Inheritance and Dignity of *O-Neal*; which though he endured, yet "none other of the Houſe of the *O-Neals* would ever ſuffer it: That "the Surrender which his Father had made to King *Henry* the Eighth, "and the Re-delivery which the King made back again to him by his "Letters Patents, were as good as nothing; foraſmuch as *Con* had no "Eſtate in that which he ſurrendred but for life, nor could ſurren-"der it without the Conſent of the Nobility and People, by whom "he was elected to the Honour of *O-Neal*: That ſuch Letters Patents "alſo were nothing worth, unleſs a certain Heir of the Family were "firſt allowed by the Oath of twelve men; which in this caſe was

"never

"never done. For his part, he was by the Law of God and Man "the certain Heir, to wit, the eldeſt Son of his Father, begotten in "lawfull Wedlock, and by joynt Conſent of the Nobility and Peo- "ple deſigned *O-Neal*, according to the Law of that Country called "*Taniſtry*, by which a man of ripe age is to be preferred before a "Child, and the Uncle before that Nephew whoſe Grand-father "ſurviveth his Father. Neither did he uſurp any other Authority "over the Nobility of *Ulſter*, then what his Forefathers in former "times had exerciſed by their own Right, as he was able to prove "by good Evidence. But hereof I have ſpoken elſewhere. Which matters foraſmuch as the Queen gave credit unto, he was ſent home again with Honour, and for a while performed ſtout and faithfull Service againſt the *Hebridian* Rovers. 1562.

He returneth home.

The Sixth Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini, 1563.

IN the month of *January* the Eſtates of the Realm aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and made wholeſome Laws, for the Relief of the Poor, for matter of the Navy, for maintenance and increaſe of Tillage, for puniſhing of Vagabonds, Forgers of Evidences, Clippers, Waſhers, Rounders and Filers of Money, phantaſticall Propheſiers, Conjurers or Sorcerers, Buggerers and Perjurers, for tranſlating the Bible and Divine Service into the Welſh Tongue; and allo for Preſervation of the Queen's Majeſty and the Realm, and avoiding of Inconveniences and Diſhonours which have fallen by means of the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. And to reſtrain the Boldneſs of thoſe which maintained the ſame, they Enacted, that they ſhould be guilty of high Treaſon which by writing, word or deed, ſhould thrice maintain the Authority of any Forrein Prince, Prelate or State, in Spiritual matters in *England*, or other the Queen's Dominions, and which ſhould refuſe the Oath of the Queen's Supremacy in Cauſes Spirituall, or over Perſons Eccleſiaſticall, the ſame being tendered unto them twice. Yet ſo, as neither they ſhould be attainted in Bloud, nor their Goods and Lands confiſcate; nor that this Oath ſhould be exacted of any Baron of the Realm, or any of more eminent Dignity, (for that the Queen doubted not of their faithfull Obedience) nor of any man *but who was, had been, or ſhould be in Eccleſiaſticall Orders, or then bare, had born, or ſhould bear Eccleſiaſticall Function, or, being warned, ſhould not obſerve the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England, *or ſhould deprave the ſame by publick word or deed, or ſhould celebrate or hear Maſs*, &c. as is to be ſeen in the Statute. Moreover the Eſtates, congratulating the Happineſs of the Times, granted unto the Queen, for Religion reformed, Peace reſtored,

A Parliament holden. Laws made.

Subſidies, &c. granted the Queen; and why.

1563.

reſtored, *England* with *Scotland* freed from the Forrein Enemy, Money refined, the Navy renewed, warlike Munition by ſea and land provided, and for the laudable Enterprize in *France* for the ſecuring of *England* and of the young King of *France*, and the recovering of *Calice*, (they granted, I ſay,) the Eccleſiaſticall men one Subſidy, and the Laiety another, with two Fifteens and Tenths. *A Fifteen* and a *Tenth* (that I may note it for Forreiners ſakes) is a certain Taxation upon every City, Burrough and Town, not upon every particular man, but in generall, in reſpect of the *fifteenth* part of the Wealth of the places. A *Subſidy* we call that which is impoſed upon every man, being ceſſed by the Poll, man by man, according to the valuation of their Goods and Lands. But neither is this nor the other Taxation ever impoſed but by Conſent of the Eſtates in Parliament.

A Fifteen and a Tenth what it is.

A Subſidy what it is.

The Prince of *Conde* and *Throckmorton* taken priſoners.

In the mean time the Prince of *Conde*, while he poſted to the Engliſh auxiliary Forces in *Normandy*, was intercepted in that memorable Battel of *Dreux*, and taken Priſoner by the Duke of *Guiſe*, and with him, amongſt others, Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who was preſent at the Battel, being before voluntarily taken Priſoner by the Proteſtants, that he might impart certain ſecret Counſels with them. But within a while after he was ſet at liberty, and payed the Money agreed upon to *Coligny*, who with the auxiliary Companies marched to the Caſtle of *Caen*, which he then beſieged, and with their help the ſooner forced *Caen*, *Baieux*, *Falaiſe*, and *Saint Lo*, to ſurrender.

Engliſh auxiliary Forces in *France*.

Q. *Elizabeth* advertiſeth the *Spaniard* of her Forces ſent into *France*.

His Anſwer.

Whileſt theſe things are done in *France*, Queen *Elizabeth*, by *Chaloner* her Embaſſadour in *Spain*, ſignified to that King, that ſhe had ſent over an Army into *France*, to prevent the *Guiſes* in time, (who inſulted againſt her, and plotted her Deſtruction,) before they ſhould transfer the War into *England*, and to hold *New-haven*, being delivered into her hands, untill ſhe was ſatisfied for *Calice*. He anſwered, "If *Calice* were all that were ſought, he for his part wiſhed "it with his heart: But if the War were undertaken for Religion, "he could not neglect the ancient Religion. *As for the* Guiſes, *how* "*weak ones* (ſaith he) *are they, that the moſt potent Queen of* England "*ſhould fear them, who have no Affinity with the French as in former* "*times?* In *England* alſo the Biſhop of *Aquila*, the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, many times told the Queen, that in this War the *Spaniard* neither would nor could forſake his Brother the French King. To whom ſhe made no other Anſwer but that Engliſh Proverb, *Every man muſt defend his own Houſe, and I mine.* Neither was the *Spaniard* ignorant that the Queen at the ſame time earneſtly ſolicited the Proteſtants of *Germany*, by *Henry Knolles* and *Chriſtopher Monts*, to relieve *Conde*, and defend the common Cauſe of Religion. Whereat he alſo taking Diſpleaſure, ſought cauſes ſecretly againſt her even upon account of Religion.

The Hoſtages for *Calice* ſeek to get away.

In the mean time the French Hoſtages which were ſent into *England*

land for five hundred thouſand Crowns for reſtoring of *Calice*, when they ſaw all things to tend to War, made preparation for their flying away: but when they were ready to take Shipping, they were brought back again, together with *John Ribald* that famous Pilot, who was come ſecretly into *England* to convey them away. A Peace in the mean while was agreed upon in *France* between the King, and *Conde* (who was fed with hope of the Lieutenancy-generall in *France*, and of Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*) and the Proteſtants, without any regard had to the Queen of *England*. Who all with one voice proteſted, that unleſs the *Engliſh* would depart from *New-haven*, the Covenant in the Treaty of the Caſtle of *Cambray* for reſtoring of *Calice* ſhould be void: and by publick Proclamation liberty was given to all French-men to invade all Engliſh-men, take and rob them, as long as they ſhould hold *New-haven*. The ſame liberty the Queen of *England* likewiſe granted to the *Engliſh*, that they ſhould hold all French-men (except thoſe that dwelt in *London*) for Enemies, as long as they ſhould detain *Calice*. Hereupon incredible it is with how great a Fleet the *Engliſh* invaded the Seas, and ſhut up the *French*, yea and the *Spaniards* alſo; inſomuch as the Queen was fain to excuſe their piraticall Inſolency againſt the *Spaniards* by her Embaſſadour, and to reſtrain them by Proclamation.

1563.

The French Proteſtants forſake the *Engliſh*.

War denounced on both ſides.

The Earl of *Warwick*, Governour of *New-haven*, when he perceived the wavering Fidelity of the French Townſmen, who now upon a ſlight Rumour of Peace held ſecret Counſels both amongſt themſelves, and with the *Rhine-grave*, (who lay with a power of men in the Country adjoyning) for betraying the Town, and ſhutting out the *Engliſh*, he removed out of the Town all the *French*, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, without difference, and layed hands on their Ships. Which the *French* took very hardly, complaining that the *Engliſh* intended not ſo much the Protection of the afflicted Frenchmen, as the Poſſeſſion of the Place, and taxed them as injurious to Strangers. Certainly nothing in old time more alienated the *Normans*, *Aquitans*, *Poictons*, and the reſt under the Engliſh Juriſdiction in *France*, then that they held them in no other degree then Forreiners. And now the *French* provide all things moſt diligently for the Siege of the Town, and withall the King and *Conde* earneſtly ſolicite in *England*, by *Briquemot* and *D' Alvy*, for the rendering of *New-haven*. Neither did the Queen refuſe it upon theſe Conditions; *If the King of* Spain *would become Surety for the reſtoring of* Calice *within the time prefixed: If the Treaty at the Caſtle of* Cambray *might be confirmed by the Oaths of the King, the Queen-mother, and the Princes of the Blood, and approved in every Parliament of* France, *and Hoſtages of the chief Nobility delivered.*

The French Inhabitants thruſt out of *New-haven*.

It is offered for *Calice*.

In the mean time the Peſtilence raged very ſore at *New-haven* among the Garriſon-Souldiers; and of the Souldiers ſent thither to relieve them, two hundred periſhed by Ship-wreck, with their Leader Sir *Thomas Finch* Knight, and two Brethren of the Lord *Wentworth*.

The Peſtilence amongſt the Engliſh Souldiers.

1563.

worth. Whereby when there was ſmall hope of holding the Town, Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Ordinary Embaſſadour in *France*, was commanded to propound the Reſtoring of it for *Calice*, and that the matter ſhould be compounded by the Arbitrement even of the *Spaniard*, who had married the French King's Siſter. But they utterly refuſed, ſaying, That the French King acknowledged no Superiour, nor would refer his matters to the Arbitrement of any Prince. And Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* they laid hold on, being ſent with Charge and Inſtructions for theſe matters, ſuſpecting that he, being a man skilful in ſtirring up Hurliburlies, was returned to raiſe Commotions, charging him that he was come into *France* without publick Warrantiſe; whereas notwithſtanding he had both Letters of Credence, and other Letters alſo from the French Embaſſadour in *England*. Neither would they once hear him, being certainly perſwaded that *New-haven* would ſhortly be wone by reaſon of the raging Peſtilence. Thither now was come the Conſtable *Montmorency* with the chief of the Nobility, and ſoon after came *Conde* himſelf with the flower of the Proteſtants. To the *Engliſh*, that greatly admired the change of the French Proteſtants minds, it was anſwered, That a Peace being now concluded, they muſt fight with joynt Forces, not for Religion, but for their Country. *Montmorency* ſent a Trumpet to *Warwick*, to ſummon him to yield up the Town: who ſent him back with Sir *Hugh Powlett*, who told him that the *Engliſh* were ready to undergoe all Extremities rather then yield up the Place without the Queen's Commandment. So the Works being raiſed, and the Battery continued for many days, Breaches made, the Conduits ſtopped, and the Water drawn out of the Ditch, which lay higher then the Sea, the *French* urge the Aſſault, the *Engliſh* with ſtout Confidence reſiſt them with all their might, more men periſhing by force of the Peſtilence then by the Sword of the Enemy.

The Queen's Propoſition rejected.

Violence offered to *Throckmorton.*

New-haven beſieged.

Yielded up.

Theſe things when Queen *Elizabeth* underſtood, lamenting with Tears the moſt afflicted eſtate of her People, leſt ſhe might ſeem to expoſe her moſt ſtout men any longer to the Peſtilence and Sword, having by a publick Writing commended the Valour of her Leaders and Souldiers, ſhe commanded *Warwick* to agree with the *French* about a Surrender upon reaſonable Conditions: who ſent *Powlett*, Sir *Maurice Dennis* Treaſurer of the Garriſon, *Horſey* and *Pelham*, to *Montmorency* about yielding up the Town; and ſoon after they agreed upon theſe Conditions. *That the Town, with all the Munition, Ships and Goods, which belonged to the French King and his Subjects, ſhould be rendred up: That the greater Tower of the Town ſhould forthwith be delivered into the hands of* Montmorency: *That the Priſoners taken on both ſides ſhould be delivered without Ranſome: and That the* Engliſh, *with all things that belonged to the Queen and them, ſhould freely depart within ſix days, if the Wind ſerved.* The Hoſtages delivered were Sir *Oliver Manours*, the Earl of *Rutland*'s Brother, *Leighton*, *Pelham* and *Horſey*. The laſt that ſtayed was Colonel *Edward Randolph*,

Randolph, who, in Piety never ſufficiently commended, ſpared not to carry the poor Souldiers, ſick and labouring of the Plague, upon his Shoulders into the Ships. Thus *New-haven*, having been more grievouſly aſſailed by the Peſtilence then by the Enemy, was left to the *French*, after that the *Engliſh* had held it eleven months. In which time, beſides common Souldiers, there were taken away by the Plague, *Somerſet*, *John Zouch*, *Alberick Darcy*, *Drury*, *Entweſſell*, *Ormesby*, *Vaghan*, *Croker*, *Cockſon*, *Prowd*, *Saul*, *Kemis*, brave Commanders. There were ſlain two *Tremains*, Brothers, *Sanders*, *Bromfield* the Maſter-Gunner, *Robinſon* Bailiff of the Town, *Strangwayes* a man famous for Sea-ſervice, and *Goodale* a moſt skilfull Miner. 1563.

Men of Note that died there.

For the Recovery of this little Town the French King gave immortal Thanks to God publickly, the Papiſts all over *France* triumphed for Joy, making their Brags, that the *Engliſh* were caſt out of *France* by the Help of the ſame Proteſtants by whom they were called into *France*, and that thereby were ſown the ſeeds of Diſcord between the *Engliſh* and the Proteſtants of *France*. *D' Hoſpital*, the Chancellour, congratulating this Felicity to the *French* in a long Oration, to amplifie the ſame, reported, out of a falſe Rumour, that the Engliſh Fleet came with new Supplies of men within ſight of the Town the next day after it was yielded up: and he pronounced, that by this War the *Engliſh* had quite forfeited their Title and Right to claim *Calice*. The Souldiers that were brought back into *England* ſick of the Plague diſperſed the force thereof with ſuch a contagious Peſtilence, that it grievouſly afflicted the whole Realm: and out of the City of *London* alone, which conſiſteth of an hundred and twenty one Pariſhes, there were carried forth to burying about 21530 Corpſes.

Publick Rejoycing for the ſame in *France*.

A ſore Plague at *London*.

Whereas in the heat of the Civil War in *France* the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Queen of *Scots* Uncle, was ſlain, her Dowry-money not payed out of *France*, *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel herault* deprived of his Dukedome, and the *Scots* excluded from the Captainſhip of the Guard in *France*; ſhe certainly took theſe things very heavily. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, another of her Uncles fearing leſt hereupon ſhe, forſaking the *French*, ſhould apply herſelf to the Amity of the *Engliſh*, propounded unto her again, by *Croc*, Marriage with *Charles* of *Auſtria*, tendering her the County of *Tyrol* in Dowry. She imparteth the matter to Queen *Elizabeth*, who by *Randolph* adviſed her the ſame things which I have before ſpoken of taking her an Husband; and then more expreſly commended unto her for an Husband *Robert Dudley*, (whoſe Wife, being one *Robſert*'s Heir, had died of late by a Fall from a ſteep place,) and promiſed her, that if ſhe would marry him, ſhe ſhould by Authority of Parliament be declared *her Siſter, or Daughter, and Heir of* England, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without Iſſue. As ſoon as the Queen-mother and her Uncles in *France* underſtood this by *Foix*, the French Embaſſadour in *England*, they ſo diſdained

Marriage propounded again to the Queen of *Scots*.

The Queen of *England* commendeth unto her *Robert Dudley* for a Husband.

1563. The *French* diſſwade her.

this Marriage with *Dudley*, as altogether diſparageable and moſt unworthy of the Bloud Royal and Regal Majeſty, that they promiſed not onely payment of her Dowry-money unto her, but alſo to the *Scots* the Confirmation of their ancient Liberties, and more ample Liberties alſo, if ſhe would firmly perſiſt in the French Amity, and reject that tendered Marriage. They ſuggeſted unto her alſo, "That "Queen *Elizabeth* propounded this Marriage not ſeriouſly, but co-"lourably, as if ſhe had pointed out *Dudley* to be an Husband for her "own ſelf: Neither was there any confiding in the Authority of a "Parliament; for in *England*, what one Parliament eſtabliſhed, an-"other repealed. Beſides, the Counſels and Deſigns of *England* did "aim at nothing elſe, but to keep her by any cunning from Marrying "at all. Yet ſhe referred the matter to a Conference, being in the mean time ſore troubled and vexed at home, whilſt *Murray* caſt the Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews* in priſon, becauſe he had not abſtained from celebrating Maſs, for which he hardly obtained Pardon with many Tears; and the hot Miniſters of the Church, born out by *Murray*'s Authority, offered violence to a Prieſt that ſaid Maſs at Court, (which by Law was allowed,) and yet they eſcaped without Puniſhment. Neither was ſhe able to ſuppreſs thoſe that were up in Commotion, though ſhe took all the Care ſhe could for the Commonwealth, granting a general Pardon, augmenting the Judges Stipends, making wholeſome Laws, inſtituting the pain of death upon Adulterers, and often hearing Cauſes in the Court of Juſtice, that ſhe might bear an even hand with the higheſt and the loweſt.

The *Scots* inſult over their Queen.

The death of the Lord *Grey*;

In this ſorrowful year died, to the great Grief of the Proteſtants, *William* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Governour of *Berwick*, a man flouriſhing in Military glory, having much waſted his Patrimony by means of a heavy Ranſome which he payed, being taken Priſoner in *France*: to whom ſucceeded in the Government of *Berwick Francis* Earl of *Bedford*.

and the Biſhop of *Aquila*.

With no leſs Sorrow to the Papiſts died alſo *Alvares à Quadra*, Biſhop of *Aquila*, the Spaniſh Embaſſadour in *England*, who had cheriſhed their Hopes of reſtoring the Romiſh Religion in *England*, and was moſt dear and inward with the *Poole*, of whom I have ſpoken before: whereby he grew ſo ſuſpected, as if he bent himſelf wholly to trouble the quiet eſtate of *England*, and to break off the Amity betwixt the Queen and the *Spaniard*, that the Queen ſolicited the *Spaniard* to have him called home. But he excuſed it in reſpect of Piety, and wrote back, "That Princes were in a ſorry caſe, if for every "Diſpleaſure their Embaſſadours muſt be called home. Certainly he took it in diſdain, that this his Embaſſadour was without his privity confined within his Houſe, ſubjected to Examinations, and publickly reprehended; and all for no other cauſe, then that he received into his Houſe an *Italian* that fled thither, having diſcharged a Piſtol againſt another, and had ſecretly conveyed him away. From this time the *Spaniard* was more incenſed againſt the *Engliſh*, taking this

The *Spaniard* enraged againſt the *Engliſh*.

occaſion, for that the Engliſh Pirates infeſted the *French* upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, and intended a Voiage into *Weſt-India*: And this his conceived Anger he openly diſcovered, by ſending *Richard Shelley*, an Engliſh man, (that had fled for Religion, and bare a moſt hatefull mind to his Prince,) on an honourable Embaſſie to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans* deſigned, to congratulate him; and by laying hands on certain Engliſh Merchants Ships in the Havens of *Bætica*, (now called *Andaluzia*,) for that the *Engliſh*, in purſuing the *French*, had taken certain Ships of the *Spaniards*. 1563.

This year alſo departed this life *William* Lord *Paget*, a man well grown in years, and one whoſe Vertue had raiſed him to very great Honours. For by his ſingular Learning and Wiſedome he deſerved ſo well, that King *Henry* the Eighth took him for his Secretary, ſent him Embaſſadour to *Charles* the Emperour, and to *Francis* the Firſt King of *France*, and named him amongſt the Curators of the Realm in the Minority of his Son. King *Edward* the Sixth made him Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and Controller of his Houſhold, raiſed him to the Honour of a Baron, honoured him with the Garter of Saint *George*, (which notwithſtanding *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland* diſgracefully took from him, and Queen *Mary* with Honour reſtored, *as to one that by his Wiſedome and Counſel had deſerved paſſing well of the Commonwealth*,) and made him Lord Privy-Seal, which amongſt the higheſt degrees of Civil Honour is the fourth. (For King *Henry* the Eighth granted by Act of Parliament the firſt place to the Lord Chancellour, the ſecond to the Lord Treaſurer, the third to the Preſident of the King's Council, and the fourth to the Lord Privy-Seal, and above all Dukes alſo, excepting the King's Sons, Brethren, Uncles and Nephews.) Queen *Elizabeth*, when he was by reaſon of his age unfit for Imployment, eaſed him of the publick Cares, according as he deſired, and held him moſt dear, though moſt devoted to the Romiſh Religion. He left three Sons, *Henry* and *Thomas*, who ſucceeded one another in the Barony, and *Charles*, whom I am often to ſpeak of. Certain Daughters alſo he left matched into Noble Houſes.

The death of the Lord *Paget*.

The higheſt degrees of Honour.

Him *Henry Manours*, or *De Manneriis*, Earl of *Rutland*, accompanied to a better life, being Son of *Thomas*, the firſt Earl of this Family, and Nephew of *George* Lord *Roos*, by the Daughter of *Thomas* * *Saint-Leger* and *Anne* his Wife, (who, being Siſter to King *Edward* the Fourth, brought very much Honour to this Family,) and Great-grand-ſon to *Robert*, who, having married the Daughter and Heir of the moſt ancient Baron *Roos*, brought to this Family goodly Revenues, and the Title of Lord *Roos*. This *Henry* begat on *Margaret Nevil*, Daughter of *Ralph* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, two Sons, *Edward* and *John*, in their order Earls of *Rutland*, and a Daughter married to *William Courtney* of *Ponderham*.

The death of the Earl of *Rutland*.

* or *Sellenger, de S. Leodegario.*

Frances alſo Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* left her wretched life this year, being Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary* ſecond

The death of the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*.

1563. Siſter to *Henry* the Eighth, and Queen Dowager of *France*, after ſhe had ſeen her Daughter the Lady *Jane* proclaimed Queen of *England*, and ſoon after beheaded; her Husband ſhortly after taken away by the ſame death; the Lady *Katharine*, her ſecond Daughter, married to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Son, divorced, and now ſhut up in the Tower; and the Lady *Mary*, her third Daughter, unequally matched in Marriage with *Keys*, Groom-porter at the Court: and ſhe herſelf, forgetting the Nobility of her Lineage, had married *Adrian Stokes*, a mean Gentleman, to her Diſhonour, but yet for her Security.

The Seventh Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini, 1564.

NOW did *France* inſult, having recovered Peace at home, which ſhe did owe in a manner to the Queen of *England*. For they had the more gladly concluded the ſame amongſt themſelves, that they might ſtop the Breach againſt the Inundation of the *Engliſh*, being not unmindfull what great Slaughters they had made in old time, being called into *France* by the Duke of *Burgundy* upon a private Grudge. When by this means the heat of War betwixt the *French* and the *Engliſh* was rather ſmothered, then any firm Peace knit, the Queen, having been neglected by the ungratefull Proteſtants of *France*, reſolved to take no longer Care of other mens eſtates with perill of her own, but deliberatly betook herſelf to cogitations of Peace: which ſhe aſſayed by the Negotiation of Sir *Thomas Smith*, a wiſe man and excellently well learned; and the *French* hearkened thereunto. *Throckmorton*, who then lived in *France* as it were in free Cuſtody, was joyned with him in procuring a Peace. *France* committed the matter to *Morvillier*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, and *Jaques Burdin* Secretary: who in the month of *April* conſented to theſe Conditions of Peace at *Troys* in *Champaigne*. *Neither party ſhall invade other. The one ſhall not aid any that invadeth the other. Private mens facts ſhall bind themſelves onely. Commerce ſhall be free. Traitours and Rebels ſhall not be received. Letters of Repriſall ſhall not be granted. Injuries ſhall be buried in oblivion. Reſervation of Rights and Titles, alſo Actions, Demands and Claims, which they have, or pretend to have, one againſt the other reſpectively, ſhall remain to them ſafe and whole: and in like manner Defences and Exceptions ſhall be reſerved.* The next day they agreed upon theſe Articles following by themſelves apart. *A certain Summe of money ſhall be repayed to Queen* Elizabeth *at times prefixed: Upon the payment of ſix hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns, the Hoſtages ſhall be delivered out of* England: and, Throckmorton *ſhall return free into his Country, after Confirmation of the League.* The *French* teſtified their Joy for this Peace by making

Peace betwixt *France* and *England*.

The Articles of Peace.

making Bonefires openly, according to cuſtome. The Queen of *England* confirmed it by Oath, in preſence of *Gonor* and *Foix:* and within a while after the French King did the like, in preſence of the Lord *Hunſdon*; who at the ſame time ſolemnly inveſted him into the Order of Saint *George*, with the Garter, a Robe of Honour, a Chain or Collar wrought with Roſes, with the Image of Saint *George* hanging at it, *&c.* 1564.

The French King choſen into the Order of the Garter.

In theſe days came Embaſſadour into *England*, in the room of the Biſhop of *Aquila*, who was deceaſed certain moneths before, *Don Diego*, or *Didaco*, *Guſman de Sylva*, Canon of *Toledo*, a man venerable for his Gravity and Prieſtly habit. During this *interim* the *Engliſh* were more hardly dealt withall in *Spain*, by the procurement of *Don Roderico Gomez de Sylva*, in Hatred of their Religion. But the Duke of *Alva* tempered the matter; whether in Love towards the *Engliſh*, as he pretended, or Hatred againſt *Gomez*, a man cannot well ſay. The *Engliſh* alſo were hardly intreated in the *Netherland* Provinces of the *Spaniard*, while Cardinall *Granvell*, in Hatred alſo of their Religion, went about to ſet the *Engliſh* and the *Netherlanders* (being both Nations happy by mutuall Commerce) at variance one againſt the other. For through his procurement the *Netherlanders* complained the laſt year by *Aſſonville*, that greater Cuſtomes then ordinary were laid upon their Merchandizes in *England*, (which notwithſtanding was done in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*,) and alſo that many of the *Netherlanders* Manufactures were by Act of Parliament prohibited to be brought into *England*. The *Engliſh* in like manner complained, that their Goods were confiſcated in the *Netherlands* for very light cauſes by Authority of certain new Edicts, whereby Merchandizes were forbidden to be exported; that paſſage through the *Netherland* Provinces with Horſes, Salt-peter, Gun-powder, out of *Italy* and *Germany*, was prohibited; that moſt grievous Impoſts, and ſuch as were never before heard of, were moſt rigorouſly exacted, for Victuals, Anchorages, Houſes, *&c.* and all this contrary to the League of Commerce heretofore concluded, called *The great Intercourſe*.

The *Engliſh* hardly handled in *Spain*, and in the *Low Countries*.

Mutuall Complaints of the *Netherlanders* and the *Engliſh*.

Meanwhile the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, Governeſs of the *Low Countries*, forbiddeth firſt the Matter or Stuffe of the Merchandizes prohibited in *England* to be carried into *England* out of the *Low Countries*, and ſoon after forbiddeth the Engliſh Cloaths to be brought into the *Netherlands*; pretending all to be done by reaſon of the Plague's raging very lately in *England*; but indeed through the ſubtil Counſell of the Cardinall *Granvell*, to the end that the Engliſh Cloathiers, and thoſe that in great number depended upon them, might be ſtirred up to Commotion, when their Cloaths were not exported, and in the mean time Cloathing might be ſet up in the *Netherlands*, to the Dammage of the *Engliſh*. The *Engliſh*, ſtomacking this, take occaſion, as if they ſtood in fear of the Inquiſition of *Spain*, now brought into the *Netherlands*, and foreſeeing future Tumults in the *Netherlands*, ſettle their Mart or Staple of Cloaths and Engliſh Merchandizes at *Emden* upon

Engliſh Merchandizes prohibited in the *Netherlands*.

1564.

upon the River *Ems* in *Frieſland*. On the other ſide, the Governeſs of the *Netherlands* forbiddeth by Edict all *Netherlanders* to trade with the *Engliſh* at *Emden* or elſewhere, or to bring any Merchandizes bought of them into the *Netherlands*, upon pain of Confiſcation.

The *Engliſh* ſettle their Staple at *Emden*.

Guſman laboureth to reconcile the Differences.

Theſe Courſes *Guſman* thought to be ſharp, and dammageable to both parts. For he, being a wiſe man, knew how great Wealth redounded to the *Netherlands* by the Engliſh-mens Traffick: whence it was that *Lodowick Malanus*, Earl of *Flanders*, about the year 1338. allured the *Engliſh*, by granting them moſt ample Priviledges, to ſettle the Staple of Engliſh Woll at *Bruges* in *Flanders*. For from that time ever ſince, through the reſort of almoſt all Nations into *Flanders* to buy Cloaths of Engliſh Wooll, and other Engliſh Merchandizes, it is incredible how much the Trade of Merchants, Retailing, Shipping, and Fiſhing, hath flouriſhed amongſt the *Netherlanders*. Inſomuch as the Engliſh Wooll hath been to them the true Golden Fleece, whereunto that famous Order of the Knighthood of the *Golden Fleece* hath been beholden for its Original, and the Dukes of *Burgundy* have been indebted for their Wealth. Certainly in theſe our days (I ſpeak it out of Books of Accounts) the Commerce betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Netherlanders* hath amounted to above twelve millions of Ducats every year: and the Engliſh Cloaths (to ſay nothing of Lead, Tin, &c.) to five millions of Ducats. Hence it was that he laboured to compound the matter, and ſo wrought, that the Commerce which had been ſtopped was reſtored to the former ſtate, and whatſoever had been decreed and ordained on both ſides to the contrary, from the firſt of *January* in the Firſt year of Queen *Elizabeth*, was ſuſpended, till more full order were taken by Commiſſioners on both ſides.

The Engliſh Wooll the Golden Fleece of *Burgundy*.

A rich trading betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Netherlanders*.

Reſtored by *Guſman*'s mediation.

But the next year following, when the Lord Viſcount *Montacute*, *Nicholas Wotton*, and *Walter Haddon* Maſter of the Requeſts, for the *Engliſh*, *Montigni*, *Aſſonville*, and *Joachim Ægidius*, for the *Netherlanders*, began once or twice to treat of theſe things at *Bruges*, the Tumults in the *Netherlands* increaſing interrupted the Conference, after it had been agreed, that there ſhould be free Commerce, till the one Prince ſhould denounce War againſt the other; the Merchants on both ſides being then to have forty days notice, that they might provide for themſelves and their Merchandizes.

A Treaty concerning it interrupted.

Theſe matters being compounded abroad, the Queen went in Progreſs to take the pleaſures of the Country, and viſited the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, one of the Eyes of *Britain*: where being with all kinds of Honour received by the Students, and delighted with Comedies, Tragedies, and Scholaſticall Diſputations, ſhe viewed every Colledge, and in a Latine Oration acknowledged their Love and Kindneſs, commending their multiplicity of Learning, and exhorting them to bend their whole mind and cogitations to the ſtudy of good Letters, whereof ſhe promiſed to deſerve well.

Q. *Elizabeth* cometh to ſee *Cambridge*.

At

1564.

At her Return ſhe created *Robert Dudley*, who was Maſter of the Horſe, and flouriſhed in higheſt grace with her, and whom ſhe had with a privy purpoſe deſtined (as I ſaid) to be Husband to the Queen of *Scots*, Baron of *Denbigh*, (giving him *Denbigh*, with large Poſſeſſions thereunto belonging;) and the next day ſhe created him Earl of *Leiceſter, to him and to the Heirs male of his body lawfully begotten*; and all to make him the more worthy of ſo high a Marriage. For which cauſe alſo ſhe had before honoured his eldeſt Brother *Ambroſe* with the Title of Lord *Liſle*, or of the *Iſle*, and Earl of *Warwick, to him and his lawfull Heirs male, and to his Brother* Robert, *and the Heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.* *Dudley*, having theſe Honours heaped upon him, to the end to winde himſelf into Favour with the Queen of *Scots*, whom he wooed by all the Offices he could, and laboured to win her Favour, forthwith accuſed the Lord Keeper *Bacon* to the Queen, that he had intermeddled againſt the Queen of *Scots* in the matter of Succeſſion, and was privy to a Book wherein *Hales* (whom I have before ſpoken of) went about to derive the Title of the Crown of *England*, in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Iſſue, to the Houſe of *Suffolk*. Whereupon *Hales* was committed to the Tower: but *Bacon* (though he denied it) was, though with much adoe, at laſt reſtored to the Queen's Favour by *Cecyl*, who kept his own Judgement in this point faſt locked up within his own breaſt, and ſo reſolved always to doe, unleſs (as he ſaid) the Queen herſelf ſhould command him to deliver it; who certainly never heard any thing more unwillingly, then that the Title of Succeſſion ſhould be called into queſtion. But the wiſer and wealthier ſort were not more ſolicitous of any thing in the world, whileſt, upon the account of difference in Religion, the hot Proteſtants thought that the Queen of *Scots*, though her Title were moſt undoubted, yet, becauſe ſhe was of another Religion, was to be rejected upon ſome ſubtil and nice points in Law: and of the Papiſts, ſome, and for the moſt part all indifferent perſons, thought ſhe was to be admitted, as being the true and undoubted Heir by Law; and ſome of them preferred *Margaret*, the Queen of *Scots* Aunt, and Wife to *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, and her Children, from whom they had great hopes, as being born in *England*. Theſe things were not hid from the Queen of *Scots*, who, to prevent them all ſhe could, ſent for *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* into *Scotland*, by advice of the Counteſs of *Lenox* her Aunt, under colour to reſtore him to his ancient Inheritance, but indeed to conſult with him about theſe matters: who by his Wife's means obtained both Leave and Letters of Commendation from Queen *Elizabeth*, when he had now been a baniſhed man out of his Country full twenty years.

This *Matthew* (to fetch the matter higher for more perſpicuity) was deſcended of the ſame Stock of the *Stuarts* that the Royall Family of the Kings of *Scots* were of, and born of their Bloud Royall. For *Mary*, the Daughter of *James* the Second King of *Scots*, bare to *James Hamilton*,

She raiſeth *Robert Dudley* to Honours,

and his Brother *Ambroſe*.

Dudley accuſeth *Bacon*.

Divers opinions concerning the Succeſſion.

The Queen of *Scots* calleth home *Lenox* into *Scotland*.

His Genealogie.

1564. *Hamilton*, *James* the firſt Earl of *Arran* of that Stock, and *Mary* a Daughter, Wife to *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, the firſt of this Chriſten name. *James* Earl of *Arran*, divorcing his firſt Wife, married over her head in her life-time *Jenetta* of *Betove*, the Cardinall of *Betone*'s Aunt, on whom he begat *James* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, whom his Emulators hereupon held for illegitimate. *Mary*, the Earl of *Arran*'s Siſter, bare to *Matthew John* Earl of *Lenox*; who being ſlain by the *Hamiltons*, while he ſought to ſet King *James* the Fourth at liberty, left this ſecond *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, of whom I now ſpeak, a man moſt dear to *James* the Fifth for his Father's ſake. But *Matthew*, after the King was dead, and that the *Hamiltons* bare all the Sway, withdrew himſelf into *France*: from whence being ſent back into *Scotland* by *Henry* the French King, leſt the Commonwealth of *Scotland* ſhould receive any Detriment by *Hamilton* the Regent, he performed good ſervice. Nevertheleſs, being indeed a good and open-hearted man, he was intrapped in the cunning Wiles of the Cardinall of *Betone* and *Hamilton*, and within a ſhort time loſt the French King's Favour. And when he could neither ſtay at home, nor return into *France*, he came into *England*, and put himſelf under the Protection of King *Henry* the Eighth, who gladly entertained him, being a man powerfull in Adherents in the Weſt parts of *Scotland*: and though the *Hamiltons* condemned him, and confiſcated his Poſſeſſions; yet he acknowledged him the next Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*, after *Mary*, then a young Infant, and gave him *Margaret Douglaſs*, his Niece by his elder Siſter, to Wife, with large Poſſeſſions in *England*, to the value of ſeventeen hundred Marks by the year; covenanting with him, that he ſhould deliver into the King of *England*'s hands the Caſtle of *Dunbritton* and the Iſle of *Buth*, with the Caſtle of *Rothſay*. Which things being reſolutely undertaken, failed of the ſucceſs.

The Cauſes of her calling home *Lenox*.

This *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* the Queen of *Scots*, being a wiſe and provident Woman, and one which relied upon the hopes of *England*, ſent for (as I ſaid) into *Scotland*, remitted his Baniſhment, and reſtored him to his ancient Eſtate, as well to oppoſe him againſt the Attempts of *James* her baſe Brother, whom ſhe had honoured with the Earldome of *Murray*, as alſo to cut off from others all hope of Succeſſion in *England* by this *Matthew*'s Son, *Henry* Lord *Darly*. For if he, being a young man of the Bloud Royall, born in *England*, and of the Engliſh-men moſt dearly beloved, ſhould match into ſome potent Family of *England*, ſhe doubted leſt he, relying upon the ſtrength of the *Engliſh*, might be ſome Lett unto her in her Title to the Succeſſion in *England*; foraſmuch as in the opinion of moſt men he was holden to be the next Heir after her to the Kingdome of *England*. Neither was there any one thing which ſhe more deſired, then that the two Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *England* might be devolved by her upon ſome man of the Scotiſh Bloud; and might by him be propagated to poſterity in the ancient name of the *Stuarts*.

Hereof

1564.

Hereof Queen *Elizabeth* got ſome inkling, who, to prevent it, advertiſed the Queen of *Scots* by *Randolph*, that that Marriage was generally ſo diſliked by all the *Engliſh*, that ſhe had prorogued the Parliament to another time, againſt the minds of her Council, leſt the Eſtates of the Realm being incenſed, ſhould even for this cauſe enact ſomewhat againſt her Title to the Succeſſion. Which that it might not be done afterward, and that ſhe might give ſatisfaction to the *Engliſh*, ſhe adviſed her to think of ſome other Marriage: and now again ſhe earneſtly commended *Leiceſter* unto her for an Husband, whom in this reſpect chiefly ſhe had raiſed to the Honour of an Earl.

The Queen of *England* ſeeketh to prevent her.

She commendeth *Leiceſter* again.

Hereupon the Earl of *Bedford* and *Randolph*, the Earl of *Murray* and *Lidington*, Commiſſioners on both ſides, treated at *Berwick*, in the month of *November*, about a Marriage with *Leiceſter*. The Engliſh Commiſſioners promiſed inviolable Amity, perpetual Peace, and aſſured hope of Succeſſion, if ſhe would marry with *Leiceſter*. For upon this Condition Queen *Elizabeth* had promiſed to declare her by Act of Parliament her adoptive Daughter or Siſter, as ſoon as ſhe was married. The Scottiſh Commiſſioners maintained ſtifly, that it ſtood not with the dignity of a Queen, which had been ſought unto for Marriage by *Charles* the Emperour *Ferdinand*'s Son, by the French King, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, to condeſcend to the Marriage of a new-created Earl, and a Subject of *England*, upon Hope onely, without Dowry; neither ſtood it with the Queen of *England*'s Honour, to commend ſuch an Husband to ſo great a Princeſs, her Kinſwoman: But this would be a moſt certain argument of her Love, if ſhe would permit her to chuſe her a man at her pleaſure, which would imbrace Peace with *England*, and withall aſſign unto her ſome annual Penſion, and confirm unto her the Title of Succeſſion by Act of Parliament. In all this buſineſs Queen *Elizabeth* much deſired that by this Marriage the Succeſſion of both Kingdoms might be eſtabliſhed in an Engliſh Stock, though ſhe made but ſlow ſpeed about it. The Queen of *Scots*, when the matter was delayed the ſpace of full two years, and now ſhe had pitched upon the Lord *Darly* for her Husband, ſuſpected that ſhe was deceitfully dealt withall, and that Queen *Elizabeth* propounded this Marriage to no other purpoſe, but to chuſe for herſelf the beſt of all the Suitours; or elſe to marry with *Leiceſter* the more excuſably, if ſhe, being an abſolute Queen, did firſt conſent to the Marriage of *Leiceſter*. But the Scottiſh Commiſſioners, having an eye to their own intereſts, had reſolved to break off any Match whatſoever by any means, that they might maintain their own power with the Queen. Queen *Elizabeth* alſo had adviſed them to hinder her Marriage with *Darly*; and *Leiceſter* himſelf, in hopes of enjoying Queen *Elizabeth*, ſecretly warned *Bedford* by private Letters, that he ſhould not be eager in the matter. And by reaſon of this Hope he was thought to have ſecretly favoured the Lord *Darly*.

A Conference about a Marriage with *Leiceſter*.

The Queen of *Scots* Suitours.

The fruitleſs Iſſue of the Conference.

1565.

The Eighth Year of Her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1565.

The Lord *Darly* goeth into *Scotland.*

THE Lord *Darly* in the mean time, by the earneſt and humble Interceſſion of his Mother to Queen *Elizabeth*, with much adoe obtained Leave to goe into *Scotland*, and there to ſtay three months, under pretence that he might be partener of his Father's Reſtitution. And in that moſt ſharp Winter when the *Thames* was ſo frozen over, that men might goe over it, he came to *Edenborough* in the month of *February*. A young Gentleman he was, of a Beauty moſt worthy of a Crown, of a very goodly Perſonage, a moſt mild Diſpoſition and ſweet Conditions. The Queen of *Scots* no ſooner ſaw him, but preſently ſhe fell in love with him: and to conceal her Love, ſhe diſcourſed ever and anon with *Randolph* the Engliſh Embaſſadour in *Scotland* of her Marriage with *Leiceſter*; and at the ſame time ſueth for a Diſpenſation from *Rome*, for that the Lord *Darly* and ſhe were ſo near of Kin, that by the Canon Law there muſt needs be a Diſpenſation. When theſe things came to light, ſhe ſent *Lidington* to Queen *Elizabeth*, that her Marriage with the Lord *Darly* might be contracted with her Conſent, and that ſhe might no longer be kept from Marriage in a vain Expectation.

The Queen of *Scots* falleth in love with him.

She craveth Queen *Elizabeth*'s Aſſent to her Marriage.

A Conſultation about theſe matters.

Queen *Elizabeth* propoundeth the matter to her inwardeſt Counſellours, who, through the ſecret Suggeſtions of *Murray*, eaſily believed that the Queen of *Scots* Deſign by this Marriage tended to ſtrengthen her Right and Title to the Crown of *England*, and to her claiming it again, and withall to bring back the Romiſh Religion; and that ſome would adhere unto her for the certainty of Succeſſion by the Children of this Marriage, and others out of their Affection to the Romiſh Religion; foraſmuch as they knew for certain that the far greater part of the Juſticers of Peace throughout *England* were devoted to the Romiſh Religion. For the preventing of theſe matters, they thought it moſt neceſſary, firſt, to make ſuit to the Queen to marry ſome man out of hand, that the Welfare and Hope of the *Engliſh* might depend upon the certainty of Succeſſion by her and her Iſſue, and not upon any other. (For they feared, leſt if the Queen of *Scots* ſhould marry firſt, and have Iſſue, more would incline towards her for the certainty and aſſurance of Succeſſion.) Secondly, that the Profeſſion of the Romiſh Religion ſhould be infringed as much as might be throughout all *England*, and the Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion carefully advanced and eſtabliſhed: This latter, by dealing more moderately with ſome over-hot Proteſtants about Indifferent things: that other, by the new Commitment of the Popiſh Biſhops to Cuſtody, that had been diſplaced, and were diſperſed abroad in the Country during the heat of the Peſtilence; by granting unto the Biſhops more ample Authority to exerciſe the Eccleſiaſtical

The Council's Advice to the Queen concerning her Marriage,

the ſuppreſſing Popery, and encouraging Proteſtantiſm,

1565.

ſtical Laws, againſt that Scare-crow of the *Præmunire* which the Lawyers caſt in their way; by ſuppreſſing of Books ſent out of the *Netherlands* into *England* by *Harding* and other fugitive Divines; by removing certain Scottiſh Prieſts that lurked in *England*; by depriving the Engliſh Fugitives of their Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, which hitherto they enjoyed; and by compelling the Judges of the Land (which were almoſt all of them Papiſts) to acknowledge the Queen's Supremacy by Oath. But for the breaking off of the Marriage with the Lord *Darly*, it was thought good that, for a Terrour, Souldiers ſhould be levied all over the Borders towards *Scotland*, and that *Berwick* ſhould be manned with a ſtronger Garriſon: that the Counteſs of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darly*'s Mother, and her Son *Charles*, ſhould be committed to Cuſtody: that the Earl of *Lenox*, and his Son the Lord *Darly*, ſhould be called home out of *Scotland* into *England*, upon pain of loſs of Goods and Lands, before ſuch time as any Confederacy ſhould be made with the *French* King or the *Spaniard*: that the *Scots* which oppoſed the Marriage ſhould be ſupported; and that the Lady *Katharine Grey* (with the Earl of *Hertford*) ſhould be received into ſome Grace, of whom alone the Queen of *Scots* was thought to ſtand in doubt and fear, as a Competitour in the Succeſſion of the Crown. And there was not any one thing which in their Judgment could more delay and hinder the ſaid Marriage.

and the deſearing the Marriage with the Lord *Darly*.

Hereupon was ſent unto the Queen of *Scots* Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, to put her in mind "that *it was long time to be deliberated of* "*which was but once to be reſolved on*; that an haſty Marriage was "evermore attended with Repentance: and to recommend again and again the Marriage with *Leiceſter*: "that the other Match with "her Aunt's Son was flatly repugnant to the Pope's Laws. For Queen *Elizabeth* much deſired that by her ſome man of the Engliſh Bloud might ſucceed in both Kingdoms: although there wanted not ſome which thought it would make for the Safety of Religion and of both Kingdoms, if ſhe died without Iſſue. She anſwered, "that the mat-"ter could not now be recalled: neither was there any cauſe why "Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould be offended, conſidering by her Advice ſhe "had choſen, not a Forreiner, but an Engliſh-man, and one that was "deſcended of the Bloud Royal of both Kingdoms, and the Nobleſt "man of all *Britain*.

Throckmorton ſent to hinder the Marriage.

The Queen of *Scots* Anſwer.

Lidington, all this while being in *England*, had ſundry times colourably propounded to *Leiceſter* the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots*; and alſo to the Duke of *Norfolk*, as one far more worthy of that Royal Match, who at that time put it off with a modeſt Refuſal.

The Queen of *England*, that ſhe might interpoſe ſome Impediment to this haſtened Marriage, recalleth home *Lenox* and the Lord *Darly* his Son, as her Subjects, according to the Tenour of her Licenſe granted. The Father moſt modeſtly excuſeth himſelf by Letters: the Son beſeecheth her that ſhe will not be againſt his Honour; ſignifieth that it may be he may be of uſe to *England* his moſt dear Coun-

Lenox and *Darly* called home out of *Scotland*.

They make their Excuſe.

1565.

try, and openly profeſſeth himſelf to be a moſt devoted Lover and Honourer of the Queen of *Scots* above all others. Who, to requite his Love, ſoon after honoured him with the Dignity of Knighthood, and with the Titles of Baron of *Ardmanock*, Earl of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rothſay*; and the fifth month after he was come into *Scotland* took him to her Husband, with the Aſſent of very many of the Nobility, and proclaimed him King: while *Murray*, who plotted apart to ſerve his own Ambition, and, under the glorious Pretext of Religion, had drawn to his party the Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, a very good man, fretted at it, and others roſe in Commotion, diſputing theſe Queſtions: *Whether a Papiſt might be admitted to be King*; *Whether the Queen of* Scotland *might chuſe her a Husband at her own pleaſure*; *Whether the States of the Realm might impoſe one upon her by their own Authority*.

The Queen of *Scots* marrieth the Lord *Darly*. *Murray* and others fret at it.

The Queen of *England* beareth it moderately.

The Queen of *England*, who knew the mild nature and Diſpoſition of the Lord *Darly*, and the honeſt and open heart of his Father, pittying the young man her Kinſman, and the young Queen, (who had to doe with moſt turbulent men, which, having been looſed now above twenty years from the Command of a King, knew not how to brook Kings,) took the matter more quietly. And now ſhe feared nothing from them, when ſhe ſaw that the power of the Queen her Emulator was nothing augmented by ſo mean a Match, that ſhe had the Lord *Darly*'s Mother in her own power, and foreſaw withall that Commotions would ariſe hereby in *Scotland*; which were not long before they were raiſed. For ſome of the Noblemen of *Scotland*, eſpecially *Hamilton* and *Murray*, diſdaining this Marriage, (*Murray*, for that it was contracted without the Conſent of the Queen of *England*, and *Hamilton*, in Emulation of the Houſe of *Lenox*, but both of them under colour of preſerving Religion,) advanced their Enſigns to break off the Marriage: inſomuch as the Queen was fain to levy Forces to celebrate her Marriage in ſecurity. And ſo ſharply ſhe proſecuted the Rebels by the King her Husband, that ſhe chaſed them into *England*, before the Engliſh Companies promiſed them could come to their Succour. The Queen of *England* granted *Murray* by way of connivence a Lurking-place in *England*, being a man moſt addicted to the *Engliſh*, and ſecretly ſupplied him with money by the hands of the Earl of *Bedford*, till he returned into *Scotland* the next day after *David Rizo* was ſlain, as in due place we will declare. The Cauſes why ſhe admitted *Murray* and the Scottiſh Rebels into *England* were theſe; for that the Queen of *Scots* had received into her Protection *Taxley*, *Standon* and *Walſh*, Engliſh Fugitives into *Scotland*, and *O-Neal* an Iriſh-man, and had plotted with the Pope againſt the *Engliſh*, and had not done Juſtice upon the Rank-riders and Pirates.

Some of the *Scots* take Arms.

They are put to flight, and harboured in *England*.

For what reaſon.

This Marriage being conſummated, nothing ſeemed better to thoſe which principally ſought the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Safety of *England*, then that, to weaken the Queen of *Scots* Hope of the Kingdom of *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould

Queen *Elizabeth* perſwaded to marry.

now

1565.

now ſeriouſly apply her mind to Marriage. And very opportunely at that time did the Emperour *Maximilian* the Second propound honourable Conditions of Marriage with his Brother *Charles*, by *Adam Smircorite* his Embaſſadour. At which time (for what cauſes I know not, unleſs it were for this Marriage,) there aroſe very grievous Quarrels in the Court between the Earl of *Suſſex*, who highly favoured the Marriage, and *Leiceſter*, who, in reſpect of his own Hopes, privily oppoſed it. (Certainly great and boundleſs Hopes do they foſter, which have already attained things they could never hope for.) And ſurely *Suſſex* did not well to contemn him as a new Upſtart, who (as he was wont to ſay in detracting him) could produce no more but two Anceſtors, namely, his Father and his Grandfather, and thoſe both of them Enemies and Traitours to their Country. Hereupon the whole Court was divided into Factions and parttaking, and the Earls, if at any time they went abroad, carried with them great Trains of Followers with Swords and Bucklers, having iron Pikes pointing out at the Boſſes, (which were then in uſe,) as if it were to try their uttermoſt. But after a few days the Queen reconciled them, and buried their Malice rather then took it away. For the Diſſenſions of the Nobility, and that common By-word, *Divide & impera*, that is, *Set at odds, and command*, which ſome men had in their mouths, ſhe condemned, judging that the force of Command conſiſted in the Conſent of Obeyers: yet now and then ſhe took pleaſure (and not unprofitably) in the Emulation and privy Grudges of her Women.

The Emperour commendeth his Brother.

Hence grow Quarrels in the Court betwixt *Suſſex* and *Leiceſter*.

Which Queen *Elizabeth* compoundeth.

In the mean time ſhe, being not unmindfull of Scottiſh matters, within a month or two after the ſolemnizing of the Marriage in *Scotland*, ſent *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Privy Chamber, to the Queen of *Scots*, to put her in mind of not breaking the Peace; to expoſtulate her haſty Marriage with a native Subject of *England* without her Conſent; and withall to require *Lenox* and the Lord *Darly* his Son to be ſent back into *England*, according to the tenour of the Confederacy, and *Murray* to be received into Grace. She, having ſecret inkling of the matter, admitted not the man to her preſence, but, by Articles put in writing, *promiſed in the word of a Prince, that neither ſhe nor her Husband would attempt any thing which ſhould be prejudiciall to the Queen of* England, *or to the lawfull Children of her body, or to the Tranquillity of the Realm, either by receiving of Fugitives, or making of Leagues with Forreiners, or by any other means: yea, that they would moſt gladly contract ſuch a League with the Queen and Kingdome of* England, *as might be beneficiall and honourable to both Kingdoms; and would innovate nothing in the Religion, Laws and Liberties of* England, *if ever they ſhould enjoy the Kingdome of* England. *Howbeit with this Condition, that the Queen of* England *would in like ſort fully perform the ſame things towards her and her Husband, and would by Act of Parliament eſtabliſh the Succeſſion of the Crown of* England *in her Perſon and her lawfull Iſſue, and in default thereof, in* Margaret

Q. *Elizabeth* ſendeth an Embaſſadour into *Scotland*. His Errand.

The Embaſſadour neglected. The *Scots* Queen's Anſwer.

1565. garet *Counteſs of* Lenox, *her Husband's Mother, and her lawfull Children. As for other matters, ſhe had adverti ſed the Queen of her Marriage with the Lord* Darly, *as ſoon as ſhe was certainly reſolved to marry him; but received no Anſwer. That ſhe had ſatisfied the Queen's Demands, foraſmuch as ſhe had not married a Forreiner, but an Engliſhman, then whom ſhe knew not any of more noble Bloud, nor more worthy of her, in all* Britain. *But it ſeemed ſtrange to her, that ſhe might not keep the Lord* Darly *with her, whom ſhe had joyned unto her in holy Wedlock; or ſhould not retain* Lenox *in* Scotland, *who was a native Earl of* Scotland. *As for* Murray, *whom ſhe had found her moſt mortall Enemy, ſhe lovingly intreateth her to leave her Subjects to her own Judgment, for ſhe intermeddled not in cauſes of the Subjects of* England. With this Anſwer *Tamworth* returned, having received Entertainment below his worth, as he thought: for, being a man of a buſie tongue, he had ſpotted the Queen of *Scots* Reputation with I know not what Obloquie, and vouchſafed not her Husband the Title of King.

Cecily of *Swethland*, Marchioneſs of *Baden*, cometh into *England*.

At this time theſe things following fell out for the increaſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Honour. *viz.* That by reaſon of the generall voice and report of all men touching her Vertue, *Cecily*, the Siſter of *Erric* King of *Swethland*, and Wife of *Chriſtopher* Marqueſs of *Baden*, being now great with child, came a long Journey from the farthermoſt parts of the North through *Germany* to ſee her; whom with her Husband ſhe honourably entertained, aſſigning unto her a yearly Penſion, and Chriſtening her Son, whom ſhe named *Edwardus Fortunatus*: and *Donald Mac-Carty More*, a great and mighty Lord of *Ireland*, upon his Knees delivered into her hands very large Territories, that receiving them back again from her, *he might hold them in fee to him and his Heirs male lawfully begotten*; and for default of ſuch Heirs, he granted them to the Crown of *England*. She, of her Courteſie moſt graciouſly embracing him, (as ſhe was a Princeſs born to win the Love of men,) did in her Wiſedome inveſt him ſolemnly with the Title of Earl of *Glencarn*, and his Son *Teig* with the Title of Baron of *Valentia*, gave them Gifts, and bore the charges of their Journey, that ſhe might make uſe of them againſt *Deſmond*, who was now ſuſpected to endeavour ſome Innovation.

Her honourable Welcome.

Mac-Carty-More ſurrenders his Eſtate to the Queen.

Is created Earl of *Glencarn*, and his Son Baron of *Valentia*.

Iriſh matters. Sir *Nich. Arnold* Lord Juſticer, and Sir *Henry Sidney*.

This year Sir *Nicholas Arnold* of *Glouceſterſhire*, Knight, governed *Ireland* with the Title of Lord Juſticer, and had not above 1590 men in Garriſons: but he being ſoon called home, delivered up his Charge to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who in the Reign of Queen *Mary* had been for a while Juſticer and Treaſurer of *Ireland*, and was now Preſident of *Wales*. The firſt Preſidents of *Ireland*, whom now we call in Latine *Proreges*, that is, Viceroys, or Deputies, were (that I may note it by the way) from the firſt entrance of the *Engliſh* under *Henry* the Second, till King *Edward* the Third's days, called *Juſticers of Ireland*, and *Juſticers and Keepers of the Land of Ireland*, then *Lieutenants*; and their Vicegerents *Deputies*. Afterward they were at the Prin-

Lieutenants, Juſticers, and Deputies of *Ireland*.

ce's

ce's pleaſure termed, ſometimes *Deputies*, ſometimes *Juſticers*, and ſometimes *Lieutenants*, (which is a little more Honour;) but for the moſt part with one and the ſame Authority. And without doubt thoſe firſt Juſticers of *Ireland* (as the Juſticer of *England*, who in that Age was alſo for brevity called *Juſtice*,) were ordained for keeping of the Peace, and miniſtring of Juſtice to all and every perſon; as were the Proprætors and Proconſuls in old time among the *Romans*, which were ſent into a Province with abſolute Command. 1565.

Sidney, having taken the Charge upon him, found *Munſter*, the South part of *Ireland*, moſt confuſed, *Girald* Earl of *Deſmond*, who had religiouſly promiſed all Duties of a faithfull Subject, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and others, being in hot Combuſtion amongſt themſelves, and breaking forth into Civil wars. Inſomuch as the Queen, to take away the Strife, ſent for *Deſmond* into *England*, and ordained a Preſident to miniſter Juſtice throughout that Province, with an Aſſiſtent, two Lawyers, and a * Clerk. And for the firſt Preſident ſhe named Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*, a man of long practice and experience in Iriſh matters.

Diſcord betwixt the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Ormond*.

* *Scriba*. The firſt Preſident of *Munſter*.

In the midſt of *October* this year Sir *Thomas Chaloner* rendered his Soul to God, being lately returned from his Embaſſie in *Spain*, a man very famous, born in *London*, and brought up in *Cambridge*, who had devoted himſelf as well to the *Muſes* as to *Mars*. Being a young man, he ſerved under *Charles* the Fifth in the Expedition of *Algier*, where being ſhipwreck'd, after he had ſwome till his Strength and his Arms failed him, at the length catching hold of a Cable with his Teeth, he eſcaped, but not without the loſs of ſome of his Teeth. In the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth, at *Muſſelborough*-field he fought ſo manfully, that the Duke of *Somerſet* Knighted him. Under Queen *Elizabeth* he went on an honourable Embaſſie to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and was ordinary Embaſſadour in *Spain* almoſt four years, where in elegant and learned Verſe he compoſed five Books *De Republica Anglorum inſtauranda*, whilſt (as he ſaid) he lived *Hyeme in furno, Æſtate in horreo*, that is, in Winter in a Stove, in Summer in a Barn. He was buried in *Saint Paul's* Church in *London*, with a ſumptuous Funerall according to his Worth, whereat *Cecyl* was preſent as chief Mourner; for his Son *Thomas*, who was afterward Governour to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, was not then grown up.

The death of Sir *Thomas Chaloner*.

The

1566.

The Ninth Year of Her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1566.

IN the beginning of the year *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, ſent *Ramboulet* into *England* to the Queen with the Enſigns of the Cockle-ſhelled Order of *Saint Michael*, that ſhe might beſtow them on what two Noble-men of *England* ſhe pleaſed. She choſe the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Leiceſter*; *Leiceſter* as moſt dear unto her, *Norfolk* as moſt Noble: whom *Ramboulet* ſolemnly inveſted in the Queen's Court at *Weſtminſter*, after he had been himſelf honourably placed for the King his Maſter amongſt the Knights of *Saint George* at *Windſor*. This French Order ſhe then held for a great Honour, remembring that no Engliſh-men had been choſen into that Order but her Father King *Henry* the Eighth, her Brother King *Edward* the Sixth, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*: which ſhe, being moſt reſpectfull of all things which pertain to Honour, grieved to ſee afterwards grown vile and baſe, when ſhe perceived it to be proſtituted as it were to every man without difference. Neither did ſhe onely regard matters of Honour, but above all things moſt carefull ſhe was of the Safety and Welfare of her Subjects. For whereas, through the Unſeaſonableneſs of the Air, obſerving men feared a Dearth of Grain; ſhe not onely prohibited the Tranſportation of Grain out of *England*, but providently alſo procured great plenty to be brought in.

Norfolk and *Leiceſter* made Knights of the French Order of Saint *Michael*.

Grain provided by the Queen.

In the meantime *Henry* Earl of *Arundell*, the powerfulleſt Lord amongſt the Nobility of the Land, after he had, in a vain Hope of Marriage with the Queen, conſumed great Wealth, and his Hope was now quite daſhed, (*Leiceſter* being of late in greateſt Power with the Queen, and his Friends in Court failing him,) obtained Leave, under colour of recovering his Health, but indeed to mitigate his Grief, and voluntarily departed the Land. But others of the Engliſh Nation, who, according to their innate Fortitude, thought themſelves born to Arms, not to Idleneſs, when Gentlemen out of all parts of *Europe* were excited upon the fame of the War againſt the *Turks*, went into *Hungary*. Amongſt whom thoſe of the better Note were Sir *John Smith*, Couſin-german to King *Edward* the Sixth, being Son to the Siſter of *Jane Seimour*, the King's Mother, *Henry Champernoun*, *Philip Butſhide*, *Richard Greenvill*, *William Gorges*, *Thomas Cotton*, and others.

Arundell travelleth.

Engliſh-men goe into *Hungary* againſt the *Turk*.

In *June* following was the Queen of *Scots*, to the perpetuall Felicity of *Britain*, happily brought to bed of her Son *James*, who is now Monarch of *Britain*; of which ſhe ſhortly after informed Queen *Elizabeth* by *James Melvin*. The Queen, though ſhe inwardly grieved that ſhe was prevented by her Emulator in the Honour of being a Mother, yet ſent ſhe forthwith Sir *Henry Killegrew* to congratulate her

James the Sixth, King of the *Scots*, born.

Q. *Elizabeth* congratulateth her.

her Delivery, and the Birth of her Son; and withall to put her in mind no more to favour *Shan O Neal*, who then rebelled in *Ireland*, or to harbour *Chriſtopher Rokesby*, a Fugitive out of *England*, as alſo to puniſh certain Rank-riders upon the Borders. 1566.

She viſiteth the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

Queen *Elizabeth* now taking her Progreſs into the Country for her Recreation, that ſhe might ſhew herſelf no leſs gracious to the *Muſes* at *Oxford* then ſhe had done at *Cambridge*, which gently envied one another, went to the Univerſity of *Oxford*; where being magnificently entertained ſhe ſtayed ſeven days, being much delighted with the Pleaſantneſs of the Place, the Beautifulneſs of the Colleges, and the Wits and moſt exquiſite Learning of the Students, who ſpent a great part of the Night in Comedies and Tragedies, and the Days in learned Diſputations: for which ſhe gave them large Thanks in a Latine Oration, with ſingular Sweetneſs of ſpeech, and ſo moſt graciouſly bade them farewell.

A Parliament called.

As ſoon as ſhe returned to *London*, the Eſtates of the Realm aſſembled themſelves in great number the firſt of *November*, being the day appointed by Summons: and after they had paſſed a Bill or two, they began to debate roundly about the Succeſſion, for that the Queen, as if ſhe had vowed Virginity, had now in full 8 years time thought nothing ſeriouſly of a Husband: and on the one ſide the Papiſts propounded unto themſelves the Queen of *Scots*, which had newly brought forth a Son; on the other the Proteſtants, with different Affections, propounded to themſelves, ſome one man, and ſome another; and every of them having reſpect to his own Security and Religion, preſaged the Storms of a moſt lamentable time, if ſhe ſhould die without a certain Succeſſour. And ſo far brake forth their ſharp and hot ſpirits, that they taxed the Queen as if ſhe neglected her Country and Poſterity; defamed *Cecyl* with Slanders and ſcandalous Books, as a corrupt Counſellour in this matter; and curſed *Huic*, the Queen's Phyſician, as a Diſſwader of her Marriage for I know not what womaniſh Impotency. The Earls alſo of *Pembroke* and *Leiceſter* and others openly, and the Duke of *Norfolk* more cloſely, thought that an Husband was to be impoſed upon the Queen, or a Succeſſour to be publickly deſigned by an Act of Parliament, even againſt the Queen's will. Whereupon they were excluded out of the Preſence-Chamber, and prohibited Acceſs to the Queen. But they ſoon ſubmitted themſelves to the Queen, and obtained Pardon.

The Eſtates urge the Q. to Marriage, or to declare a Succeſſour.

The Lords moderately.

Yet they and the reſt of the Higher Houſe, being ſolicitous about a Succeſſour, beſought the Queen with all earneſtneſs, by the mouth of *Bacon* Lord Keeper, their Speaker, according to the Duty which they owed to God, their Allegeance to their Prince, and Love to their Country, "That, foraſmuch as by her they now quietly enjoyed "all the Benefits of Peace, Juſtice and Clemency, both they and their "Poſterity might ſecurely and always enjoy the ſame by her. But "(as they demonſtrated) they cannot enjoy the ſame, unleſs ſhe "Marry, and withall deſign a Succeſſour. Above all things therefore

1566. "they do wiſh and pray her, that ſhe will joyn herſelf in the ſacred "Bond of Marriage to whomſoever, whereſoever, and how ſoon ſo- "ever it may pleaſe her, to the end ſhe may have Children to be "Pillars of the Realm: and withall that ſhe will, with the Eſtates of "the Realm, conſtitute and appoint a Succeſſour, if ſhe or her Chil- "dren (which God forbid) ſhould die without Iſſue. That they "ſhould ſo earneſtly beg this, which is ſo mainly neceſſary, there "are (ſay they) many Reaſons: to wit, the freſh Fear which in- "vaded all men, when very lately her Health was indangered; the "Opportunity of the time, ſince the Eſtates of the Realm were now "aſſembled, who would maturely deliberate of ſo weighty matters; "the Terrour which ſhe would ſtrike into her Adverſaries; and "the immortall Joy wherewith ſhe would repleniſh all her Subjects. "They commend the Examples of her Anceſtours, which in ſuch "caſes have prudently provided for the Security of their Poſterity; "condemning that Speech of *Pyrrhus*, who ſaid he would leave the "Kingdome to him which had the ſharpeſt Sword. Moreover they "ſet before her how great a Storm of Calamities would threaten "*England*, if ſhe ſhould depart this life without deſigning a certain "Succeſſour: that Seditions and Civil wars would break forth, "wherein the Victory itſelf were moſt miſerable: that Religion "would be aboliſhed, Juſtice ſmothered, the Laws troden under "feet, when there ſhould be no certain Prince, which is the Soul of "the Law; and that the Kingdome would fall as a Prey to Forrei- "ners. And other Calamities of that ſort they reckon up and ag- "gravate, wherein all men would be involved if ſhe ſhould die with- "out Iſſue. Out of the Sacred Scriptures alſo they modeſtly joyn "hereunto Precepts, Counſels, and Examples.

The Commons moſt ſharply.

But in the Lower Houſe ſome there were which handled theſe things more tumultuouſly, namely, *Bell* and *Monſon*, great Lawyers, *Dutton*, *Paul Wentworth*, and others, which twitted the Authority of the Queen's Majeſty too much, and, amongſt other things, maintained, "That Kings are bound to deſign a Succeſſour: that the Love of the "Subjects is the ſtrongeſt, yea the impregnable, Fort of Princes, and "their onely Prop and Pillar. But this Love Princes cannot get, "unleſs they provide that it may goe well with their Subjects, not "onely whileſt they live themſelves, but after their death alſo. And "this can by no means be effected, unleſs there be a Succeſſour cer- "tainly known. That the Queen, by not deſigning a Succeſſour, "doth both provoke the Wrath of God, and alienate the Hearts of "her People. But, that ſhe may have God favourable towards her, "and her People moſt loving and faſt tied unto her, and that ſhe may "ſet up Monuments for herſelf in mens minds which ſhall never de- "cay, let her deſign a Succeſſour. If not, ſhe may be reckoned of, "not as a Nurſe, not as a Mother of her Country, but as a Step-mo- "ther, nay, as a Parricide of her Country, which had rather that "*England*, which now breathed with her Breath, ſhould expire to-

"gether

"gether with her then ſurvive her. That no Princes but Cowards, "and ſuch as are hated of their own People, and timorous Women, "have ever ſtood in fear of their Succeſſours; and the Dangers of a "deſigned Succeſſour are not to be feared of that Prince which is "fortified with the Love of his People. 1566.

All this Queen *Elizabeth* heard with much Diſcontentment, yet for a while ſhe either contemned it, or concealed it within her Breaſt. The Queen taketh it ill.

For ſhe knew, being taught by Experience, how great Danger would threaten her by having a Succeſſour deſigned: foraſmuch as in the Reign of Queen *Mary* many of the Nobility and people had caſt their eyes and minds upon herſelf, becauſe ſhe was to ſucceed her; whatſoever was ſaid or done in the Queen's private Chamber or Privy Council, they preſently revealed unto her; and *Wiat* and others, not content with their conditions, and greedy of Innovation, had conſpired againſt Q. *Mary*, to place her in the Throne, when ſhe full little thought of it. Dangers to a Prince by a Succeſſour deſigned;

She knew that the Hopes of Competitours would be better reſtrained, and themſelves held within the bounds of their Duty, while ſhe kept them every one in Suſpence and Expectance, and declared none Succeſſour. She knew that Children, out of an over-haſty deſire to reign, had taken Arms againſt their own Parents: neither could there any greater Kindneſs be expected from other Kindred. She had obſerved in reading, and now and then ſhe mentioned in diſcourſe, that Succeſſours in a collaterall Line had ſeldome been declared: that *Lewis* of *Orleans*, Succeſſour to *Charles* the Eighth, and *Francis* of *Angouleſme*, Succeſſour to *Lewis*, in the Kingdome of *France*, were never declared, yet ſucceeded they without any Stir. That the Deſignation alſo in *England* had ever been the undoing of them that had been Deſigned. For *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, deſigned Heir to the Crown by King *Richard* the Second, was in ſhort time cut off: his Son *Edmund* was for no other cauſe ſhut up in Priſon in *Ireland* full twenty years, and there languiſhed to death: *John De-La-Poole*, Earl of *Lincolne*, deſigned Succeſſour by *Richard* the Third, when his Son was dead, was alwaies ſuſpected by *Henry* the Seventh, and in the end, attempting new matters, was ſlain in the Field; and his Brother *Edmund* beheaded under *Henry* the Eighth. But theſe things may ſeem beſide the purpoſe. and to the Deſigned perſon alſo.

But whereas there were ſome which ceaſed not with vehemency of mind and tart inforcement daily more and more to urge and declaim theſe things which I have mentioned, yea and more biting ſpeeches then theſe alſo, ſhe cauſed thirty of the Higher Houſe, and as many of the Lower, to be picked out, and to come before her; whom with gentle Reprehenſion ſhe qualified, and with her Majeſty, wherein was very much Authority, diverted them from their purpoſe, promiſing largely not onely the Care of a Prince, but alſo the Affection of a Mother. And whereas the Eſtates had offered far greater Subſidies then they were wont, upon condition that ſhe With gentle words ſhe appeaſeth them.

1566.

She remits part of the Subſidy offered her.

She nippeth the Eſtates in an Oration.

would deſign a certain Succeſſour; ſhe flatly refuſed that extraordinary Offer, accepted an ordinary Sum, commending their Affection, and freely remitted the fourth Payment of the Subſidy that was granted, ſaying, that Money in her Subjects Cofers was as good as in her own.

The laſt day of this Parliament ſhe made a ſhort Speech to the Eſtates to this effect, which I will more ſhortly abridge. *Whereas Princes Words do enter more deeply into mens ears and minds, take theſe things from our Mouth. I, that am a lover of the ſimple Truth, have ever thought you likewiſe to be ingenuous lovers of the ſame. But I have been deceived. For I have found that in this Parliament* Diſſimulation *hath walked up and down maſked under the Vizour of* Liberty *and* Succeſſion. *Of your number ſome there are which have thought that* Liberty *to diſpute of the* Succeſſion, *and the eſtabliſhment of the ſame, is abſolutely either to be granted, or denied. If we had granted it, theſe men had had their Deſire, and had triumphed over us. And if we had denied it, they thought to have moved the Hatred of our People againſt us, which our mortalleſt Enemies could never yet doe. But their Wiſedome was unſeaſonable, and their Counſels over-haſty, neither did they foreſee the Event. Yet hereby we have eaſily perceived who incline towards us, and who are adverſe unto us. And we ſee that your whole Houſe may be divided into four ſorts. For ſome have been Plotters and Authours; ſome Actors, which with ſmooth words have perſwaded; ſome have conſented, being ſeduced with thoſe ſmooth words; and ſome have been ſilent, admiring ſuch Boldneſs: and theſe certainly are the moſt excuſable. Do ye think that we neglect your Safety and Security as to the* Succeſſion? *or that we have a will to infringe your* Liberty? *Be it far from us: We never thought it. But indeed we thought good to call you back when ye were running into the Pit. Every thing hath his fit Seaſon. Ye may peradventure after us have a wiſer Prince; but a more loving towards you ſhe ſhall never have. For our part, whether we may ſee ſuch a Parliament again we know not: but for you, take ye heed leſt ye provoke your Prince's Patience. Nevertheleſs of this be aſſured, that we think very well of moſt of you, and do imbrace every one of you with our former Kindneſs, even from our heart.*

All quieted.

Thus a Woman's Wiſedome ſuppreſſed theſe Commotions, which Time ſo qualified, ſhining ever clearer and clearer, that very few, but ſuch as were ſeditious or timorous, were troubled with care about a Succeſſour. And certainly the moſt ſort of men, whatſoever they pretend, have no more feeling in publick matters then concerneth their own private. Nevertheleſs, that the Succeſſour might be the more certainly known, whom ſhe according to moſt undoubted Right intended, ſhe caſt *Thornton* into the Tower, being at this time Reader of Law in *Lincoln's Inne* at *London*, of whom the Queen of *Scots* complained, that in his Reading he had called her Title in queſtion.

She openly favoureth the Q. of *Scots* in the Title of Succeſſion.

In this Aſſembly of the Eſtates (beſides other things for the Benefit of

of the Commonwealth) it was unanimously declared, *That the Election, Consecration, Confirmation & Investiture of the Archbishops and Bishops of* England (which some had by way of Calumniation called in question) *were lawfull, and that the said Bishops were elected and consecrated rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the Realm.* And it was also Enacted, *That both they, and those which were from thenceforth in like manner to be consecrated, were and should be deemed rightly and duly consecrate, any Law and Canon to the contrary whatsoever notwithstanding.* For the Papists depraved them as false and counterfeit Bishops; peradventure for that the Unction, the Ring, the Crosier-staffe, with the Benediction, were not used, and as not being duly ordained by three Bishops which could by a successive Line refer their Ordination to the Apostolick Authority received from *Christ.* Which notwithstanding (as by the Registers appeareth) they might most truly have done, being consecrated with devout Prayers, godly Invocation of the Holy Spirit, the Imposition of three such Bishops hands, a Sermon preached, and the Celebration of the Lord's Supper.'

1566. Bishops declared to be rightly elected, &c.

About this time was restrained by wholesome Severity the Insolency of certain bad people, which here and there offered Violence, beat, and openly in the Streets cried out against, those Informers whom the vulgar sort calleth *Promoters.*

Promoters protected.

About the same time also approached the day appointed for the Baptizing of the Prince of *Scotland:* at whose Christening the Queen of *England* being requested to be Godmother, she sent the Earl of *Bedford* with a Font of Gold for a Present, and commanded expressly, that neither he nor the English-men that were in his company should give the Lord *Darly* the Title of *King.*

The Earl of *Bedford* Embassadour to *Scotland* at the Baptizing of the Prince.

The Solemnity being finished, the Earl of *Bedford*, according to his Instructions, dealt with the Queen of *Scots*, that the domesticall Jarrings betwixt her and her Husband might be compounded; (for certain Ill-willers, sworn Enemies to them both, had cunningly impaired that most sweet Society of life and Love betwixt them;) and that the Treaty of *Edenborough* might be confirmed. This latter she flatly denied, alleaging that there was somewhat in the Treaty which might be prejudicial to her and her Childrens Title to the Crown of *England.* Yet she promised to send Commissioners to *England* to treat of the Confirming thereof, some things being altered, to wit, that she should abstain from the Title and Arms of *England* as long as Queen *Elizabeth* and those which should be born of her should live; as if it were intended in the Treaty that she should abstain from them altogether. Which Commissioners should also inform her how foully she was wrong'd by the pernicious Contrivances of those that too much abused the ingenuous Credulity of her Husband.

He treateth about 2 other matters.

The Prince of *Scotland* commended to the Queen of *England*'s Protection.

And now, being sick and weak, she commended her young Son to the Trust and Protection of Queen *Elizabeth* by Letters, wherein (*though*

1566.

(*though she knew* (I use the very words of her Letter) *that she was undoubted Heir of* England *after the Queen, and that many men forged many things against her Title,*) she promised that she would no longer urge any Declaration of her Title, but with all Affection assist and always adhere unto her against all men.

The death of *Mason*, and *Sackvill*.

This year, on one and the same day, died two of the Privy Council; *John Mason*, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, a grave and learned man, a great Intruder into Ecclesiastical Livings; and Sir *Richard Sackvill*, under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, a provident wise man, and the Queen's Kinsman by his Mother, which was a *Bolen*. In this *Sackvill*'s place was substituted Sir *Walter Mildmay*, an upright and most advised man: and in the room of the other succeeded Sir *Francis Knolles*, who had married *Katharine Cary*, the Queen's Cousin-german by *Mary Bolen*.

The Tenth Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1567.

The Lord *Darly* King of *Scots* murthered.

BUT before such time as the said Commissioners came from the Queen of *Scots*, and a month or two after the Prince of *Scotland*'s Baptizing, the King her Husband, in the twenty first year of his age, was in the dead time of the night, by bloudy and barbarous hand, to the Detestation of all men, strangled in his Bed, and thrown forth into an Orchard, the House being blown up with Gunpowder. A Rumour was forthwith spred all over *Britain*, laying the Fact and Fault upon *Morton*, *Murray*, and other Confederates: they, insulting over the weak Sex of the Queen, lay it upon her. What *George Buchanan* hath written hereof both in his History, and also in a little Book intituled *The Detection*, there is no man but knoweth by the Books themselves printed. But forasmuch as he, being transported with partial Affection and with *Murray*'s Bounty, wrote in such sort that his said Books have been condemned of Falshood by the Estates of the Realm of *Scotland*, to whom more credit is to be attributed; and since he himself, sighing and sorrowing, sundry times blamed himself (as I have heard) before the King, to whom he was School-master, for that he had employed his Pen so virulently against that well-deserving Queen, and upon his Death-bed wished that he might live so long, till, by recalling the truth, he might, even with his Bloud, wipe away those Aspersions which he had by his bad Tongue unjustly cast upon her; but that (as he said) it would now be in vain, since he might seem to dote for age: give me leave (that the other side may be heard also) briefly to lay open the whole matter, without all biassing of Love or Hatred, as far as I can be informed, as well out of other mens Writings, which came forth at that time,

The blame thrown from one to another.

Buchanan condemned of Falsity by the Estates of *Scotland*.

time, (but in Favour of *Murray* and Hatred to the Queen were ſuppreſſed in *England*,) as alſo out of the Letters of Embaſſadours and moſt credible perſons.

1567.

In the year 1558. at the time of the Marriage of *Francis* the Daulphin and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, *James* the Queen's baſe Brother, commonly called the *Prior of Saint Andrews*, (for he was Head of the Religious in the Metropolitical Church of *Saint Andrews*,) diſdaining that Religious name, ſued for an higher Title of Honour: which when ſhe, by the Advice of the *Guiſes* her Uncles, would not grant him, he returned into *Scotland* diſcontented, and under a glorious Pretext of Reforming Religion, and maintaining the Liberty of *Scotland*, began to diſturb the Quiet of the Land; and ſo handled the matter, that, in an Aſſembly of Confederates, Religion was changed, without acquainting the Queen, and the French-men removed out of *Scotland* by Aid of the *Engliſh* that were called in. When *Francis* the French King was dead, he poſted into *France* to his Siſter, laboured to purge himſelf of all whatſoever was done in *Scotland*, either againſt her Profit or Reputation, and religiouſly promiſed (calling God to witneſs) all the Offices which a Siſter could expect from a Brother. And having alſo conceived good Hope that ſhe, having been bred up in the Delights of *France* from her Childhood, would not return into *Scotland*, he dealt with the *Guiſes*, that ſome man of the Scottiſh Nobility might be made Regent of *Scotland*, and pointed as it were to himſelf as the fitteſt man. But when he was ſent back into *Scotland* with no other Authority then a Commiſſion, whereby the Queen had given liberty to the Eſtates of the Realm to aſſemble and conſult about the good of the Commonwealth; he, being fruſtrate of his Hope, and ſore vexed in mind, returning through *England*, ſuggeſted to the *Engliſh*, that if they would have Religion in *Scotland* maintained, Tranquillity in *England* preſerved, and the Queen's Security aſſured, they ſhould by all means poſſible hinder the Queen of *Scots* Paſſage into *Scotland*. Yet ſhe, paſſing by the Engliſh Ships in foggy Weather, arrived ſafely in *Scotland*, and uſing her Brother with all Kindneſs, committed to him in a manner the chief Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth. Yet did not all this cut off the ſprouting Twigs of his Ambition, which daily ſprung forth more and more both in his Words and Deeds. For he could not contain himſelf, but now and then he would amongſt his Friends lament, that the warlike Nation of the *Scots*, as well as that of the *Engliſh*, were ſubjected to the Command of a Woman: And out of *Knox* his Doctrine, whom he held as a Patriarch, he would many times maintain, "That Kingdoms are due to Vertue, not to "Birth; That Women are to be excluded from the Succeſſion of "Kingdoms, and that their ſovereign Command is *monſtrous*. He dealt alſo with the Queen by his Friends, that ſhe would ſubſtitute four men of the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, who, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without Iſſue, ſhould ſucceed one another in the Kingdome, without

A Digreſſion to Scottiſh matters. *James* Prior of *St. Andrews*.

His ambition to manage the Scottiſh Government.

Being fruſtrate thereof, he privily ſetteth himſelf againſt the Queen of *Scots*.

He diſcovereth his Ambition.

1567.

out regard whether they were Legitimate or Illegitimate; hoping that he himſelf ſhould be one of them, as being the King's Son, though he were unlawfully begotten.

The Queen checks it.

But the Queen, wiſely conſidering that ſuch a Subſtitution was contrary to the Law of the Land, that it would be prejudicial to the right Heirs, in the Example moſt pernicious, and dangerous to the Subſtitutes themſelves, alſo a Barre to herſelf, that ſhe ſhould not marry again, gently anſwered, that ſhe would take timely Advice with the Eſtates of the Realm about a matter of that Weight. And that ſhe might ſhew herſelf noble and bountifull to her Brother, ſhe honoured him with the Title of Earl of *Marre*, and afterward of Earl of *Murray*, (for that the Title of *Marre* was controverted,) and preferred him to a rich and honourable Marriage; ignorant in the mean time that he affected the Crown, by giving out that he was the lawfull Son of King *James* the Fifth. Whereunto the better to make his Way, he ſuppreſſed, by means of his Favour with the Queen, the moſt Noble Family of the *Gordons*, being very powerfull in Vaſſals and Adherents; of which Family he ſtood in fear both for himſelf and the Reformed Religion: *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault* (who was reputed the next Heir to the Crown) he baniſhed the Court; *Arran* his Son he ſhut up in Priſon; *Bothwell* he baniſhed into *England*: and whoſoever he thought might oppoſe him he deſpoiled of their Dignities. The Queen alſo herſelf he held in his power as a Tutour doth his Pupill, being moſt carefull above all things that ſhe ſhould not ſo much as once think of Marriage.

He is created Earl of *Murray*.

He perſecuteth the Nobility of *Scotland*.

And no ſooner did he perceive that the Emperour on the one ſide wooed her for his Brother, and on the other ſide the King of *Spain* for his Son, but he ſtrongly diſſwaded her from them both; alleaging that the Liberty of *Scotland* neither could nor would brook a forrein Prince; and that formerly whenſoever the Scepter hath devolved upon Women, they have taken no Husbands but of the Scottiſh Nation. But when he ſaw that it was the general Deſire and Wiſhes of all the *Scots* that ſhe ſhould marry, and had ſome inkling that by the Endeavours of the Counteſs of *Lenox* ſhe was inclined to a Marriage with the Lord *Darly*, he alſo commended him unto her for an Husband, hoping that he, being a young man of a very mild Diſpoſition, would be at his beck and Direction. Notwithſtanding, when he perceived that the Queen entirely loved the Lord *Darly*, and that his own Favour with her began to grow leſs, he repented him of his purpoſe, and admoniſhed Queen *Elizabeth* that ſhe ſhould by all means poſſible croſs the Marriage.

He diſſwadeth the Queen from Marriage.

The Marriage being now conſummated; and the Lord *Darly* declared King, whenas the Queen revoked the Grants made in her Minority to him and others contrary to Law, he took Arms with others againſt the King and Queen, pretending the cauſe to be, for that the new King was an Enemy to the Proteſtant Religion, and had contracted Marriage without the Aſſent of the Queen of *England*. But, with-

He troubleth her being married.

1567.

without once trying the chance of a Battell, he fled (as I ſaid) into *England*; and there, being fruſtrate of all hope of Aid, he dealt by Letters with *Morton*, a man of a deep and ſubtil Reach, who was his inward Friend, and as it were his Right hand, that ſeeing the Marriage could not be annulled, yet at leaſtwiſe the Love betwixt them as Man and Wife might by cloſe Contrivances be diſſolved. And certainly a fit Occaſion preſented itſelf, when, domeſticall Jars ariſing betwixt them, ſhe, to reſtrain the young King's ſwelling Mind, and keep the Prerogatives of Majeſty wholly to herſelf, had begun to ſet her Husband's Name after her own in the publick Acts, and in ſtamping of Money to leave it out quite.

He flieth into *England*.

He goeth about to ſow Diſcord betwixt the K. and Q. of *Scotland*.

Morton, being a man skilled in kindling Diſcontents, inſinuateth himſelf into the young King's mind by ſoothing Flatteries, and perſwadeth him to put on the Crown of *Scotland*, even againſt the Queen's will, and to free himſelf from the Command of a Woman, ſeeing it was for Women to obey, and for Men to rule. By this Counſell he hoped not onely to alienate the Queen, but alſo the Nobility and Commons, quite from the King. And to alienate the Queen, firſt, he incenſeth the King by ſundry Slanders to the Murther of *David Rizo* a *Piemontois*, leſt he, being a ſubtil Fellow, might prevent their Deſigns. (This *Rizo*, being by Profeſſion a Muſician, came the year before into *Scotland* with *Morett* the Embaſſadour, and for his Skill and Dexterity was entertained by the Queen into her Family and Favour, and imployed in writing French Letters, and was of her inwardeſt Counſel in the abſence of her Secretary.) Then, the more to alienate her, he perſwadeth the King to be preſent himſelf at the Murther with *Ruven* and the reſt of the Murtherers; who together with him breaking into the Queen's Privy-Chamber at Supper-time, while ſhe ſate at Boord with the Counteſs of *Argile*, ſet upon the man with drawn Swords, as he was feeding at the Cupboard on Meat taken from the Queen's Table, (as the Waiters of the Privy-Chamber uſe to doe;) and all this before the Queen, being great with Child, and trembling for fear, ſetting a Piſtoll againſt his Breaſt; inſomuch as ſhe hardly eſcaped Miſcarrying of the Childe ſhe went with. Then they haled him forth into a little Chamber or Lobby hard by, and moſt cruelly murthered him, ſhutting the Queen into her Privy-Chamber, while *Morton* in the mean time beſet all Paſſages of acceſs.

Morton aſſiſteth him therein. By what means.

David Rizo murthered.

This Murther was committed the day before *Murray* was to appear, according to his Summons, to anſwer his Rebellion in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates; who the next day appeared, when no man looked for him, and in ſo troubleſome a time no man appeared againſt him. So as the Murther of *David* might ſeem to have been haſtened of purpoſe for *Murray*'s Safety and Security. Nevertheleſs the Queen, at her Husband's Requeſt, kindly welcomed him, and reſted wholly on his Brotherly Love. But the King now conſidering the Foulneſs of the late Fact, and ſeeing the Queen was very angry, repented him of

Murray called home from *England*.

1567.

his Rashness, humbly fled with Tears and Lamentations to her Clemency, and craving Pardon for his Fault, freely confessed, that through the Perswasion of *Murray* and *Morton* he had undertaken the Fact. And from that time forward he bare such Hatred to *Murray*, (for *Morton*, *Reuven* and the others were fled into *England*, for the Murther of *David*, with *Murray*'s Letters of Commendation to the Earl of *Bedford*,) that he cast in his mind to make him away. But whereas through youthly heat he could neither conceal his Thoughts, nor durst execute them, (such was his Observance towards the Queen his Wife;) he told her, that it would be for the good of the Commonwealth and the Security of the Royal Family, if *Murray* were made away. She, detesting the matter, terrified him with Threats from such purposes, hoping again to reconcile them. But he, stomacking the Power which the Bastard had with the Queen his Sister, through Impatience communicated the same Design to others. When this came to *Murray*'s ears, he, to prevent the same, under colour of Duty, contriveth more secret Plots against the young King's Life, using *Morton*'s Counsell, though he were absent.

Morton and others flie into *England*.

The King seeks *Murray*'s Ruine.

The Queen's mind alienated from her Husband.

These two above all things thought it best utterly to alienate the Queen's mind from the King, their Love being not yet well renewed; and to draw *Bothwell* into their Society, who was lately reconciled to *Murray*, and was in great Grace with the Queen, putting him in hope of Divorce from his Wife, and Marriage with the Queen as soon as she was a Widow. To the performance hereof, and to defend him against all men, they bound themselves under their Hands and Seals; supposing that, if the matter succeeded, they could with one and the same labour make away the King, weaken the Queen's Reputation amongst the Nobility and Commons, tread down *Bothwell*, and draw unto themselves the whole Managing of the State.

The Conspiracy of *Murray*, &c.

The King slain.

Bothwell, being a wicked-minded man, blinded with Ambition, and thereby desperately bold to attempt, soon laid hold on the Hope propounded, and lewdly committed the Murther; whilst *Murray* scarce fifteen hours before had withdrawn himself farther off to his own House, lest he should come within Suspicion, and that he might from thence, if need were, relieve the Conspiratours, and the whole Suspicion might light upon the Queen. No sooner was he returned to the Court, but he and the Conspiratours commended *Bothwell* to the Queen for an Husband, as most worthy of her Love, for the Dignity of his House, for his notable Service against the *English*, and his singular Fidelity. They suggested unto her, "That she, being a "lone and solitary Woman, could not suppress the Tumults that were "raised, prevent cunning Practices, and sustain the Burthen of the "Kingdome: She should therefore doe well to make him partaker "of her Bed, Danger, and Counsell, who both could, would, and durst "adventure himself. And to that pass they drove her, that she, being a timorous Woman, frighted with two such tragical Murthers, and mindfull of the Fidelity and Constancy of *Bothwell* towards herself and

Bothwell commended to the Queen for an Husband.

and her Mother, and having no-whither to fly but to the Faith of her Brother, gave her Aſſent: Howbeit upon theſe Conſiderations, that firſt and foremoſt the Safety of her young Son ſhould be ſecured; and then, that *Bothwell* ſhould be lawfully acquitted, as well of the Murther of the King, as from the Tie of his former Marriage. 1567.

A Proteſtation concerning the Murther of the Lord *Darly*.

What *George* Earl of *Huntley* and the Earl of *Argile*, the chief of the Nobles of *Scotland*, publickly proteſted preſently after touching this matter, I thought good here to ſet down, out of a Writing under their own Hands to Queen *Elizabeth*, which I my ſelf have ſeen. *Foraſmuch as* Murray *and others, to cloak their Rebellion againſt the Queen, whoſe Authority they arrogate to themſelves, do openly calumniate her as guilty of the Murther of her Husband; we do publickly proteſt and witneſs theſe things following. In the month of* December 1566. *when the Queen lay at* Cragmillar, Murray *and* Lidington *acknowledged before us, that* Morton, Lindſey *and* Reuven *ſlew* David Rizo *to no other intent then to ſave* Murray, *who was at that very time to be proſcribed. Therefore, that they might not ſeem unthankfull, they much deſired that* Morton, *and the reſt that lived in Exile for the Murther of* David, *might be brought home again. But this they ſaid could not be, unleſs the Queen might be divorced from her Husband; which they promiſed to effect, ſo as we would give our Aſſent. Afterwards* Murray *promiſed to me* Huntley, *that my ancient Inheritance ſhould be reſtored unto me, and that I ſhould be in eternal Favour with the Exiles, if I would favour the Divorce. Then went we to* Bothwell, *that he might alſo conſent. Laſtly we came unto the Queen, and* Lidington, *in the name of us all, earneſtly intreated her that* Morton, Lindſey *and* Reuven *might have their Baniſhment remitted. The King's Errours and Offences againſt the Queen and Realm he aggravated with much Sharpneſs of words, and ſhewed that it mainly concerned the Queen and State, that there ſhould forthwith be a Divorce, foraſmuch as the King and Queen could not live together in* Scotland *with Security. She anſwered, that ſhe had rather withdraw herſelf for a time into* France, *untill her Husband did acknowledge the Errours of his youth: for ſhe would not that any thing ſhould be done which might be prejudicial to her Son, or diſhonourable to herſelf. Hereto* Lidington *replied, We which are of your Counſell will look to that. But I command you (ſaid ſhe) that ye doe nothing which may blemiſh mine Honour, or burthen my Conſcience. Let the matter remain as it is, till God remedy it from above. That which ye think will be for my Good, may chance turn to my Hurt. To whom* Lidington *ſaid, Leave the matter to us, and you ſhall ſee nothing ſhall be done but what is good, and approvable by Authority of Parliament. Hereupon, ſeeing the King was murthered by wicked hand within few days after, we, out of the inward teſtimony of our Conſcience, do hold it moſt certain that* Murray *and* Lidington *were the Authours, Contrivers and Perſwaders of this Regicide, whoſoever were the Actors.* Thus far they.

Bothwell acquitted of the Regicide.

Now the Confederates whole Care and labour was, that *Bothwell* might

1567. might be acquitted of the Murther of the King. A Parliament therefore is forthwith ſummoned for no other cauſe, and Proclamations ſet forth, that ſuch as were ſuſpected of the Murther ſhould be apprehended. And whereas *Lenox*, the murthered King's Father, accuſed *Bothwell* to be the Murtherer of the King, and inſtantly preſſed that he might be brought to his Trial before the Aſſembly of the Eſtates began; this alſo was granted, and *Lenox* was commanded to appear within twenty days to proſecute the matter againſt him. Upon which day (he having underſtood nothing from the Queen of *England*, and becauſe he could not appear in the City, which was full of his Enemies, without peril of his life,) *Bothwell* was arraigned, and acquitted by Sentence of the Judges, *Morton* managing his Cauſe.

He marrieth the Queen.

This buſineſs being diſpatched, the Conſpiratours ſo wrought the matter, that very many of the Nobility aſſented to the Marriage, ſetting their Hands to a Writing to that purpoſe, leſt he, being excluded from his promiſed Marriage, ſhould accuſe them as Contrivers of the whole Fact. By means of this Marriage with *Bothwell*, (who was created Duke of *Orkney*, or the *Orcades*,) the Suſpicion grew ſtrong amongſt all men that the Queen was privy to the Murther of the King: which Suſpicion the Conſpiratours increaſed by ſending Letters all about; and in ſecret Meetings at *Dunkeld* they preſently conſpired the depoſing of the Queen, and the Deſtruction of *Bothwell*. Yet *Murray*, that he might ſeem to be clear from the whole Conſpiracy, craved Leave of the Queen to goe into *France*; and, to take away all Diſtruſt, commended his whole Eſtate in *Scotland* to the Queen and *Bothwell*'s Truſt. Scarce was he croſſed over out of *England*, when behold, thoſe which had acquitted *Bothwell* from the guilt of the Murther, and gave him their Conſent under their Hands to the Marriage, took Arms againſt him, as if they would apprehend him; whenas indeed they gave him ſecret Notice to provide for himſelf by Flight: and this to no other purpoſe, but leſt he, being apprehended, ſhould reveal the whole Plot; and that they might alleage his Flight as an Argument to accuſe the Queen of the Murther of the King. Having next intercepted her, they uſed her in moſt diſgracefull and unworthy manner, and, cloathing her in a vile Weed, thruſt her into Priſon at *Loch-Levin*, under the Cuſtody of *Murray*'s Mother, who having been *James* the Fifth his Concubine, moſt malapertly aggravated the Calamity of the impriſoned Queen, boaſting that ſhe was the lawfull Wife of *James* the Fifth, and that her Son *Murray* was his lawfull Iſſue.

A Conſpiracy againſt him and the Queen.

Murray goeth into *France*.

Bothwell flieth.

The Queen is thruſt into Priſon.

Q. *Elizabeth* expoſtulateth the matter.

As ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* was certainly advertiſed hereof, ſhe, deteſting from her heart ſuch unbridled Inſolency of Subjects againſt their Queen, her Siſter and Neighbour, (whom ſhe now and then called Perfidious, Rebels, Unthankfull, and Cruel,) ſent Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* into *Scotland*, to expoſtulate with the Confederates concerning this Inſolency againſt the Queen, and to contrive ſome way how ſhe might be reſtored to her former Liberty and Authority,

thority, how the Murtherers of the King might be puniſhed, and the young Prince might be ſent into *England*, that his Safety might be the better aſſured, and not into *France*. From this time whatſoever I ſhall ſay touching this matter, while *Throckmorton* remained in *Scotland*, take it upon the credit of his Letters, which without all queſtion was moſt ſound and moſt approved. 1567.

Throckmorton found in *Scotland* many moſt mortal Enemies to the Queen, who flatly denied both to him, and alſo to *Villeroy* and *Croc*, the French Embaſſadours, all Acceſs unto her. Yet what ſhould be done with her, the Conſpiratours could not agree among themſelves. *Lidington* and ſome few others thought beſt ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her Authority upon theſe Conditions, "That the Murtherers of the "King ſhould be puniſhed according to Law; That order ſhould be "taken for aſſuring the Prince his Safety; That *Bothwell* ſhould be di "vorced from her, and Religion eſtabliſhed. Others thought beſt ſhe ſhould be confined by perpetuall Exile into *France* or *England*, ſo as the French King or the Queen of *England* would undertake, that ſhe ſhould quit all her Regall Authority to her Son and certain of the Nobility, and abjure the Realm. Others, That ſhe ſhould be arraigned, condemned, and ſhut up in perpetuall Impriſonment, and her Son crowned King. And laſtly, others, That ſhe ſhould at once be deprived both of Regall Authority and of Life, and put to Death. And this *Knox* and ſome Miniſters of the Word thundered out of the Pulpits.

Conſultation what ſhould be done with the captive Queen.

Throckmorton, on the contrary, alleaged many things from the Authority of the H. Scriptures concerning Obedience to be yielded *to the higher Powers which bear the Sword*; and ſharply maintained, *That the Queen was ſubject to the Judgement of none but the Heavenly Judge; That ſhe could not be compelled to appear before the Judgement ſeat of any man upon earth; That there was no Authority of any Magiſtrate in* Scotland *which was not ſubſtituted by the Queen's Authority, and by her revocable.* Againſt this they oppoſed a peculiar Priviledge of the *Scots* in their Kingdome, and that in Cauſes extraordinary extraordinary Decrees muſt be made, fetching their Reaſons from *Buchanan*, who at that time, by *Murray*'s perſwaſion, wrote that damned Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, wherein is maintained, that the People have right to create and depoſe Kings, contrary to the credit of the Scottiſh Hiſtory. Yet ceaſed not *Throckmorton* to importune them for the Reſtoring of the Queen, and his own Acceſs unto her; though Anſwer was made him now and then by *Lidington*, "That no Acceſs could be granted unto "him, ſeeing it was denied to the *French:* That they muſt not diſ- "pleaſe the French King, to pleaſe the Queen of *England*, whom "they had found not long ſince to have ſought to ſerve onely her "own Turn, when for her own Advantage ſhe removed the *French* "out of *Scotland*; and very lately, when ſhe ſhewed but ſmall Fa- "vour, and with a ſparing hand, to the *Scots* that lived in Exile for "the Death of *David Rizo*. Moreover, that he ſhould beware leſt by

Throckmorton defendeth the Q. of *Scots* Cauſe.

The *Scots* diſpute the contrary, out of *Buchanan*'s Arguments.

He in vain endeavours her Reſtoring, and his Acceſs to her.

1567. "by reaſon of this his Importunity the *Scots* ſhould betake themſelves to the Amity of the *French*, and neglect the *Engliſh*: And by the French Proverb, *Il perd le jeu qui laiſſe la partie*, that is, He loſeth the Game which leaveth the Side, he gave him ſecret warning, that the *Engliſh* ſhould not forſake the *Scots* their Friends.

Then in a long Writing which they delivered to *Throckmorton*, without any man's Subſcription, they proteſted, that they had not ſhut up the Queen in Cuſtody to any other purpoſe, then to ſeparate her from *Bothwell* (whom ſhe deſperately loved to their undoing) untill her immoderate Love towards him, and her womaniſh Anger againſt them, were aſſwaged. And with this Anſwer they willed him to reſt ſatisfied, till the reſt of the Lords were aſſembled. Nevertheleſs they ſhut up the Queen in ſtreighter and ſtreighter Cuſtody, though ſhe with many tears and prayers beſought them that ſhe might be more favourably uſed, if not as a Queen, yet as a King's Daughter, and their Prince's Mother, whom ſhe many times beſought them, but all in vain, that ſhe might once ſee. But (not to proſecute their Injuries againſt her particularly) at length they aſſaied by fair words to perſwade her that ſhe would voluntarily reſign the Kingdome, excuſing herſelf either by Sickneſs, or the Troubles of ſwaying the Scepter, or, (as others more ſubtilly adviſed her,) that having reſigned, and being kept more careleſſly, ſhe might the more eaſily make her Eſcape. When all this ſucceeded not, they threatned to bring her to a publick Trial, and find her guilty of an Incontinent life, of Murthering the King, and Tyranny in this reſpect, that ſhe had violated the Laws and Privileges of the Country, namely thoſe which *Randan* and *D' Oiſeli* had confirmed in the French King's and her name. At length, by putting her in fear of Death, they compelled her, unheard, to ſet her Hand to three Writings: by the firſt whereof ſhe reſigned the Kingdome to her Son, who was ſcarce thirteen months old; by another, ſhe conſtituted *Murray* to be Vice-roy or Regent in the Minority of her Son; and by the third, ſhe named, in caſe *Murray* ſhould refuſe the Charge, theſe Governours over her Son, *James* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, *Gilleſpik* Earl of *Argile*, *John* Earl of *Athol*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, and *John* Earl of *Marre*. And forthwith ſhe ſignified to the Queen of *England* by *Throckmorton*, that ſhe had reſigned by Conſtraint, and had againſt her will ſubſcribed to the Inſtrument of her Reſignation, by the Advice of *Throckmorton*, who had perſwaded her, that her Reſignation extorted in Priſon, *which is a juſt Fear*, was utterly void. But of theſe things more in the next year, out of the Accuſations and Defences of both parties before Commiſſary-Delegates at *York*.

The Q. of *Scots* harſhly dealt with.

They extort from her a Reſignation of the Crown, and other matters.

James the Sixth crowned King.

The fifth day after her Reſignation, *JAMES* the Queen's young Son was anointed and crowned King, *John Knox* preaching thereat; Proteſtation being entred by the *Hamiltons*, that it ſhould not prejudice the Duke of *Chaſtel-herault* in his Title of Succeſſion, againſt the Houſe

1567.

Houſe of *Lenox*. But Queen *Elizabeth* forbad *Throckmorton* to be preſent at the Coronation, leſt ſhe might be thought by her Embaſſadour's preſence to approve ſo unjuſt a Depoſing of the Queen.

Murray returneth into *Scotland*.

The twentieth day after the Reſignation *Murray* himſelf returned into *Scotland* out of *France*, and the third day after came with ſome of the Conſpiratours to the Queen, objected againſt her very many Crimes, and, like a religious Confeſſour, uſed many Perſwaſions unto her, that ſhe would turn to God by true Repentance, and call upon him for Mercy. She bewailed the Sins of her life paſt: of the things objected, ſome ſhe acknowledged, ſome ſhe extenuated, ſome ſhe excuſed by humane Frailty, and the moſt part ſhe flatly denied. She beſought him to take upon him the Government for her young Son, and again and again intreated him to ſpare her Reputation and her Life. He denied it to be in his power to grant this latter, but it muſt be ſued for at the hands of the Eſtates of the Realm. Yet if ſhe would have her Life and Honour ſaved, he preſcribed her theſe things to be obſerved: "That ſhe ſhould not diſturb the Quiet of the King and "Realm; That ſhe ſhould not withdraw herſelf out of priſon; That "ſhe ſhould not excite the Queen of *England* or the French King to "infeſt *Scotland* with forrein or domeſtick War; and That ſhe ſhould "love *Bothwell* no more, nor think of taking Revenge on *Bothwel*'s "Adverſaries.

He preſcribeth Conditions to the Queen.

He is made Regent.

And now being declared Vice-roy or Regent, he bindeth himſelf by Writing under his hand to doe nothing which may concern War or Peace, the King's Perſon and Marriage, or the Queen's Liberty, without the Aſſent of the Conſpiratours. By *Lidington* he warneth *Throckmorton*, that he make no more Interceſſion for the Queen; for he and the reſt would rather ſuffer all Extremities, then once endure that ſhe ſhould be at Liberty, and retain *Bothwell*, bring her Son into Dangers, and her Country into Troubles, and proſcribe them. *We know* (ſaith he) *what you Engliſh-men can doe by War; our Borders ye may waſt, and we yours: and we know certainly that the* French, *according to the ancient League betwixt us and them, will never forſake us.* Nevertheleſs to *Lignerol* the French Embaſſadour he denied Acceſs to the Queen, till *Bothwell* were apprehended, and day by day treated the afflicted Queen more ſharply then ſhe deſerved at his hands, contrary to that he had promiſed to the French King. Thus far out of *Throckmorton*'s Letters.

He putteth ſome of the Regicides to death.

Shortly after *Murray* put to death *John Hepborn*, *Paris* a Frenchman, *Dagliſh* and other Servants of *Bothwel*'s, which were preſent at the Murthering of the King. But they (which he full little expected) proteſted at the Gallows before God and his Angels, that they underſtood from *Bothwell*, that *Murray* and *Morton* were the Authours of the King's Death.

The Queen cleared from Suſpicion of the Murther.

The Queen they cleared from all Suſpicion: as *Bothwell* alſo himſelf, being Priſoner in *Denmark*, many times witneſſed, both living and dying, with a religious Aſſeveration, that the Queen was not privy thereunto. And fourteen years after, when

1567.

when *Morton* was to ſuffer death, he confeſſed that *Bothwell* had dealt with him to conſent to the Killing of the King: which when he utterly refuſed, unleſs the Queen commanded him under her Hand; *Bothwell* anſwered, that this could not be, but the fact was to be committed even without her Privity.

The Queen of *England* and the French King labour for her Liberty.

This raſh Depoſing of the Queen, and Inſolency of the Conſpiratours towards the Embaſſadours, Queen *Elizabeth* and the French King took in very ill part, as diſhonourable to Regall Majeſty, and began to favour the *Hamiltons*, which ſtood for the Queen. *Paſquier* alſo, Embaſſadour from the French King, ſolicited the Queen of *England* that ſhe might be reſtored by Force and Arms: But ſhe thought it better that Commerce ſhould be prohibited to the *Scots* both in *France* and *England* till ſhe were ſet at Liberty, that by this means the People might be divided from the Lords, who ſeemed to have joyntly conſpired againſt the Queen. But let us for a while paſs over theſe Scottiſh matters.

Calice demanded.

When now the eight years were expired, and *Calice* was according to the Treaty at the Caſtle of *Cambray* to be reſtored to the *Engliſh*, Sir *Thomas Smith* was ſent into *France*, with Sir *William Winter* Maſter of the Munition for the Navy, who, with the ſound of Trumpet before the Gate of *Calice* next to the Sea, with a loud voice in French, demanded *Calice* with its Territory, and certain warlike Munition, according to the Treaty. And hereof preſently an Act was made by a Notary, and certain German Merchants and Low-country-men, which were there by chance, called to witneſs. Shortly after he came unto the King at *Foſſat* Caſtle, where, with Sir *Henry Norris* the Ordinary Embaſſadour, he demanded it again. The King referred the matter to his Council: of whom *Mich. Hoſpitall*, Chancellour, in a grave and ſet Speech, argued in this manner. *By the ſame Right that the* Engliſh *demand* Calice, *they may as well demand* Paris: *for this they wone by War as well as that, and by War they have loſt both. The* Engliſh *pretend a new Title to* Calice: *the Title of the* French *is as old as the Kingdome itſelf. Though the* Engliſh *poſſeſſed it about two hundry and thirty years, yet the Right was in the Kings of* France, *and that no leſs then to the Dukedomes of* Guienne *and* Normandy, *which the* Engliſh *detained long time by Arms.* Calice, *as alſo thoſe Dukedomes, the* French *have not purchaſed, but recovered by War. The Preſcription of time, which they alleage, taketh not place among Princes, but the Right ever prevaileth; and, according to the Twelve Tables,* the Authority againſt an Enemy is perpetuall. *The* Engliſh *in making Contracts are very adviſed: and yet in the late Treaty at* Troyes, *after they had begun a War principally for* Calice, *they not ſo much as once mentioned* Calice; *inſomuch as they ſeemed to acknowledge that they had quite given over their Claim to* Calice. *The Treaty of* Troyes *was a renewing of a former Treaty, ſo as the Treaty was then plainly renewed. Neither is that Clauſe, concerning* the Reſervation of Rights, *any impediment; foraſmuch as it reſpecteth onely ſmall matters, whereas this of* Calice

Hoſpitall's Anſwer to the Demand.

is

is to be reckoned amongſt the greateſt. Whatſoever Francis *the Second attempted in* Scotland *cannot prejudice the Right of* Charles *the Ninth. The things that any private man ſhall attempt are in ſome Caſes ſubject to Laws: but in Princes Caſes the matter is otherwiſe. Concerning the Attempts in* Scotland, *being a Dowry-Kingdome, let the* Engliſh *expoſtulate the matter with the Queen of* Scots, *who do gueſs by Conjectures at the Purpoſe of* Francis *and the Queen; whereas the* Engliſh *entring into* New-haven *in* France, *under a goodly ſhew of keeping it for the King, held it by Arms, fortifying it with a ſtrong Garriſon, and great ſtore of Proviſion and Munition for War, and furniſhed* Conde *and the Confederates with Money: and therefore have they through their own fault forfeited their Right to* Calice. *It hath pleaſed God, that* Calice *being recovered by the* French, *the Wars have ceaſed between the Engliſh and the French Nations, whom he had divided by the interflowing Sea, as the Poet ſignifieth,* 1567.

Et penitùs toto diviſos orbe *Britannos*,

And Britans *that are ſevered quite from all the world beſide. The Queen of* England *alſo ſhall better provide for her own Convenience and good, by embracing Peace with the* French, *then by recovering* Calice. *To be ſhort, no man dares be ſo bold as to perſwade the King that* Calice *ſhould be reſtored to the* Engliſh: *and if any durſt, he were moſt worthy to be put to death, yea, to be damned to the Pit of Hell.*

Hereunto *Smith* anſwered, *That he little expected that ſuch an outworn Title of the* French *to* Calice *ſhould be revived after ſo long a time. But now at length he perceiveth, that whatſoever the* French *either by right or wrong once get into their Poſſeſſion, that they think to be their own by Right, as if their Right ſtood onely in Arms, and it made no matter whether they poſſeſſed it with a good or bad Conſcience. The* French *think they hold* Calice *by right of Recovery, having been loſt by War long ſince; whereas they hold it by Convention and Agreement: no later Convention do they admit, and are fully reſolved in no wiſe to keep their Word and Promiſe for the Reſtitution of* Calice. *But theſe things do weigh down all weight of Reaſons whatſoever. The Praiſe which he attributeth to the* Engliſh, *as men adviſed in making their Contracts, the* French *have always arrogated to themſelves, and detracted from the* Engliſh. *The renewing of the Contract is a flat Antiſtrophe, and may truly be retorted upon the* French, *to wit, Becauſe the Queen demanded* Calice, *for that the* French *forfeited their Right by innovating and attempting by Arms in* Scotland; *contrariwiſe the* French *would exclude the* Engliſh *from their Right to* Calice, *for that afterward the Queen of* England *made an Attempt by Arms at* New-haven. *When in theſe things* (ſaith he) *the one would yield nothing to the other, we agreed a Peace at* Troyes; *which if it induced a Renewing, that Renewing extinguiſhed the Right of the* French *to* Calice, *and confirmed the Right of the* Engliſh, *whoſe day was not yet come, becauſe they could not claim* Calice, *the eight years term being not then expired.* Here riſing up, and turning to the Council of *France, I appeal* (ſaith he) *to your Conſciences which were preſent,* *Smith* replieth.

1567. *whether when we urged to have our Right to* Calice *reſerved in expreſs words, and ye urged to have it omitted, becauſe the time was not yet come, whether (I ſay) it were not agreed betwixt us, that it ſhould be tacitly reſerved under that Clauſe, viz.* All other Claims and Demands ſhall remain whole and ſafe; and in like manner the Exceptions and Defences on either ſide ſhall be reſerved. *As for* New-haven, *the* Engliſh *entred thereinto peaceably, being invited by the Inhabitants and Noblemen of* Normandy, *with Proteſtation that they would keep it for the Uſe of the French King. So they attempted nothing by Arms againſt the French King, nor innovated to the prejudice of the Treaty: and hold it they did, not by any right of Propriety, but as a Pledge that they might have fair and equall dealing about* Calice, *which was detained; the Right whereof, as well to the Poſſeſſion as to the Propriety, was devolved to the Queen by the Attempt of the* French *in* Scotland *flatly contrary to the Treaty. And as for the Money, it was lent to* Conde *and the Confederates, to no other intent then to ſatisfie the German Souldiers that mutined for their Pay, leſt they ſhould ſpoil the King's Countries and Towns. All which the King alſo acknowledged by his Edict to have been done* a bon fin, & pour noſtre Service, that is, *to a good End, and for our Service.* Theſe things and ſuch like *Smith* alleaged.

When *Montmorency*, Conſtable, holding up a Sword with a Scabbard ſet with Flowers de luce, (which is the badge of his Office,) ſpake much of the great warlike Proviſion of the *Engliſh* in *New-haven*, as if the ſame had been ſufficient to conquer, not one ſmall Town, but all *Normandy: There is no cauſe* (ſaid *Smith*) *why any man ſhould wonder at this, conſidering that the* Engliſh, *being a Nation coaſting upon the Sea, know that they have not the Winds, which are Maſters of the Sea, at command; and therefore they provided timely and fully for the time to come.* The *French* afterward, making a grievous Complaint, that the Proteſtant Fugitives out of *France* were not delivered (according to the Agreement) to the French Embaſſadour upon his Demand, prorogued the matter to another time; which by little and little expired as it were in ſilence, by means of Civill War ariſing preſently upon it in *France*. And without doubt the *French* had fully reſolved that *Calice* ſhould never be reſtored. For as ſoon as ever it was taken, they threw down the old Forts, began new, and let out the Houſes and other Lands for fifty years, and ſome they gave for ever.

The matter vaniſheth by delay.

Whileſt theſe things are negotiated in *France*, Count *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to treat of a Marriage with the Archduke *Charles*; about which buſineſs the Queen had a little before ſent the Earl of *Suſſex* to the Emperour, with the Enſigns of the Order of Saint *George*, who, out of his Love to his Country, joyned with Emulation againſt *Leiceſter*, left no Stone unmoved, that the Queen might be joyned in Marriage with ſome forrein Prince, and *Leiceſter* might be put beſide his Hope. And *Suſſex* had nothing more frequent in his mouth, then that a forrein Prince

Suſſex ſent to the Emperour about a Marriage with the Archduke.

was

was to be preferred before the Nobleſt Engliſh-man, whether a man reſpect Honour, Power, or Wealth: inſomuch as one, who was of a contrary mind, ſaid merrily in his preſence, *Where theſe three, Honour, Power and Riches, are reſpected in Marriage, the Devil and the World are the Match-makers and Brokers.* Yet *Leiceſter*, cheriſhing his own Hopes, ſuborned the Lord *North*, (whom *Suſſex* took with him as a Companion in his Journey,) to liſten to what was ſpoken, and obſerve what was done, and as much as *Suſſex* advanced the Marriage with the Archduke, he ſo much to hinder the ſame privily, by giving ſecret Hints that the Queen's mind was moſt averſe from Marriage, whatſoever ſhe pretended, and howſoever *Suſſex* made ſhew to the contrary. Neither did he himſelf at home ceaſe to diſcourage the Queen, by whiſpering in her ears all the Inconveniences of a forrein Marriage. 1567.

Leiceſter oppoſeth it,

He laid before her *the late Marriage of Queen* Mary *her Siſter with* Philip *of* Spain, *whereby ſhe was caſt into perpetual Trouble, and* England *brought into danger of the Spaniſh Slavery.* He diſcourſed, *That the Manners, Minds and Diſpoſitions of Outlandiſh-men could not be diſcovered, which in an Husband, who by an unſeparable Tie ſhould be one Fleſh with his Wife, are moſt neceſſary to be known. To be daily converſant with a ſtrange Language and Manners, was moſt troubleſome, and miſerable. That in Children born of forrein Marriage ſome unwonted and ſtrange thing was imbred. That by the Converſe of Strangers ſtrange Manners and new Orders are brought into a Commonwealth. That Princeſſes by forrein Marriage do for the moſt part augment, not their own, but another's, Kingdome, ſubject themſelves and theirs to a forrein Command, and diſcover the Secrets of the Kingdome to Strangers. That a forrein Husband will, out of his imbred Love to his Country, prefer his own Countrymen before the* Engliſh. *That* England *needeth no forrein Aid, which hath Strength enough in herſelf to defend herſelf and hers, and repell forrein Force. That by Acceſſion of another Kingdome cometh nothing but greater Expences, Cares and Trouble: and as mens Bodies, ſo Empires alſo, do labour with their own Weight. That that ſaying, That by domeſtical Marriage ſomewhat is detracted from the Royal Dignity, is taken up by ſome in Diſgrace of Nobility; whereas even the Royal Majeſty, which hath by her Vertue made her way to that Height, fetcheth her beginning from Nobility, and Noblemen are as it were the Roots of the Royal Stock: And thence it is that the Kings of* England *have always in their Letters to Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls and Viſcounts, given them the Title of* Couſins.

ſhewing the Inconveniences of a forrein Marriage.

Suſſex in the mean time came with a great and goodly Train and Shew by *Antwerp*, *Cologne*, *Mentz*, *Wormes*, *Spires*, *Ulmes*, and *Augſpurg*, into *Auſtria*. Where being honourably entertained, he ſtayed five months at the Emperour's Charge, conferring with him daily of moſt weighty matters, and of the Marriage of *Charles*; and, upon a day appointed, inveſted him at Evening-prayer with the Enſigns of the Order of Saint *George*, when, out of ſcruple of Conſcience, he refuſed

1567. to be present at the Sacrifice of the Mass. In this Negotiation there arose Difficulties, concerning Religion, the Duke's Maintenance, the Title of King, and the Succession: about all which much arguing there was on both sides. As for the Title, the Archduke *Charles* should enjoy the Title and Name of King of *England*. Touching the Succession, he could not by the Law of the Land succeed, for that would be prejudicial to their Children, of whom notwithstanding it was agreed he should have the Guardianship. And more then this was not granted *Philip* of *Spain* when he married Queen *Mary*. As for his Maintenance, if he would at his own Charge maintain the Train he should bring and keep about him, the Queen would bountifully supply the rest answerable to his Royal Dignity, yea and that also if he should require it. But touching Religion, there stuck the Doubt. The Emperour required, and so did *Charles* also himself, that a publick Church might be allowed, wherein Divine Service might be celebrated by him and his after the Romish manner. When this would not be hearkened unto, the Emperour devised a middle way, that in some private place in the Court he might peaceably use his Service of God, (as was permitted to Popish Princes Embassadours in their Houses,) and that with these Conditions: "That "no English-man should be admitted thereto; and neither he nor "his Servants should speak against the Religion received in *England*, "or favour those that did speak against it: That if any Offence "should arise in respect of his Religion, he should forbear it for a "time; and also that he should be present with the Queen at Divine "Service to be celebrated after the manner of the Church of *Eng-* "*land*. To be short, this matter being maturely deliberated of in *England*, the Queen answered, "That if she should grant this, she "should offend her Conscience, and openly break the publick Laws "of the Realm, not without great perill both of her Dignity and "Safety. But if it would please the Archduke *Charles* to come into "*England*, that she might see him, he should be very well satisfied, "and find his Travel worth his pains. So the Emperour dismissed *Sussex* with great Honour, who turning out of his way to *Gratz*, took his leave of the Archduke *Charles*, that in vain hoped for a better Answer from the Queen: for from thenceforth time wore these things out by little and little, which had been 7 years bringing on by honourable Mediatours. Yet did there continue such dearness of Love and mutual Kindness between both Princes, that the Emperour always crossed the Bishop of *Rome*'s Attempts against Queen *Elizabeth*. The Archduke *Charles* not long after took to Wife *Mary*, the Daughter of *Albert* the Fifth, Duke of *Bavaria*, who, besides other Children, bare unto him the Queens of *Spain* and *Poland*.

Difficulties arise in the Treaty of Marriage.

Scruple touching Religion.

The Treaty ends without success.

The Archduke married.

About this time came into *England Stephen Twerdico* and *Theodore Pogorella*, from that most potent Emperour *John Basilides*, Emperour of *Russia* and *Moscovia*, with rich Furrs of Sables, Luserns, and others, which at that time and in former Ages were in great request amongst

Embassadours from the *Moscovite*.

amongſt the *Engliſh*, both for their Ornament and Wholeſomneſs. They made large Offers of all Kindneſs and Aſſiſtence to the Queen and the *Engliſh*, which the ſaid Emperour had already abundantly ſhewed upon theſe beginnings following. 1567.

The *Engliſh* diſcover a Paſſage by ſea into *Moſcovia*.

Whilſt certain Merchants of *London*, whereof the chief were *Andrew Judd*, *George Barnes*, *William Gerard*, and *Anthony Huſey*, in the year 1553. ſought a way into *Cathay* by the Frozen or North Sea, under the Conduct of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who was frozen to death, *Richard Chanceller* next after him happily diſcovered a Paſſage into *Ruſſia*, which was before unknown, being brought into the mouth of the River *Dwina*, under the 64. degree of Latitude of the North Pole, where ſtandeth a little Monaſtery dedicated to Saint *Nicholas*. From hence the Emperour ſent for them to *Moſco* by Sleds drawn over the Ice, after the manner of the Country: he welcomed them kindly, and diſmiſſed them bountifully, promiſing large Priviledges to the *Engliſh*, if they would traffick in his Empire; heartily rejoycing that Out-landiſh Merchandizes might be brought into *Ruſſia* by Sea, which the *Ruſſians* had before with difficulty received by *Narva* and the hoſtile Countries of the *Polonian*. When *Chanceller* was returned, and reported theſe things, and how dear the Engliſh Cloaths were ſold in thoſe parts, and how cheap Hemp and Flax for Cables, Wax and rich Furrs were ſold unto them; thoſe Merchants grew into a Company or Society, by the Aſſent of Queen *Mary*, which we call the *Moſcovia Company*, who, having many Priviledges granted them by *Baſilides*, from that time had a rich Trade of it, ſending every year a Fleet thither. But moſt gainfull it was to them after that, through Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favour with *Baſilides*, they obtained in the year 1569. that none but the Engliſh Merchants of that Company ſhould trade in the North parts of *Ruſſia*, and that they alone ſhould vend their Merchandizes all over that moſt ſpacious Empire, as in proper place we will declare.

The *Moſcovia* Company of Merchants.

With theſe *Ruſſian* Embaſſadours returned into *England Anthony Jenkinſon*, who took a moſt exact Survey of *Ruſſia*, deſcribed it in a Geographical Map, and was the firſt Engliſh-man that ſailed on the *Caſpian* Sea, and made his way to the *Bactrians*. To this *Jenkinſon* the Emperour gave certain ſecret Inſtructions, which he imparted not to his own people: to wit, "That he ſhould ſeriouſly ſolicite "the Queen for a mutual League of Defence and Offence againſt all "men, and to ſend Ship-wrights, Sailers and Munition into *Ruſſia*: "And that the Queen would bind herſelf by Oath to receive him "courteouſly with his Wife and Children, if he ſhould be thrown "out of his Kingdome either by Rebels or Enemies. Thus did a Tyrant, from whom no man can keep any thing ſafe, ſeem to himſelf to be without Safety. And certainly he took it ill that the Queen anſwered ſlightly to theſe Points. And yet he ceaſed not both by Letters and Embaſſie to urge theſe things, as in due place we will ſhew, now and then requiring that the ſaid *Anthony* might be ſent back,

A ſecret Meſſage from the *Moſcovite*.

1567.

back, as if he had dealt unfaithfully in Secrets of ſo great a moment.

In the firſt month of this year *Nicholas Wotton*, Doctour of both Laws, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York* both at once, a man of noble Birth, but far more noble and famous at home and abroad for his Wiſedome, rendered his Soul to God. For being of the Privy Council to King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, he was nine times ſent Embaſſadour to the Emperour, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and other Princes; thrice was he a Commiſſioner for concluding of Peace between the *Engliſh*, the *French*, and the *Scots*; and was choſen by King *Henry* the Eighth one of the ſixteen Curators or Overſeers of his laſt Will and Teſtament.

The death of Dr. *Nicholas Wotton.*

This year alſo died *Elizabeth Leibourne*, the third Wife of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who being Widow to the Lord *Dacres*, and married to the Duke about a year, bare him no Children: but to her former Husband ſhe bare *George* Lord *Dacres*, who died young by the fall of a Vaulting-horſe upon him, as he learned to vault; and three Daughters eſpouſed *de futuro* to three of the Duke's Sons.

The death of the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk.*

I have already ſhewed in the year 1560. and 1562. how *Shan O-Neal*, the lawfull Son of *Con O-Neal*, by-named *Bacco*, that is, *The lame*, the moſt powerfull Lord of all the North part of *Ireland*, which is called *Ulſter*, came into *England*, and humbly craved Pardon for his Rebellion. He, being returned home, manfully defended that part of *Ireland* againſt the Invaſion of the *Scots* from *Cantire* and the *Hebrides*, killing their Leaders, *James Mac-Conel*, to whom he was Son-in-law, and *Agne* his Brother. With which Victory being puffed up, he began to exerciſe Tyranny over the petty Lords of *Ulſter*. *Armagh*, the Metropolitan City of *Ireland*, he defaced with Fire, in Hatred to the Archbiſhop. *O-Donel*, who was the next unto him in this Tract, he deſpoiled of his Goods and Lands, carried him away Priſoner, and raviſhed his Wife. *Mac-Guire* he drove out of his ancient Inheritance; making a Prey of *Mac-Geniſs* and others. Whoſe Protection when the *Engliſh* undertook, he took up the Banner of Rebellion againſt the Queen; which, by the perſwaſion of Sir *Thomas Cuſac* Knight, he ſoon laied down again, and returned to his Obedience, delivering his Son for Hoſtage. And to keep him in his Duty, the Queen reſolved to diſannull the Patent of King *Henry* the Eighth, wherein he declared *Matthew* (falſly ſuppoſed to be the Son of *Con*) to be Succeſſour of his Father, and to beſtow upon this *Shan*, as his undoubted Son and Heir, the honourable Title of Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and Baron of *Dungannon*. But he, being a man of a reſtleſs ſpirit, when he ſaw that he was able to leavy of his own Followers a thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot, and had already a Guard of ſeven hundred men, diſdained in a barbarous Pride all ſuch honourable Titles, in compariſon of the name of *O-Neal*, and vaunted himſelf among his own People for King of *Ulſter*, trained the Country-people to War, offered the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Queen of *Scots*,

Shan O-Neal riſeth in Arms.

He rebelleth.

Scots, and boiled in Hatred againſt the *Engliſh* in ſuch ſort, that he named a Caſtle which he built in the Lake *Eaugh*, *Feoghnegall*, that is, *The Hatred of the Engliſh*, and ſtrangled ſome of his own men for that they fed on Engliſh Bread. Yet never ſpake he of the Queen but with Honour. 1567.

Againſt this *Tir-Oen* Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy, was commanded to march: and *Edward Randolph*, a worthy Leader, was ſent by Sea to the Coaſt of *Ulſter* with a Cornet of Horſe, and ſeven hundred Foot, to *Dirry*, a ſmall Biſhop's See near *Lough-Foyl*, to charge him in the Rear, when the Lord Deputy ſhould ſet upon him on the other ſide. *Shan*, underſtanding hereof, in a great fury aſſalted *Dundalk*, but was beaten off by the Garriſon, and received a great Overthrow; and no leſs at *Whites-Caſtle*. Afterwards, as he was about to waſt the County of *Louth* with Fire and ſword, he was put to flight by a ſmall Power of Engliſh-men, and loſt many of his men. Then marched he to *Dirry*, pillaged the Country round about, and provoked the Engliſh Garriſon to fight; who, marſhalling themſelves in order of Battell, eaſily brake through the diſordered Multitude, defeated them, and put them to flight. Yet ſad was the Victory, by reaſon of the unhappy death of *Randolph* the Leader, who, fighting manfully amongſt the thickeſt of the Enemies, was ſlain. Surely a worthy man in our memory, for never was there any that gained greater Authority together with greater Love amongſt Souldiers. In his room ſucceeded *Edward à Sancto Laudo*, or *Saint-Lo*, who grievouſly puniſhed and endammaged the Rebels in theſe parts, untill by ſudden miſchance of Fire the Garriſon-Town was burnt, with the Victuals and Powder, which blew up many of his men: for then he put his Foot-men aboard the ſmall Veſſels he had, and he himſelf with the Cornet of Horſe, whereof *George Harvey* had the Command, broke through the midſt of the inſulting Enemies, and by a four days march came to the Lord Deputy, who mourned himſelf in black at the Funerall of *Randolph*, for his Vertue.

Forces ſent againſt him.

He is twice repulſed.

He is put to flight.

The like again.

Randolph ſlain.

Dirry caſually burnt.

And now the Lord Deputy marching into *Ulſter*, *Shan* and his men hid themſelves in Woods and Thickets, and once or twice cut off the hindermoſt Companies near *Clogher*, and *Salmon*, a Caſtle of *Turlough Leinigh*'s, who was then revolted from *Shan*. But after the Lord Deputy had placed his men in Garriſon, and reſtored *O-Donell* to his Lands, and was returned to pacifie ſome Variances betwixt the Earls of *Ormond* and *Deſmond*, who made mortal Wars one upon another, *Shan*, taking heart again, harried the Country round about, and beſieged *Dundalk* again; which Siege he was fain ſhortly after to break up again with great Loſs and Shame, having many of his men ſlain. Whereupon being ſtricken as it were into a fury, he exerciſed barbarous Cruelty upon his own men; inſomuch as many forſook him: and he himſelf, when he ſaw his Companies weakened, (for beſides thoſe which had forſaken him, there were four thouſand ſlain,) the Paſſages beſet, and all Refuges ſeized on by the *Engliſh*, was minded to

Another fruitleſs Attempt of *Shan*.

He rageth againſt his own men.

He purpoſeth to ſubmit.

1567. to caſt himſelf at the Lord Deputie's feet with an Halter about his Neck, and crave Pardon. But his Secretary diſſwaded him, adviſing him firſt to try the Friendſhip of the *Hebridian Scots*, who, during the heat of the War, had returned into *Clandeboy*, (from whence he had driven them out a little before,) under the Conduct of *Alexander Oge*, that is, *The younger*, and *Mac-Gilleſpic*, whoſe Brethren, *Agne* and *James Mac-conel*, he himſelf had ſlain in fight. To theſe he came with the Wife of *O-Donell*, whom he had raviſhed, having, to regain their Favour, ſent their Brother *Surley Boy*, that is, *Surley the yellow*, before, whom he had kept Priſoner a long time. They, in Revenge of their Brethren and Kinſmen whom he had ſlain, received him with feigned Courteſie, and ſoon after taking him into their Tent, amongſt their Cups they fell to hot words, for certain opprobrious ſpeeches of *Shan* againſt their Mother, drew upon him, and ſlew him, and moſt of his Company. This bloudy End had *Shan* in the middle of *June*, who had deſpoiled his Father of his Government, and his baſe Brother of his Life; a man moſt polluted with Murthers and Adulteries, a very great Rioter and Glutton, and ſuch a Drunkard, that, to cool his body when it was immoderately inflamed with Wine and Uſquebagh, he would many times be buried in the earth up to the Chin. He left Children by his Wife, *Henry* and *Shan*; and more by *O-Donel's* Wife, and his Concubines. His Goods and Poſſeſſions were confiſcate by Authority of a Parliament in *Ireland*, and *Turlough Leinigh*, the powerfulleſt man of the Houſe of *O-Neal*, a man of a quiet ſpirit, was, with Queen *Elizabeth's* good will, ſaluted by the name of *O-Neal* by popular Election. Nevertheleſs *Hugh*, commonly called Baron of *Dungannon*, Nephew to *Shan* by *Matthew* his baſe Brother, a young man then little ſet by, who proved afterward the Diſturber, yea the Plague, of his Country, was received into Grace of Queen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might have one to oppoſe againſt *Turlough*, if he ſhould chance to fall away from his Duty.

He is ſlain.

His Character and Children.

Hugh, afterward Earl of *Tir-oen*.

Troubles in *Munſter*.

Thus was *Ulſter* reſtored to Peace: but in the mean time in *Munſter* there was much Hurliburly, through an unhappy Emulation between two Kinſmen, the Earls of *Ormond* and *Deſmond*, and upon Contention about their Bounds; inſomuch as they fought a Battel near *Dromelin*, and were ſent for into *England* to plead their Cauſe at the Council-table. Nevertheleſs, the matter being ſomewhat intricate, they were remitted to the Lord Deputy in *Ireland*, where the Witneſſes and Evidence were nigh: but they, being equal in number of warlike Adherents, Spirit, and Friends in Court, reſolved to decide the matter by the Sword, deſpiſing the Authority of the Laws. The Lord Deputy interpoſed himſelf with his Authority and armed Power. But *Ormond*, who would have his Cauſe to ſeem the better, ſo wrought, that the Lord Deputy was accuſed as inclining to favour *Deſmond*, and was commanded to ſurprize *Deſmond*; whom he intercepted at unawares at *Kilmalock*, with *John Deſmond* his Uncle, and ſent them into *England*, where they were committed to Cuſtody.

The

1568.

The Eleventh Year of Her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1568.

Popish Priests give Absolution.

WHileſt *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders* and *T. P.* Divines, Fugitives out of *England*, buſily exerciſed their Epiſcopall Power received lately from the Biſhop of *Rome*, *of abſolving in Court of Conſcience all Engliſh-men which returned to the Boſome of the Church, and of diſpenſing alſo in caſes of Irregularity, excepting Cauſes ariſing of wilfull Murther, or brought into a contentious or Judiciall Court; and alſo of abſolving from Irregularity in reſpect of Hereſie, ſo as the perſons to be abſolved do abſtain from the Service of the Altar by the ſpace of three years:* on the other ſide, *Colman*, *Button*, *Hallingham*, *Benſon*, and others, who, with burning Zeal profeſſing a more ſincere Religion, allowed nothing but what was drawn from the Fountains of the Holy Scriptures, or out of an Affectation of a more pure Diſcipline, Novelty, or Diſſenſion, openly called in queſtion the received Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, the Liturgie, and the Vocation of Biſhops, yea condemned them as ſavouring too much of the Romiſh Religion, (with which to have any Communion they cried out was impious,) uſing all the means they could, that all things in the Church of *England* might be reformed according to the Pattern of the Church of *Geneva*. Theſe men though the Queen commanded to be committed to Priſon, yet incredible it is how much the Followers of this Sect increaſed every-where, through a certain obſtinate Wilfulneſs in them, Indiſcretion of the Biſhops, and ſecret Favour of certain Noblemen who gaped after the Wealth of the Church: which Sect began preſently to be known by the odious name of *Puritans*.

The Puritans ſhew themſelves,

and increaſe in Followers.

Whenas the French-men, who in like manner endeavoured a Reformation of Religion, fearing that the Holy League was made by the Papiſts againſt them, had a little before out of juſt Fear come unto the King armed with their humble Supplication, a Second Civill war broke forth: for the compounding whereof the Queen commanded *Norris*, her Embaſſadour, to interpoſe his Mediation. And certainly a diſſembled Peace enſued, full of treacherous Intentions. At what time the Queen-mother of *France* uſed the Embaſſadour and other Engliſh-men with flattering and kind Courteſie, and covertly, and as it were glancingly, began to let fall ſpeeches of a Marriage betwixt Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, who was ſcarce ſeventeen years of age: And this to no other intent (as many thought) then to keep her off from relieving the Proteſtants of *France* in the Third Civill war, which ſhe gueſſed did threaten her.

A ſecond Civil war in *France*,

compoſed.

The Duke of *Anjou* commended to Q. *Elizabeth* for an Husband.

But *Man*, the Engliſh Embaſſadour in *Spain*, was moſt diſcourteouſly dealt withall, who, being accuſed to have ſpoken ſomewhat unre-

The Embaſſadour in *Spain* hardly uſed,

1568. unreverently of the Biſhop of *Rome*, was excluded from the Court, and afterward thruſt out of *Madrid* into a Country village, his Servants compelled to be preſent at Maſs, and the Exerciſe of his own Religion forbidden; and this whether in more Hatred to the Queen or to Religion, I cannot ſay: whereas ſhe in the mean time ſhewed all Kindneſs to *Guſman* the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, allowing him his own Religion. This Uſage towards her Embaſſadour ſhe took in ill part, as done in Diſgrace to her; and no leſs the Injury done at this time by the *Spaniards* to Sir *John Hawkins*. This *Hawkins* had arrived at *Saint John de Ulua* in the Bay of *Mexico*, with five Ships for Commerce, laden with Merchandizes and Black-moor Slaves, which were now commonly bought in *Africa* by the *Spaniards*, and from their Example by the *Engliſh*, and ſold again in *America*, how honeſtly I know not. The next day arrived there alſo the King of *Spain's* Royall Navy; which though he might eaſily have kept from entring the Haven, yet ſuffered he them to enter, compounding for Security to him and his upon certain Conditions, leſt he might ſeem to have broken the League. The *Spaniards* being let in, who ſcorned to have Conditions given them within their own Dominions, watched their Opportunity, ſet upon the *Engliſh*, ſlew many, took three Ships, and pillaged the Goods: yet got they not the Victory without Bloud. Hereat the military and ſea-faring men all over *England* fretted, and deſired War againſt the *Spaniards*, exclaiming that they were League-breakers, inaſmuch as it was agreed by the League betwixt the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth and King *Henry* the Eighth, that there ſhould be free Commerce between the Subjects of both Princes, *in all and ſingular their Kingdoms, Dominions and Iſles*, not excepting *America*, which then belonged to the ſaid *Charles*. But the Queen ſhut her Ears againſt them, being taken off by Scottiſh matters.

and *Hawkins* in *America*.

The Queen of *Scots* eſcapeth out of Priſon.

For in *Scotland* about this time, to wit, the ſecond of *May*, the captive Queen made an Eſcape out of Priſon in *Lough-Levin*, to *Hamilton* Caſtle, by the Help of *George Douglaſs*, to whoſe Brother's Cuſtody ſhe was committed; where, upon hearing of the Teſtimonies of *Robert Melvin* and others, a Sentence declaratory was pronounced by the unanimous Conſent of all the Noblemen which were there aſſembled in good number, That the Reſignation extorted from the Queen in Priſon through Fear was null from the very firſt; and that the ſame was extorted, was confirmed by the Oath of the Queen herſelf there preſent. Hereupon within a day or two ſo great a Multitude flocked unto her from all parts, that ſhe leavied an Army of ſix thouſand Warriours, who notwithſtanding, when the Battell joyned, were eaſily defeated by *Murray*, whilſt in fighting they rather uſed Force then good Adviſement. With this ſad Succeſs the fearfull Queen being terrified, ſaved herſelf by Flight, riding that day ſixty miles; and afterwards ſhe came by Night-journeys to the Houſe of *Maxwell* Baron *Heris*, and choſe rather to commit herſelf to the mercy of the Sea, and to the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, then to the Fidelity

Raiſeth an Army.

Is vanquiſhed.

Fidelity of her own people. Nevertheleſs ſhe ſent *John Beton* firſt to her with a Diamond, (which ſhe had before received from her in Token of mutual Kindneſs,) to let her know that ſhe would come into *England*, and crave Aid of her, in caſe her Subjects did purſue her any farther in an hoſtile way. To whom Queen *Elizabeth* moſt largely promiſed all the Love and Kindneſs of a Siſter. But before the Meſſenger returned, ſhe, quite contrary to the Perſwaſions of her Friends, took Boat with the Lords *Heris* and *Fleming*, and a few others, and arrived the 17. of *May* at *Wirkinton* in *Cumberland*, near the Mouth of the River *Derwent*; and the ſame day wrote a Letter in French with her own hand to Queen *Elizabeth*. The chief Heads whereof (foraſmuch as they contain an hiſtorical Narration of things done againſt her in *Scotland* more fully then I have related them) I have thought good to ſet down out of the very Original, which runneth thus. 1568.

She cometh into *England*.

Her Letter to the Queen.

You are not ignorant (my very good Siſter) how ſome of my Subjects, whom I have raiſed to the higheſt top of Honour, have conſpired to impriſon me and my Husband; and how I alſo, at your Interceſſion, received them again to Favour, after they were by force of Arms driven out of my Kingdome. Yet theſe men brake into my Chamber, cruelly murthered my Servant before my face, when I was great with child, and ſhut me up in Cuſtody. And when I had pardoned them the ſecond time, behold, they pretended a new Crime againſt me, which they plotted themſelves, and ſigned with their own Hands, and were now ready with an Army in the Field to charge me. But I, truſting in mine own Innocency, and to ſpare the ſpilling of Blood, put myſelf into their Hands. They preſently thruſt me into Priſon, removed all my Servants from me, ſaving one or two Waiting-maids, my Cook, and my Phyſician; drove me by Threats and Terrour of Death to reſign my Kingdome; and in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates convocated by their own Authority, refuſed to hear me or my Advocates; deſpoiled me of my Goods, and barred me from all Conference with any man. Afterwards by God's guidance I eſcaped out of Priſon, and being guarded with the Flower of the Nobility, which gladly flocked unto me from all parts, I put my Enemies in mind of their Duty and Allegeance, I offered them Pardon, and propounded that both parties might be heard in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, leſt the Commonwealth ſhould be rent any longer with Civil Combuſtions. Two Meſſengers I ſent about this matter; both of them they caſt in Priſon: thoſe which aided me they proclaimed Traitours, and commanded them by publick Proclamation that they ſhould preſently leave me. I prayed them that the Lord Boyd *might upon publick Faith and Aſſurance treat with them about a Compoſition: but this alſo they flatly denied. Yet I hoped that by your Mediation they might have been recalled to their Duty. But when I ſaw that I muſt have undergone either Death or a new Impriſonment, I reſolved to goe to* Dunbriton. *They in the way oppoſed themſelves againſt me, ſlew and put my men to flight in Battell. I betook myſelf to the Lord* Heris, *with whom I am come into your Kingdome, truſting aſſuredly in your ſingular Kindneſs, that you will aſſiſt me, and excite others by*

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your Example. I do therefore earneſtly intreat you that I may be forthwith conducted unto you, who am now in very great Streights, as I ſhall more fully inform you when it ſhall pleaſe you to take Pity on me. God grant unto you a long and ſafe Life, and to me Patience and Conſolation, which I hope and pray that I may obtain of him by your means.

Queen *Elizabeth* comforted her by Letters ſent by Sir *Francis Knolles* and others, promiſing her Protection according to the Equity of her Cauſe: Nevertheleſs ſhe denied her Acceſs unto her, becauſe ſhe was commonly taxed of many Crimes, and commanded that ſhe ſhould be conveyed to *Carliſle* by *Louder* Deputy-warden of the place and the Gentlemen in thoſe parts, as to a place of more Safety, if her Adverſaries ſhould attempt any thing againſt her. Upon receit of this Anſwer, and Denial of Acceſs, ſhe earneſtly beſought her again, both by Letters and by *Maxwell* Baron *Heris*, *That ſhe might both lay open the Injuries done unto her, and purge herſelf of the Crimes objected againſt her:* alleaging, *That it was moſt reaſonable that Queen* Elizabeth, *being her very near Kinſwoman, ſhould hear her, being an Exile, in her own Preſence, and reſtore her to her Kingdome, againſt thoſe whom ſhe, when they lived in Exile for their Offences againſt her, had fully reſtored at Queen* Elizabeth's *Interceſſion, and indeed to her own Undoing, unleſs prevented in time. She beſought her therefore that ſhe might either be admitted to ſpeak with her, and be relieved; or elſe ſuffered with good Leave to depart out of* England *forthwith, to crave Aid elſewhere, and might no longer be detained as a Priſoner in* Carliſle-*Caſtle; foraſmuch as ſhe came of her own accord into* England, *relying upon her Love, ſo often honourably promiſed by Letters, Meſſages, and Tokens.*

She is conveyed to *Carliſle.*

Her ſecond Letter.

By means of theſe Letters, and *Heris* his words, Queen *Elizabeth* ſeemed (for who can dive into the ſecret Meanings of Princes? and wiſe men do keep their Thoughts locked up within the Cloſet of their Breaſts,) ſeriouſly to commiſerate the moſt afflicted Princeſs her Kinſwoman, who having been taken by her own Subjects by Force and arms, thruſt into Priſon, brought into extream Danger of her Life, condemned without Hearing, and deſpoiled of her Kingdome, (whereas even againſt a private man, without Hearing, Sentence is not to be pronounced,) had fled into *England* to her in aſſured hope of Aid. And hereunto ſhe was the rather moved, for that the diſtreſſed Queen voluntarily offered her Cauſe to be debated before her, and undertook to prove her Adverſaries guilty of all the Crimes whereof they had accuſed her who was innocent.

Q. *Elizabeth* pitieth her.

But whatſoever Queen *Elizabeth*'s Commiſeration were towards her, the Council of *England* entred into ſerious Deliberation what ſhould be done with her. If ſhe were detained in *England*, they feared leſt ſhe (who was as it were the very Pith and Marrow of ſweet Eloquence) might draw many daily to her part which favoured her Title to the Crown of *England*, who would kindle the Coals of her Ambition, and leave nothing unaſſayed whereby they might ſet the Crown

The Council deliberate about her, whether to detain her in *England*,

Crown upon her Head: Forrein Embaſſadours would further her Counſels and Deſigns; and the *Scots* then would not fail her, when they ſhould ſee ſo rich a Booty offered them. Beſides, the Truſt of Keepers was doubtfull: and if ſhe ſhould die in *England*, though by Sickneſs, it would be wreſted to matter of Calumniation, and the Queen would be daily moleſted with new Troubles. If ſhe were ſent over into *France*, they feared leſt the *Guiſes*, her Kinſmen, would proſecute her Title again, whereby ſhe had laid Claim to *England*, out of an opinion they had, that ſhe could doe much in *England*, with ſome in reſpect of Religion, with others by the probability of her Title aforeſaid, and with the moſt ſort through a mad affectation of Innovation. Moreover the Amity between *England* and *Scotland*, which was of ſpecial concernment, would be broken, and the ancient League between *France* and *Scotland* renewed, which would now be a matter of more dangerous Conſequence then in times paſt, when *Burgundy* was knit in a firm League with *England*, which at this time had no truſty Friends but the *Scots*. If ſhe ſhould be ſent back into *Scotland*, the Fear was, leſt thoſe of the Engliſh party ſhould be put beſide their places, and thoſe of the French party advanced to higheſt Offices, the young Prince expoſed to Danger, Religion in *Scotland* changed, the *French* and other Forreiners let in, *Ireland* more grievouſly infeſted by the *Hebridian Scots*, and ſhe herſelf brought into Hazard of her Life by her Adverſaries at home. Almoſt all of them therefore thought it beſt that ſhe ſhould be detained as taken by right of War, and not be delivered, till ſhe gave Satisfaction for uſurping the Title of *England*, and anſwered for the Death of the Lord *Darly* her Husband, who was a native Subject of *England*. For the Lord *Darly*'s Mother, the Counteſs of *Lenox*, had of late with Tears grievouſly complained to Queen *Elizabeth* in her own and her Husband's name, and beſought her that ſhe might be called to her Trial for the Murther of her Son. But ſhe graciouſly comforting her, admoniſhed her, *That ſhe ſhould not charge a Crime upon ſo Great a Princeſs, her near Kinſwoman, which could not be proved by certain Evidence:* ſaying, *That the Times were partial and malignant, and Malice blind, which forgeth Crimes againſt the Innocent; but Juſtice clear-ſighted, which being the Avenger of wicked facts, is to be expected from God.*

The Lord *Heris* on the contrary beſought the Queen, That ſhe would not haſtily believe any thing contrary to the Truth againſt a Queen unheard; and that a Parliament might not be over-raſhly holden in *Scotland* by *Murray*, to the Prejudice of the expelled Queen, and the undoing of the good Subjects. Which though Queen *Elizabeth* earneſtly urged, yet *Murray* the Regent ſummoned a Parliament in the King's name, proſcribed ſome which ſtood for the Queen, and ſeized upon their Lands and Houſes. The Queen of *England*, being highly diſpleaſed herewith, gave the Regent to underſtand by *Middlemore*, and that in ſharp words, that ſhe could not endure that an Example ſo dangerous to Kings ſhould be given, whereby the Authority

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ſend her into *France*,

or back into *Scotland*.

They think beſt to detain her.

The Counteſs of *Lenox* complaineth againſt her.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Anſwer.

The Lord *Heris* intercedeth for her.

Murray calls a Parliament.

Q. *Elizabeth* miſlikes their Proceedings.

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rity of the Sacred Royal Majeſty ſhould be had in Contempt amongſt Subjects, and troden under foot at the luſt of Factious people. But howſoever they forgat the Duty of Subjects, and their Fidelity towards their Queen, yet ſhe could not be unmindfull of any Office either of Kindneſs or Piety towards the Queen her Siſter and Neighbour. He ſhould come himſelf, or ſend ſufficient Deputies, to anſwer to the Complaints of the Queen of *Scots* againſt him and his Confederates, and give juſt Reaſons for the Depoſing her: otherwiſe ſhe would forthwith ſet her at Liberty, and reſtore her with all the Power ſhe could make to her Kingdome. And withall ſhe warned him not to ſell the Queen's Attire and rich Ornaments, though the Eſtates had permitted it.

Murray commanded to give Reaſons for Depoſing the Queen.

Murray obeyed, foraſmuch as he had no other means to maintain his Regency then ſuch as depended upon *England*, and the Lords of the Kingdome which were deputed for this buſineſs refuſed it. He came therefore himſelf to *York*, being the City appointed for that purpoſe, and with him ſeven of his inwardeſt Friends, as Deputies for the Infant King, namely, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Robert* Commendator of *Dunfermelin*, *Patrick* Baron of *Lindſey*, *James Mac-Gilly*, *Henry Balnaw*. And in company of theſe came *Lidington*, allured by *Murray*'s Promiſes, (for at home he durſt not leave him,) and *George Buchanan*, a moſt ſworn man to *Murray*. And the very ſame day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex*, a little before made Preſident of the North, and Sir *Ralph Sadleir* Knight, one of the Privy Council, Commiſſioners appointed to hear and examine the Cauſe of her Depoſing. For the Queen of *Scots* (who took it very hardly that Queen *Elizabeth* would not hear her in her own Preſence, and yet commanded her Subjects to be heard againſt her before her Commiſſioners, conſidering that ſhe, being an abſolute Princeſs, was not bound but at her own pleaſure to anſwer her Subjects which accuſed her,) appeared *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, *William* Baron of *Levingſton*, *Robert* Baron of *Boyd*, *Gawin* Commendator of *Kilwinin*, *John Gordon*, and *James Cockborn*.

Deputies for the King of *Scots*.

Commiſſioners appointed by Queen *Elizabeth* to take cogniſzance of the Cauſe.

Deputies for the Queen of *Scots*.

After they were come together the 7. of *October*, and had ſhewed to one another their Commiſſions whereby their Authority was granted them, *Lidington* ſtanding by, turned him to the *Scots*, and with wonderfull freedome of ſpeech admoniſhed them, *That foraſmuch as by the Authority granted by Queen* Elizabeth *to her Commiſſioners it ſeemed that ſhe aimed at nothing elſe, but that the ſaid Scottiſh Deputies ſhould ſtain the Reputation of the Queen, the King's Mother, and blemmiſh her Name, that ſo ſhe, as an indifferent Umpier, might give Sentence thereupon; they ſhould therefore adviſedly conſider how great Hatred and Danger they ſhould draw upon themſelves, not only amongſt the* Scots *which were devoted to the Queen, but alſo with the other Princes of Chriſtendom, and her Kinſmen in* France, *by accuſing her criminouſly, and bringing her Reputation in queſtion, in this publick & juridical way, before the* Engliſh, *profeſſed*

Lidington's Admonition to the *Scots*.

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profeſſed Enemies to the Scottiſh Nation; and what Account they ſhould be able another day to give unto the King of ſuch an inſolent Accuſation, ſo prejudiciall to the Kingdome of Scotland, *when he, arriving at riper years, ſhould conſtrue this to reflect upon the Honour of himſelf, his Mother, and his Country. He therefore thought it the wiſeſt courſe to forbear this odious Accuſation of ſo Great a Prince, unleſs the Queen of* England *would enter into a mutuall League with them of Defence and Offence againſt all men which ſhould trouble for the ſame. And of theſe things* (he ſaid) *he friendly admoniſhed them in reſpect of his Office, as being Secretary of* Scotland. They, looking one upon another, held their peace.

A Proteſtation of the Deputies of the Q. of *Scots*.

The Queen of *Scots* Deputies, (for to them was the firſt place of Honour given) before they took their Oath, proteſted, that although the Q. of *Scots* thought good that the Cauſes betwixt her and her diſloyall Subjects ſhould be debated before the *Engliſh*; yet did ſhe not thereby acknowledge herſelf to be under the ſovereign Command of any, foraſmuch as ſhe was a free Princeſs, and under the Authority and Vaſſalage of none.

A counter-Proteſtation of the Engliſh.

The Engliſh Commiſſioners in like manner proteſted, that they did in no wiſe admit that Proteſtation, in prejudice of that Title which the Kings of *England* have long ſince challenged, as *Superiour Lords of the Kingdome of* Scotland.

A Declaration of the Deputies for the Queen of *Scots*.

The next day the Queen of *Scots* Deputies delivered a Declaration in writing, *How* James *Earl of* Morton, John *Earl of* Marre, Alexander *Earl of* Glencarn, Humes, Lindſey, Rethuen, Sempill, &c. *had leavied an Army, in the Queen's Name, againſt the Queen, and having intercepted and moſt unworthily treated her, had thruſt her into Priſon at* Lough-Levin, *broken into the Office of the Mint, taken away the Stamps, the Gold and Silver, coined and uncoined, and crowned her Infant-Son King, whoſe Authority* James *Earl of* Murray *had uſurped under the Title of Regent or Viceroy, and had ſeized upon all the Fortreſſes, Wealth and Revenues of the Kingdome.* Then they laid open, *How ſhe, as ſoon as ever ſhe had eſcaped out of Priſon, after eleven months Reſtraint, had publickly declared upon her Oath, that whatſoever ſhe had done in Priſon had been extorted from her againſt her will by Force, Threats, and Terrour of Death. Nevertheleſs, to the end the publick Tranquillity might be eſtabliſhed, ſhe had granted Authority to the Earls of* Argile, Eglinton, Caſſils *and* Rothſay, *to compound the matter with her Adverſaries; who notwithſtanding, when ſhe purpoſed to croſs the Country to* Dunbriton, *ſet upon her with Armed power, ſlew very many of her faithfull Subjects, ſome they carried away Priſoners, others they proſcribed, and all this for no other cauſe but that they had done their Princeſs faithfull Service. Being compelled by theſe moſt unworthy Injuries of theirs, ſhe had retired herſelf into* England, *to crave Aid of Queen* Elizabeth, *which had been often promiſed her, that thereby ſhe might be reſtored to her Country and former Dignity.*

Some few days after *Murray* the Regent and the Deputies for the Infant-

1568. Infant-King (ſo they termed themſelves) anſwered, *That* Henry *Lord* Darly, *the King's Father, being made away,* James Hepburn *Earl of* Bothwell (*who was holden to be Authour of the Murther*) *was gotten into ſuch Grace and Favour with the Queen, that he took her by ſtrong hand, though not againſt her will, carried her away to* Dunbar, *and took her to Wife, putting away his Wife he had before: That the Lords of* Scotland, *being much moved thereat, thought nothing more worthy and befitting them, (foraſmuch as that Murther was commonly imputed to a Conſpiracy of many Noblemen,) then that* Bothwell, *the Authour of the Murther, ſhould be puniſhed, the Queen ſet at Liberty, and looſed from that unjuſt Marriage, and the Safety of the young King and the Tranquillity of the Realm provided for: That when the matter was now coming on to a Battell, the Queen ſent away* Bothwell, *thundered out Threats againſt the Lords, and breathed Revenge, inſomuch as it was neceſſary to commit her to Cuſtody untill* Bothwell *were found and puniſhed: That ſhe, being wearied with the Troubles incident to the Crown, had voluntarily reſigned her Kingdome, and transferred it to her Son, appointing* Murray *to be Regent: That hereupon her Son was ſolemnly anointed and inaugurated King: And that all theſe things were approved and confirmed by the Eſtates of the Realm in Parliament, and the Scottiſh Commonwealth revived by equall and indifferent Adminiſtration of Juſtice; till ſome men, impatient of the publick Quiet, cunningly got the Queen out of Cuſtody, contrary to what they had ſworn, and, breaking their Allegeance to the King, took up Arms: over whom though the King (by God's Bleſſing) got the Victory, yet they dare ſtill moſt confidently attempt any thing in their hoſtile mind againſt their King and Country. Moſt neceſſary therefore it is that the King's Authority be maintained inviolate againſt ſuch Seditious people.*

The Anſwer of the Deputies for the King.

To this the Queen of *Scots* Deputies, repeating again their former Proteſtation, oppoſed their *Replication*, (as they term it.) *Whereas* Murray (ſay they) *and the Conſpirators affirm, that they took up Arms againſt the Queen becauſe* Bothwell, *whom they accuſe as Murtherer of the King, was in great Grace and Authority with her; they cannot by that wipe away the note of their Perfidiouſneſs, inaſmuch as the Queen never knew that he made away the King; yea, on the contrary, ſhe knew that he was acquitted from the Murther by his Peers, and that the ſame Acquittall was confirmed by Authority of Parliament, with the Conſent even of thoſe that now accuſe him, and at that time were a means to perſwade the Queen to take him to her Husband, as the meeteſt man of all others to ſway the Scepter: and to him they ingaged their Fidelity by a Writing under their Hands, and diſapproved not the Marriage ſo much as by a word, till ſuch time as they had drawn to their Party the Captain of* Edenborough *Caſtle, and the Provoſt of the City. But then in the dead time of the Night they in hoſtile manner aſſaulted the Caſtle of* Borthwick, *where the Queen lay; and ſhe eſcaping by favour of the Darkneſs of the night, they preſently leavied an Army, under pretence to defend the Queen, and with Banners diſplayed went to intercept the Queen as ſhe purpoſed to*

The Replication for the Queen of *Scots*.

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to goe to Edenborough, *and, ſending* Grange *before, warned her to diſmiſs* Bothwell, *till he ſhould be arraigned: which, to ſpare the ſhedding of Bloud, ſhe willingly did. But* Grange *gave ſecret Notice to* Bothwell *to be gone, and gave him his Faith that no man ſhould purſue him; inſomuch as he departed by their Conſent, whom they might afterwards have eaſily taken. But, having now taken the Queen, they neglected him, that they might carry on their own ambitious Deſigns. And whereas they were Subjects, and had vowed their Allegeance to the Queen, and yet had uſed her more rigorouſly then ſtood with her Royall Majeſty, no marvell if ſhe ſpake unto them ſomewhat roughly. When ſhe willingly referred her Cauſe to all the Eſtates of the Realm, and ſignified the ſame by* Lidington *her Secretary, they would not ſo much as hear him, but carried her ſecretly by night to* Lough-Levin, *and ſhut her up in Priſon. And whereas they ſay that ſhe, being wearied with the Troubles incident to the Crown, had reſigned her Kingdome; it is moſt untrue: for ſhe was neither ſpent with Age, nor weakned with Sickneſs, but was both in Mind and Body able to manage the weightieſt Buſineſſes. This is moſt certain, that the Earl of* Athol, Tullibardine *and* Lidington, *(who were alſo of her Council,) adviſed her to ſubſcribe to the Inſtrument of Reſignation, that ſo ſhe might eſcape Death, which was moſt certainly intended againſt her; ſaying moreover, that this could not prejudice her, being a Priſoner, nor her Heirs after her, foraſmuch as* Impriſonment is a juſt Fear, and a Promiſe made by one impriſoned is, *by the Judgement of the Learned in the Laws,* of no Validity. *That Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton *alſo perſwaded her to the ſame by a Schedule or Scroll written with his own Hand, whom ſhe alſo requeſted to ſignifie to the Queen of* England, *that ſhe had unwillingly and conſtrainedly ſubſcribed to the Reſignation. Moreover, that* Lindſey, *when he preſented the Inſtrument of Reſignation to her to ſubſcribe, denounced unto her the Terrours of Death, and drave her to ſubſcribe it weeping, without once reading the ſame. And the Lord of* Lough-Levin *Caſtle refuſed to ſet to his Hand as a Witneſs, for that he ſaw and certainly knew that ſhe ſubſcribed againſt her will. Moſt unreaſonable therefore and unjuſt was that Reſignation, whereat nothing was aſſigned her to live upon, nor her Liberty granted her, nor Safety of Life promiſed her. So that, in the judgement of any indifferent men, ſuch an unjuſt Reſignation cannot ſeem to have prejudiced her Royall Majeſty, which, as ſoon as ſhe was at Liberty, ſhe renounced (as forced) by a Declaration made before many Lords of the Realm. Neither ought thoſe things to be any Prejudice to the Queen which they boaſt they have done by Authority of Parliament: for whereas about a hundred Earls, Biſhops and Barons have their Voices in the Parliaments of* Scotland; *in this tumultuary Parliament there were not above four Earls, one Biſhop, one or two Abbots, and ſix Barons: and of that ſmall number, ſome there were that entred their Proteſtation, that nothing ſhould be done in Prejudice of the Queen or her Succeſſours, becauſe ſhe was a Priſoner. Neither was either the Engliſh or French Embaſſadour admitted to her Preſence, that they might underſtand*

1568. *from her own Mouth whether ſhe voluntarily reſigned her Kingdome, though they moſt earneſtly deſired it. And the Commonwealth hath been ſo far from being juſtly and indifferently governed under the uſurping Regent, that Impiety never raged with more impunity, plucking down Religious Houſes, ſubverting the moſt noble Families, and afflicting the miſerable Commonalty. They moſt earneſtly therefore intreated, that the Queen of* England *would by her Favour, Counſell and Aſſiſtence forthwith aid the Queen her Kinſwoman, moſt unworthily abuſed.* Thus much out of the very originall Writings of the Deputies, which I myſelf have ſeen.

When the Engliſh Commiſſioners, having heard all this, required *Murray* to ſhew the Cauſes of ſuch his Severity againſt an abſolute Queen, and to prove them more ſubſtantially, (for what was hitherto produced, was not confirmed by any Witneſſes, but by Writings and Letters of ſuſpected credit;) and *Lidington* had ſecretly given them to underſtand, that he had many times counterfeited the Queen's Hand; he refuſed to accuſe his Siſter any farther before Strangers, unleſs the Queen of *England* would promiſe on her part the Protection of the Infant-King, and quite to forſake the Queen of *Scots*. But when they could not by virtue of their Commiſſion promiſe any ſuch thing, one or two of the Deputies of both ſides were called up to *London*; to whom Queen *Elizabeth* declared, that ſhe could not yet acquit the Subjects from Blame againſt their Princeſs: nevertheleſs ſhe would intercede with her for them, and hear whether they had any thing farther to alleage in their own Juſtification. *Murray*, who followed them, flatly refuſed to accuſe his Siſter, but upon ſuch Condition as he had inſiſted on an *York*.

Murray refuſeth to yield Reaſons for depoſing the Queen.

Now were the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners recalled, and their Commiſſion determined, to the great Joy of the Duke, who had ever much favoured the Queen of *Scots* Title to the Succeſſion, and thought that nothing elſe was now aimed at, but that ſhe might be branded with ſome note of eternall Infamy, and thereby excluded as unworthy, together with her young Son, from all right of Succeſſion in *England*; and he thought himſelf delivered from a double Danger. For he feared leſt if he had given Sentence againſt her, he ſhould both wrong his own Conſcience, and undoe her: and if for her, he ſhould incurre the implacable Diſpleaſure of the Queen, and the Hatred of all ſuch as were averſe from the Queen of *Scots* in reſpect of Religion, or for other cauſes,

The Commiſſioners authority recalled, to the rejoycing of *Norfolk*.

But whereas Stirs and Commotions were now raiſed in *Scotland* by the Friends of the expulſed Queen, and *Murray*'s preſence was needfull there, he drew up an Accuſation before the Queen, and before *Bacon* Lord Keeper, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, *Clinton* Lord Admirall, Sir *William Cecyl*, and Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, who by a new Patent were made Commiſſioners to hear and examine the matter: and before them he produced conjecturall Articles,

New Commiſſioners appointed.

ticles, the Teſtimonies of ſome, and the Decrees made in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, and eſpecially certain Love-Letters and Verſes written (as he affirmed) with the Queen's own Hand; and all to prove her guilty of her Husband's Death: and *Buchanan*'s Book, intituled *The Detection*, he delivered to them to reade; which found ſmall credit with the greateſt part of the Commiſſioners, he being a man partial on that ſide, and of mercenary Credit. And for the Letters and Verſes, (foraſmuch as they wanted Names, Subſcriptions and Dates, and many Falſifiers there every-where are, which can ſo cunningly reſemble and counterfeit other mens Hands, that the true cannot be known from the counterfeit,) Queen *Elizabeth* gave little credit to them, though there were between them a womaniſh Emulation, wherewith that Sex is much tranſported; and ſhe held it ſufficient, that by means of theſe Accuſations ſome Scandall would ſtick upon the Queen of *Scots*. 1568.

But when the Queen of *Scots* Deputies heard that ſhe was ſo ſcandalouſly accuſed by *Murray*, they were ready enough to anſwer: but ſhe had already recalled their Commiſſion, having ſecretly learned of ſome Engliſh-men skilled in the Laws that ſhe might lawfully doe it, foraſmuch as the Queen's former Commiſſion granted to the Duke and the reſt for Cognizance of the Cauſe was alſo recalled. And the new Commiſſioners, whereof ſhe knew one or two to be partial towards her, ſhe flatly refuſed, unleſs the French and Spaniſh Embaſſadours might be joyned with them, and ſhe might be publickly admitted to defend her Innocency before the Queen and them, and *Murray* might be ſtayed, and called to his Trial, who might (ſhe ſaid) be proved to be the Contriver and Plotter of the Lord *Darly*'s Death. All which when *Norfolk*, *Arundell*, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter* and *Clinton* thought to be but reaſonable, Queen *Elizabeth*, being ſomewhat angry, ſaid openly, That the Queen of *Scots* would never want an Advocate as long as *Norfolk* lived. And ſhe held it ſufficient, to call together her Privy-Counſellours, as alſo the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worceſter*, *Huntingdon* and *Warwick*, and to impart unto them the Crimes objected by *Murray*, yet under an Oath of Secrecy, leſt they might prejudice either party. And whereas *Murray* was called home, and the Lord *Boyd* (as was commonly bruited abroad) endeavoured privily to convey the Queen of *Scots* out of Cuſtody, the matter was put off till another time; Queen *Elizabeth* from her heart (as it ſeemed) miſliking the Inſolency of the *Scots* in Depoſing the Queen.

The Queen of *Scots* refuſeth to ſubmit her Cauſe to them, but upon Conditions.

The matter cometh to nothing.

At this time was come out of *France Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, being privily ſent by the *Guiſes*, to move a Queſtion againſt *Murray*, concerning the Government of the Kingdome of *Scotland* in the Minority of the King; who ſtifly maintained before Queen *Elizabeth*, that, by the Cuſtomes and Ordinances of the Country, he was to be preferred in the Adminiſtration, as next in Bloud unto the King, before *Murray*, being baſe born. *Murray* and the King's Com-

A queſtion touching the Government of *Scotland*.

1568.

miſſioners ſhewed the contrary, "That the Regency was to be committed, not to the next of Kin, but to the moſt fit perſons to be "choſen by the Conſent of the Eſtates: And that it were moſt unjuſt, to deliver the young King into his hands, who, ambitiouſly "gaping after the Crown, in regard of his nearneſs of Bloud, might "eaſily violate his Right out of a deſire to reign. And that this was "to be feared in the *Hamiltons* above all others, who had had great "Animoſities againſt the King's Fore-fathers the Earls of *Lenox*, had "wickedly murthered the King's Great-grand-father by the Father's "ſide, expelled *Matthew* the King's poor Grand-father out of *Scotland*, "and this *Hamilton* himſelf had by his bitter Hatred much vexed "and troubled *Henry* the King's Father, and delivered his Mother to "the French King, that he might the eaſilier get the poſſeſſion of the "Kingdome himſelf. Queen *Elizabeth*, having heard all this, told *Hamilton* that it was a moſt unreaſonable thing which he demanded: and withall ſhe commanded, that he ſhould not depart out of *England*, before ſuch time as *Murray* was returned into *Scotland*.

Murray propoundeth to *Norfolk* a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*. Yet ſpreadeth Rumours againſt her.

Murray, a little before his Departure, had cunningly (as I ſhall ſhew anon) propounded to the Duke of *Norfolk* a Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, and alſo to the Queen herſelf had ſecretly given Hopes by *Melvin* of being reſtored to her Kingdome: and withall, to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* from the Queen of *Scots*, he had ſpread abroad Rumours, that ſhe had conveyed her Title to *England* to the Duke of *Anjou*, and that the ſame Conveyance was confirmed at *Rome*. He ſhewed Letters alſo (whether true or counterfeit, I will not ſay,) which the Queen of *Scots* had written to her Friends, wherein ſhe both taxed Queen *Elizabeth*, as if ſhe had treated her contrary to what ſhe had promiſed, and boaſted of her Hope of Aid from elſewhere. This indeed troubled Queen *Elizabeth*, neither could ſhe gueſs from whence that new Hope ſhould ſpring: conſidering that in *France* the Civil War was broke out ſo far, that the Biſhop of *Rhenes* was ſent to Queen *Elizabeth* from the King, to requeſt her that ſhe would not intermeddle with the Affairs of *France*; and the Duke of *Alva*, who was come the laſt year into the *Netherlands* to root out the Proteſtant Religion, could doe her no good, having his hands full of Troubles.

Ridolph employ'd to ſtir up the Papiſts againſt Q. *Elizabeth*.

But (as it came to light afterward, and as *Hieronymo Catena*, Secretary to Cardinal *Alexandrine*, hath left in writing,) *Robert Ridolph*, a *Florentine*, who had lived long time as a Factor in *London*, was employed by *Pius Quintus* Biſhop of *Rome*, (for he durſt not ſend his Nuntio openly,) to excite the Papiſts in *England* ſecretly againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; which he moſt carefully and cloſely performed.

Suſpicions concerning the Duke of *Norfolk*.

There grew alſo a Suſpicion, (yet a light one,) by means of ſecret Conferences at *York* between *Lidington*, the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom the other two beſought to employ his Counſell and Endeavour for the Safety of the moſt afflicted Queen, offering him alſo Marriage with her: which Offer he with a modeſt

Anſwer

Anſwer refuſed, as being full of Danger. Nevertheleſs as far as he could with his Honour, ſaving his Allegeance to his Prince and Country, he promiſed he would not fail the afflicted Queen. This Suſpicion was much increaſed by the often reſorting of *Ligon*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Servant, (a man extreamly Popiſh,) to *Bolton*, (a Caſtle of the Lord *Scroop*'s,) where the Queen of *Scots* was kept under the Cuſtody of Sir *Francis Knolles*, who pretended onely to ſee and ſalute the Lord *Scroop*'s Wife, which was the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Siſter. And though by all this there could no certainty be made, yet was the Queen of *Scots* removed from *Bolton*, where all the Neighbours round about were Popiſh, into the more inner parts of the Land, to *Tutbury*, and committed to the Cuſtody of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*. 1568.

The Queen of *Scots* committed to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

Now Queen *Elizabeth* took greater Care for the Safety of Religion, the Commonwealth, and her own Perſon; and the rather, becauſe both the *Guiſes* in *France*, and the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, had begun to put in Execution their Deſigns laid at *Bayon*, for the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion. For in *France* the Peace propounded in the beginning of this Year was vaniſhed into Smoak, Edicts being publiſhed, whereby the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion was utterly forbidden, the Profeſſours thereof removed from publick Offices, and the Miniſters of the Word commanded to depart the Realm within a time prefixed. And now every-where the Alarm was taken againſt them, and much Cruelty uſed toward them, notwithſtanding that Queen *Elizabeth* had with much earneſtneſs ſolicited by *Norris* her Embaſſadour, that a ſound and ſincere Peace might be made; and had ſundry times adviſed the King, that he would not by unſeaſonable Remedies incenſe their minds; and that above all things he would beware of thoſe, who, by rooting out his faithfull Subjects, ſought to weaken the Strength of *France* in that meaſure, that it might be expoſed as a Prey to others. But when he gave no ear to theſe Intreaties of hers, but gathered Money and Auxiliary forces out of *Italy*, *Germany* and *Spain*; ſhe alſo, leſt ſhe ſhould fail thoſe which were united with her in one common Cauſe, liberally ſent an hundred thouſand Angels and Munition for War to the Proteſtants, (who now religiouſly proteſted, that they took not Arms againſt their King, but for their own Defence,) and entertained with all kind of Courteſie ſuch French people as fled into *England*; as alſo *Netherlanders*, of whom a great multitude had withdrawn themſelves into *England* as to a Sanctuary, while the Duke of *Alva* breathed nothing but Slaughter and Bloud againſt them. Theſe by the Queen's Permiſſion ſeated themſelves at *Norwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Sandwich*, *Maidſtone*, and * *Hampton*, to the great Benefit and Advantage of the *Engliſh*: for they were the firſt that brought into *England* the Art of making thoſe ſlight Stuffs which are called *Bays* and *Says*, and other ſuch like Stuffs of Linnen and Woollen weaving.

The Third Civil War in *France*.

Q. *Elizabeth* relieveth the Proteſtants in *France*.

She graciouſly receiveth both them, and the *Netherlanders*, who are advantageous to *England*.

* *Southampton*.

And

1568.

And here let it not ſeem from the purpoſe, if I give a brief touch from what Beginnings the *Netherland* War brake forth at this time, whereof I muſt of neceſſity make often mention, foraſmuch as it is joyned and twiſted with Engliſh matters and Counſels.

The Original of the *Netherland* Wars.

When the *Spaniard* would by no Intreaty be perſwaded to moderate his bloudy Edicts concerning matters of Religion in the *Netherlands*, but exerciſed much Cruelty over mens Conſciences by the Spaniſh Inquiſition, prohibiting the Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the *Netherland* Provinces to be holden, (which was the onely and uſual Remedy for compounding of matters,) and governing the Commonwealth by Decrees out of *Spain*, and not by Advice of the Natives of the Country, a few of the Rabble of the people, raiſing a Tumult, outrageouſly threw down Images every-where in the Churches, and brake them in pieces. And though this Tumult was ſoon quieted, yet the *Spaniard*, following the Advice of thoſe who much deſired to lay the Yoak upon a moſt free Nation, charged the whole People with the publick Crime of Rebellion, taking occaſion from this private Raſhneſs of a few; and (as if their Freedome were now quite loſt) ſent *Don Ferdinando Alvarez* Duke of *Alva*, a cruel and ſtern man, to take upon him the Government: who, being no way allied in Bloud to the Prince, was placed in the ſupreme Command, contrary to the Cuſtoms of the Country, took away all Authority from the ordinary Provincial Councils, erected new Courts of Audience, condemning the Noblemen by ſuch as were not their Judges, and putting them to death, placing Garriſons of *Spaniards* in the Cities and Towns, building Citadels to curb them, and forcibly exacting the twentieth penny of Lands, and the tenth of Moveables upon upon every Alienation; whereby he raiſed a long and dangerous War.

The Duke of *Alva* ſent to be Governour.

His Cruelty.

About this time a great Summe of Money was ſent by the Merchants of *Genua* and other Italian Merchants out of *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, in a great Ship of *Biſcay*, and four leſſer Veſſels which the *Spaniards* call *Zabras*, to be employed in Bank. Which Ships being chaſed by *Tury Chaſtellerie* a French-man, and defended by *William Winter* an Engliſh-man, hardly eſcaped into *Plimmouth*, *Falmouth* and *South-hampton*, Ports of *England*. Which as ſoon as the Queen heard of, ſhe commanded the Officers of thoſe Ports to uſe the *Spaniards* with all Kindneſs, and defend their Ships againſt the *French*. And *Gerard De-Speſi*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, the King of *Spain*'s Embaſſadour in *England*, fearing what the *French* might doe, ſolicited the Queen (who upon his Credit thought it to be the King of *Spain*'s Money) that freſh Warrants might be ſent for Defence of the Ships againſt the *French*, who lay hard by ready to ſeize on them. Which having obtained, he ſolicited again, that the Money might be conveyed through *England*, and ſo ſent ſafely by Sea to *Antwerp*. The Queen granted it, and promiſed Security both by Sea and Land. Mean-while the French-men miſſed narrowly of carrying

Money ſent by Merchants into the *Netherlands*, defended from the *French* by the *Engliſh*.

The *Spaniard* owneth it.

1568.

rying away one of the Ships, had not the *Engliſh* beaten them off. Therefore to ſecure the Money, it was thought the wiſeſt courſe to land it out of the Ships. But before it was all come on ſhoar, *Despeſ*, being over-haſty to believe the worſt, gave the Duke of *Alva* notice that the Queen had ſeized on the Money. And while he adviſeth with the Duke of *Alva* about the matter, *Odet* Cardinall of *Chaſtillion*, (who had retired himſelf hither from the Freneh Tumults,) gave notice to Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Money was none of the King of *Spain*'s, but belonged to certain Merchants of *Genua*, which the Duke of *Alva* went about to draw to his own uſe, for the ruining of the Proteſtants, againſt the Merchants wills. Hereupon it was debated amongſt the Council of *England*, whether the Money was to be detained, or not. Moſt of them thought beſt it ſhould be ſent over into the *Netherlands*, leſt the *Spaniard*, a moſt potent Prince, being already ſufficiently incenſed againſt the *Engliſh*, ſhould be more exaſperated. But Queen *Elizabeth*, being certainly informed by one or two of the Owners of the Money, (who were in great Fear leſt the Duke of *Alva* ſhould ſeize upon it,) that it belonged wholly to the Merchants, and nothing at all to the King of *Spain*, who had onely ſuffered it to be exported out of *Spain*, reſolved to borrow it of the Merchants, giving them Security for the ſame, as Princes uſually doe of Goods found in their Ports, and the *Spaniard* himſelf had often done the ſame of late. And this ſhe proteſted to the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, what time he delivered the Duke of *Alva*'s Letters for ſending the Money over, promiſing religiouſly to reſtore it, as ſoon as it ſhould appear for certain to be the *Spaniard*'s own Money. Upon which very day, to wit, the 29. of *December*, the Duke of *Alva* being in a furious Rage ſeized upon the Engliſh-mens Goods everywhere in the *Netherlands*, and kept the Engliſh-men Priſoners with a Guard of Souldiers: ſo as any man might well perceive by the obſervation of the time, that the Duke of *Alva* intended this againſt the *Engliſh* for a Terrour, howſoever the Queen ſhould make Satisfaction for the Money. But ſhe, nothing terrified, commanded on the contrary the *Netherlanders* and their Wares and Ships in *England* to be ſeized on, which were far more then thoſe of the *Engliſh* which the Duke found in the *Netherlands*: ſo as he repented him too late of what he had begun, who had unſeaſonably made the Wound to feſter, which in the beginning might eaſily have been healed.

Conſultation about it.

The Queen detaineth it.

The Engliſh-mens Goods ſtay'd in the *Netherlands*:

And the *Netherlanders* in *England*.

The laſt day ſaving one of this Year was the laſt day of *Roger Aſcham*'s life, (pardon, I pray, this my ſhort Digreſſion in memory of a Good man,) who being born in *Yorkſhire*, and brought up at *Cambridge*, was one of the firſt of our Country-men that poliſhed the Latin and Greek, and the Pureneſs of the Style, not without commendations for Eloquence. He was a while Schoolmaſter to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the Latin Tongue. Nevertheleſs, being too-too much given to Dicing and Cock-fighting, he lived and died a poor man; leaving behind him two moſt excellent Books, as Monu-

The death of *Roger Aſcham*.

1568. Monuments of his Wit, in the Engliſh Tongue, whereof he intituled the one *Toxophilus*, and the other *Scholarcha*. But return we to the matter in hand.

The Twelfth Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1569.

A Proclamation touching the Engliſh Goods detained. The Spaniſh Embaſſadour's Anſwer.

THE ſixth day of *January* was ſet forth at *London* a Proclamation concerning the Engliſh-mens Goods detained by the Duke of *Alva*, wherein moſt of the things already ſpoken of were expreſſed, and the Blame laid upon *De-Speſi*. Who publiſhed another Writing to the contrary, wherein he ſignified that the ſaid Proclamation was not ſet forth by the Queen, but in the Queen's Name by ſome that bare no Good will to the *Spaniard*, and favoured the Rebels of the *Netherlands*. The Queen's former Kindneſs toward the *Spaniards* he commended, bewailed the Alienation of her mind without cauſe, ſtomacked that there was no more Credit given to him being an Embaſſadour, and to the Duke of *Alva*'s Letters, and marvelled that the ſaid Money was detained, whereas it was more for the Intereſt of the Queen (he ſaid) to ſupply the *Spaniard* with Money againſt his Rebels, then to take any from him. And finally he taxed her as if ſhe had offered the firſt Wrong, and excuſed the Duke of *Alva*'s Fact and himſelf. And not content herewith, he ſpred abroad defamatory Libels, wherein he ſcandalouſly blurred the Queen's Reputation, under the name of *Amadis Oriana*. For which he was reprehended, and a Guard ſet upon him for a day or two: and ſhe at large complained of theſe and the like things to the *Spaniard*, but all in vain.

A Conſpiracy againſt *Cecyl*.

Upon the Detaining of this Money certain Lords of *England*, amongſt whom were the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter*, and others, pick'd Quarrels againſt *Cecyl*, as they had done once or twice before about the Money ſent to the Proteſtants of *France*: but indeed the true cauſe was, for that they thought much of his Power with the Queen, ſuſpected him to favour the Houſe of *Suffolk* in the Succeſſion of the Crown, and feared leſt he would hinder the courſe of their Deſigns. They conſpired therefore ſecretly to caſt him into the Tower, *Throckmorton* his Emulatour ſuggeſting to them, that if he were but once impriſoned, means to undoe him would not be far to ſeek. But the Queen (by whoſe Diſcovery I know not) came to the knowledge hereof in good time, and *Cecyl*, through the magnanimous Fortitude of his Princeſs, (who, coming upon them in the very inſtant of time, reſtrained them by her Beck,) eaſily defeated the Plot that was laid againſt him. And withall ſhe brake

The Queen ſcattereth it.

the

the neck of another more ſecret Deſign of theirs, openly to proclaim the Queen of *Scots* undoubted Heir of *England*, if any thing ſhould fall out other then well to Queen *Elizabeth*; and this in oppoſition to a Book ſent abroad in favour of the Title of *Suffolk*. 1569.

Now came *D'Aſſonville* from the Duke of *Alva*, to demand the Money detained. But becauſe he had no Letters from the *Spaniard*, the Queen referred him to her Council; to whom at firſt he refuſed to apply: yet ſhortly after he did, had Audience, and after a month's ſtay returned without effecting what he came about. The Money demanded by the *Spaniard*.

And now the Engliſh Merchants conveyed their Merchandizes to *Hamburgh* in *Germany*, as to a new Mart or Staple, the Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Commerce with the *Engliſh*, and appointed Searchers, that nothing ſhould be brought in or carried out of the *Netherlands* by them: amongſt which Searchers, *John Story*, an Engliſh Fugitive, Doctour of the Laws, was a buſy and active man, who had before conſulted with *Preſtall*, a Magicall Impoſtour, againſt the Queen's Life, and had given Advice to the Duke of *Alva* about invading his native Country. But he being drawn by a Wile into a Ship, which was reported to have brought over Engliſh Merchandizes and Hereticall Books, they preſently ſet ſail with him, and brought him into *England*, where he was afterwards executed, as we will ſhew in its proper place. The Engliſh Staple at *Hamburgh*. Doctor *Story* taken.

The Duke of *Alva*, not yet content with all this, commanded that none but Ships of war ſhould put to Sea from the *Netherlands*, and that they ſhould fall upon the *Engliſh* whereſoever they ſhould find them. Which alſo he procured to be done in *Spain*, where the Engliſh Merchants and Mariners were drawn into the Inquiſition, and condemned to the Galleys, and their Goods confiſcate. And the King of *Spain* commanded by his Letters ſent to the Count of *Mont-Agund*, Governour of *Andaluzia*, that no Oil, Allum, Sugar, Spices, or other ſuch like Commodities, ſhould be tranſported into *England*, ſuppoſing that if the *Engliſh* were debarred of theſe things, they would ſoon break forth into Rebellion: and withall he dealt with the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Ormond* by ſecret Meſſengers, that the one ſhould give the Queen ſomewhat to doe in *Ireland*, and the other in *England*; which they ingenuouſly revealed, ſuch was their Fidelity to their Princeſs. As ſoon as this was known to the Maritime people of *England*, incredible it is with how great Alacrity they put to Sea, and how readily they exerciſed Piracy againſt the *Spaniards*; inſomuch as Proclamations were ſet forth to reſtrain them, whereby all men were prohibited to buy any Merchandizes of Sea-robbers. The Rage of the Duke of *Alva* againſt the *Engliſh*. The *Spaniard* ſeeketh to raiſe Rebellions againſt the Queen. Pirates reſtrained.

In theſe days the Traffick of the Engliſh Merchants was no leſs obſtructed in *Ruſſia* then in the *Netherlands*, as well by means of the falſe Dealing of their Factours, and their untoward Diſſenſion amongſt themſelves, as of the *Germans* and *Ruſſians* Hatred againſt them: whilſt the *Ruſſians* complained of their cunning Dealing, and The Trade in *Ruſſia* obſtructed.

1569. the raiſing of the Prices of their Merchandizes: and the *Engliſh* which were not of the *Muſcovia* Company and *Germans* complained of the Monopoly. To ſalve theſe Soars, *Thomas Randolph* was ſent the laſt year into *Ruſſia*: who though he were not very welcome to the Emperour, foraſmuch as he ſeriouſly ſolicited onely the matter of Trade, and mentioned nothing at all of the League which I have ſpoken of before in the year 1567; nevertheleſs at his Interceſſion the Emperour, out of his ſingular Good will to the Queen and the Engliſh Nation, granted to the Engliſh Company in *Ruſſia* Freedome from all payment of Cuſtome, and Liberty to carry and vend their Merchandizes whereſoever they would throughout all the Countries of his moſt ſpacious Empire, and to tranſport them into *Perſia* and *Media* by the *Caſpian* Sea, (whereas the Merchants of other Nations might not goe a mile beyond the City of *Moskow*;) he gave them alſo Houſes to twiſt their Ropes and Cables in for Shipping, and a piece of Ground five miles in circuit with Wood to make Iron, and took the *Engliſh* into an *Oppriſney*, that is, into *a choice Seed of his people.*

The Engliſhmens Priviledges enlarged there.

Their Traffick in *Ruſſia*;

And now the *Engliſh* began more confidently to ſurvey thoſe Countries, carrying their Merchandizes up the River *Dwina* in Boats made of one whole Piece or Tree, which they rowed and towed up the Stream with Halſers, as far as *Wologda*; and from thence by land ſeven days journey to *Teraſlaw*; and then, by the *Wolga*, (which is about a mile over, and runneth through a clayiſh Soil, beſet with Oaks and Birchen-trees,) thirty days and as many nights Journey down the River to *Aſtracan*. And from *Aſtracan* (where they built Ships) they did (which was a very great and memorable Adventure) many times croſs the *Caſpian* Sea, which is very full of Flats and Shelves, and pierced through the vaſt Deſarts of *Hyrcania* and *Bactriana* to *Teverin* and *Casbin*, Cities of *Perſia*, in hope at length to diſcover *Cathay*. But the Wars which ſhortly after grew hot between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, and the Robberies of the Barbarians, interrupted this laudable Enterpriſe of the *Londoners*. The Emperour ſent back *Randolph* with Preſents, and with him *Andreas Gregoriwitz Saviena*, with a ſplendid Train, after the manner of that Nation, who was gallantly entertained by the *Londoners*, and honourably received by the Queen. This *Andreas* ſhewed a certain League written in the Ruſſian Tongue, which he required might be ratified by ſecret Letters in the ſelf-ſame words in his preſence, and be tranſlated with all the Letters into the Ruſſian Tongue, and confirmed by the Queen's Hand, Seal and Oath: as alſo that the Queen would ſend an Embaſſadour of her own into *Ruſſia*, who in like manner ſhould receive ſecret Letters of the Emperour's in the ſame words, confirmed with his Seal and the kiſſing of the Croſs in his preſence. The Queen concluded the League with a Clauſe of Reſervation, "So far forth as ſhe "lawfully might by the Leagues formerly contracted with other Prin-"ces, to yield one another mutual Aid againſt their common Enemies,

and in *Perſia* by the *Caſpian* Sea.

A Ruſſian Embaſſie into *England*.

A League concluded.

"ſo

"ſo as nothing ſhould be done againſt Law and Right. And if he ſhould by any Misfortune be conſtrained, either by domeſticall or forrein Enemies, to leave his Country, ſhe promiſed moſt religiouſly in the word of a Chriſtian Princeſs, before his Embaſſadour and her inwardeſt Counſellours, and confirmed it with her Seal, to receive and entertain him, his Wife and Children, with all Honour worthy ſo great a Prince, to aſſign him a convenient place for his Abode, to permit him the free Exerciſe of his Religion, and Liberty to depart at his pleaſure: for theſe were the things which he had earneſtly intreated in thoſe ſecret Letters. But ſo far was all this from ſatisfying that fierce-natur'd man, to whom his own mind and will was a Law, that in a long Letter having reckoned all his Civilities to the Engliſh Nation, he twittingly upbraided them therewith, ſtomacked that the Queen ſent not an Embaſſadour with his to receive his Oath, and taxed her as if ſhe neglected him, and were too mindfull of the Merchants Buſineſs, (which were matters unbeſeeming a Prince;) which Merchants he contemptuouſly and diſgracefully charged as a ſordid kind of people, that rather gaped after Wealth then ſought their Prince's Honour, ſuſpecting that they croſſed his Deſigns, and ſharply threatning to recall their Priviledges. Which notwithſtanding he did not, being pacified by a kind Letter of the Queen's ſent by *Jenkinſon*, but moſt diligently obſerved her as his Siſter as long as he lived, ſolicited her many times for a more ſolid Confirmation of the ſaid League, and loved the *Engliſh* paſſing well above all other Nations. 1569.

The *Ruſſian* ſtill diſpleaſed with the *Engliſh*.

He is pacified.

Now *Murray*, who, by putting the Queen of *Scots*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others in *England*, in hopes of the ſaid Queen's Reſtauration, had procured himſelf a ſafe Return into *Scotland*, (for ſhe had reſtrained the *Scots* that lay in wait for his Life, and commanded them they ſhould not hinder his Return,) was no ſooner come to *Edenborough*, but he aſſembled the Noblemen that were addicted to the Queen, pretending to conſult about her Reſtitution. Whither when *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, (conſtituted Vice-gerent of the Realm by the Queen,) and *Herie*, both perſwaded by the credulous Queen's Letter, came before the reſt, he, fearing ſome Fraudulent dealing, circumvented them, and, not ſtaying for the coming of the reſt, ſhut them up in Priſon, and forthwith heavily proſecuted the Queen's Favourers with all the Injuries of War.

Murray oppreſſeth the Queen's Friends.

Hereupon Rumours were ſpred all over *Scotland* againſt *Murray*, to wit, "That he had made an Agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, "That the young King of *Scots* ſhould be ſent into *England* to be "brought up; That the Caſtles of *Edenborough* and *Sterling* ſhould "be manned with Engliſh Garriſons; That *Dunbriton* ſhould be ſub-"dued for the uſe of the *Engliſh*; That *Murray* ſhould be proclai-"med lawfull Succeſſour of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, in caſe the "King ſhould die without Iſſue; and That he ſhould hold the King-"dome as Queen *Elizabeth*'s Homager. Theſe things were ſo com-

Rumours againſt *Murray*.

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monly bruited abroad, and with a kind of probability did ſo trouble mens minds all over *Britain*, that Queen *Elizabeth* thought it concerned both her and *Murray* in Reputation, to wipe away theſe Aſperſions. She ſet forth therefore a publick Writing, wherein ſhe declared *in the word of a Queen, That theſe things were moſt untrue, and forged by ſuch as envied the Tranquillity of both Kingdoms: and that there had not (to her knowledge) been any Contract made in word or writing between her or her Miniſters and* Murray, *ſince he came laſt into* England. *But the Earl of* Lenox, *the young King's Grand-father, requeſted her, that the King, if he could not be ſafe in* Scotland *from the Practices and Attempts of wicked men, might be ſent into* England. She affirmed moreover, *That ſhe held for falſe whatſoever was reported of any Contract between* Murray *and the Earl of* Hertford, *to wit, that they ſhould mutually aid and aſſiſt each other in ſeizing upon the Crowns of both Kingdoms. In brief, there was no fault* (ſhe ſaid) *in her, that matters betwixt the Queen of* Scots *and her young Son were not yet agreed, and ſhe would labour an Accord between them.* And labour it ſhe did for certain, although ſhe found ſome Conflict in herſelf, on the one ſide out of Fear grown from an inveterate Emulation, which amongſt Princeſſes never dieth; and on the other ſide out of Commiſeration and Compaſſion ariſing from her often calling to mind of humane Frailty.

Q. *Elizabeth* refuteth them.

She pitieth the Queen of *Scots*.

This Commiſeration as the Queen of *Scots* more moved, ſo did ſhe diminiſh her Fear by many Letters moſt full of Love, wherein ſhe religiouſly promiſed, both for her Courteſie ſhe had found, and the very near Kindred betwixt them, that ſhe would attempt nothing againſt her, nor be beholden to any other Prince for her Reſtitution. Inſomuch as Queen *Elizabeth* earneſtly importuned *Murray* and other *Scots* by *Wood*, which was *Murray*'s Secretary, for the Reſtoring of her to her former Royal Dignity: and if not ſo, yet that ſhe might enjoy the Royal Title jointly with her Son: and if this would not be granted, yet that at leaſtwiſe ſhe might as a private perſon ſpend her days at Home amongſt her own People, freely, ſecurely and honourably. But ſhe could never move *Murray*, who now ruled all the Roaſt.

She ſolicited her Reſtitution.

At this time a Bruit ran amongſt men of better note, that the Duke of *Norfolk* ſhould marry the Queen of *Scots*, which according to mens Affections was upon different Reaſons deſired, while the Papiſts hoped that hereby their Religion would be advanced, and others that it would make for the good of the Commonwealth. Certainly very many which ſaw the Queen averſe from Marriage, and that forrein Princes, Enemies to *England*, caſt their eyes and minds upon the Queen of *Scots* as the moſt undoubted Heir of *England*, thought it would make more for the ſettling of things, and the keeping the Queen of *Scots* within her Bounds, "if ſhe were joyned in "Marriage to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the greateſt and Nobleſt man "of all the Nobility of *England*, a man in great Favour with the "people,

Secret Conſultations upon the Rumour of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s being to marry the Queen of *Scots*.

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"people, and bred up in the Proteſtant Religion, then if ſhe were "married to a forrein Prince, who might by her endanger both "Kingdoms, and come to the Inheritance of both, which they "heartily wiſhed might be united in a Prince of the Engliſh Bloud, "in caſe any thing other then well ſhould befall the Infant-King of "*Scots*. And him alſo they propounded to draw into *England*, that "he, the true Heir of *England*, being brought up amongſt the *En-*"*gliſh*, might be the more dear to the *Engliſh*, all Scruple concerning "the Succeſſion might be taken away, and Queen *Elizabeth* might "be freed from Fear of any thing to be attempted againſt her by the "Duke and the Queen of *Scots*, when ſhe had him in her own power. Moreover, (to the end that the Duke might not enterpriſe any thing againſt him, but love him the better,) they projected "that the Lady "*Margaret*, the Duke's young and onely Daughter, ſhould be eſpou-"ſed unto him *de futuro*. Amongſt theſe Conſulters were the Earls of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Suſſex*, *Pembroke*, and *South-hampton*, with many Barons, yea and *Leiceſter* alſo himſelf, (whether diſſemblingly and cunningly, for the overthrowing of the Duke, is uncertain.) All which notwithſtanding were of opinion, that the matter was firſt to be imparted to the Queen, and left to her Will and Pleaſure: and that ſhe ſhould preſcribe Laws, whereby her own Perſon, Religion and the Realm might be moſt fully ſecured. But take the matter ſummarily (if you pleaſe) from the very Beginning, out of the written Confeſſion of the Duke himſelf, which I have ſeen, and out of the Commentaries and Memorials of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, who had a very great hand in this Buſineſs.

When the Commiſſioners met the laſt year at *Tork*, *Lidington* and the Biſhop of *Roſſe* dealt with the Duke, as they were Hawking, about a Marriage to be contracted betwixt him and the Queen of *Scots*; as *Murray* alſo did himſelf afterwards at *Hampton-Court*. This *Murray*, in private Conference with the Duke, and alſo with ſome others, pretended that he deſired nothing more, then that matters might be compoſed in *Scotland*, and the Queen of *Scots*, his deareſt Siſter, reſtored to her former Authority, ſo as ſhe would truly and heartily receive her Subjects into former Grace and Favour, all Grudges on both ſides being buried in Oblivion. Nevertheleſs he feared leſt if ſhe ſhould take an Husband at her own choice out of *France*, *Spain*, or *Auſtria*, ſhe would revenge the Wrongs ſhe had received, alter the received Religion in *Scotland*, and work great Danger to *England*. To prevent all this, he promiſed his beſt Help and Aſſiſtence, that ſhe, which had been married, firſt to a Boy, and afterwards to a Young man improvident and after frantick, (for thoſe were his words,) might now at length be joyned in Marriage with the Duke, a man of ripe Judgement; which would mainly tend to the Tranquillity of both Kingdoms, the Security of both Queens, and the Eſtabliſhing of Religion; whilſt he (out of his great Reſpect towards the Queen of *England*) ſhould the more auſpiciouſly keep

The firſt mention of the Marriage.

Murray's Propoſition to the Duke of *Norfolk*.

1569. keep *Scotland* in Amity with the *Engliſh*, and the more eaſily draw the Queen of *Scots* to the true Religion, which he had imbraced.

The Duke's Anſwer.

The very ſame things *Murray* did ſecretly impart to the Queen of *Scots* alſo by *Robert Melvin*, and officiouſly offered his Service for the bringing it about. But the Duke anſwered, that he could reſolve nothing touching the ſaid Marriage, before ſuch time as ſhe had cleared herſelf of the Crimes objected againſt her. Yet the Biſhop of *Roſſe* ceaſed not to draw him on all he could poſſibly, who yet ſeemed ſomething unwilling to it.

Throckmorton's Counſell to the Duke.

Some few days after Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* met the Duke at *White-hall*, to whom, profeſſing ſingular Affection in all kind of Duty, he ſignified, that he underſtood that the Earl of *Leiceſter* would treat with the Duke about a Marriage between him and the Queen of *Scots*; which *Throckmorton* ſaid was ſtrange to him, conſidering that not long before *Leiceſter* had ſought to procure the ſame Marriage for himſelf. But he friendly adviſed the Duke, that if it fell out ſo, he ſhould offer the Honour of the Marriage to *Leiceſter*, who had ſought it before: but if he ſhould inſtantly preſs it upon him, that he ſhould refuſe it, in regard the *Scots* accuſed her of many Crimes. Yet I (ſaid *Throckmorton*) do wiſh with all my heart ſhe were joyned to you in Marriage, both that the true Religion may be preſerved, and alſo that the Queen of *Scots* may wholly depend upon our Queen and none elſe. Nevertheleſs of this I forewarn you, if you doe any thing in this matter, take *Leiceſter*'s Counſell firſt; for you will hardly of yourſelf get the Queen's Aſſent.

Leiceſter propoundeth the Marriage to him.

Within a day or two after *Leiceſter* propounded the matter to the Duke, who anſwered according as *Throckmorton* had forewarned him: and when they were come to the Crimes ſhe ſtood charged with, *Leiceſter* extenuated them, and that upon the credit of *Richard Candiſh*, whoſe Service (though ſuſpected) he commended to the Duke. Then *Leiceſter* communicateth the matter to *Pembroke*, and the Duke to *Arundell*. They together with *Throckmorton* commend the Duke by Letters to the Queen of *Scots* for an Husband, as *Murray* had done before. The Duke alſo ſent her a Letter, teſtifying his ſingular Love, and moſt affectionately offering her all his Service. And ever after this time, what Letters ſoever he wrote to her, or received from her, he imparted unto them; and often Conferences were had with the Biſhop of *Roſſe* about the means of compleating the Marriage: and in the month of *May* 1568. they propounded to the Queen of *Scots*, by *Richard Candiſh*, theſe Articles written with *Leiceſter*'s Hand.

The buſineſs promoted.

Articles of Marriage propounded to the Queen of *Scots*.

That ſhe ſhould attempt nothing which might be prejudiciall to the Queen of England, *or to the Children born of her, in the Succeſſion of the Kingdome of* England.

That ſhe ſhould enter into a League of Offence and Defence betwixt the two Kingdoms.

That ſhe ſhould eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion in Scotland.

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That ſhe ſhould receive thoſe Scots *which were then her Adverſaries into Favour.*

That ſhe ſhould revoke her Aſſignment of the Kingdome of England *made to the Duke of* Anjou.

That ſhe ſhould take ſome Nobleman of England *to her Husband, and namely the Duke of* Norfolk, *the Nobleſt of all the Lords of* England.

To theſe Articles if ſhe would aſſent, they promiſed to procure that the Queen of *England* ſhould alſo give her Conſent thereto; and that ſhe ſhould ere long be reſtored to her Kingdome, and confirmed in the Succeſſion of *England*. Theſe Terms ſhe readily accepted, onely touching the League ſhe could anſwer nothing without the French King's Knowledge. She proteſted there was no Aſſignment made to the Duke of *Anjou*; nevertheleſs, if they ſhould require it, ſhe would procure his Renunciation. She wiſhed them firſt of all to get the Queen's Aſſent, leſt the matter might turn to her own and the Duke's Prejudice, whereof ſhe had had experience before in her Marriage with the Lord *Darly* contracted without her Aſſent. Yet they thought good firſt to try the minds of more of the Nobility, moſt of whom gave their Aſſents with this Proviſo, *ſo as the Queen were not againſt it*. Neither indeed did the *French* King or the *Spaniard* diſlike it: onely they miſdoubted *Murray*, leſt he, which had been the firſt Propounder of the matter, and promiſed his beſt Aſſiſtence, ſhould prove the forwardeſt to croſs it. But notwithſtanding they all agreed in this, that *Lidington*, who was then expected, ſhould firſt try the Queen's mind. In the mean while the Duke acquainteth the Lord *Lumley* with all that was done in the matter, and with much adoe obtained of *Leiceſter*, that he might adviſe about it with ſome other Friends of his: and within a while after de diſcovered the matter alſo to *Cecyl*, with the Conſent of the Earl of *Pembroke*.

She accepteth them.

At which time *Leonard Dacres* contrived a way how to convey the captive Queen out of the Cuſtody wherein ſhe was kept at *Whinfield*, in the County of *Derby*, under the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. *Northumberland*, being a Partner in the Plot, diſcovered the ſame to the Duke: but the Duke forbad it to be put in execution, fearing leſt they would deliver her to the *Spaniard* to Wife, and hoping ere long to procure Queen *Elizabeth*'s Aſſent.

A Plot to deliver the Q. of *Scots*.

Soon after the Rumour of this Marriage came more clearly to Queen *Elizabeth*'s ears, by means of the Women of the Court, who do quickly ſmell out Love-matters. Which when the Duke underſtood, he earneſtly intreated *Leiceſter*, both himſelf, and alſo by *Pembroke* and *Throckmorton*, that the matter might be forthwith imparted to the Queen. *Leiceſter* made Delays, and put it off from day to day, as if it were to wait for a fit Opportunity. But *Cecyl*, ſeeing the Duke now perplexed in Mind, adviſed him to open the matter to the Queen himſelf, to the end that all Scruple might be the ſooner removed out of his own Head and the Queen's. *Leiceſter* counſelleth him the contrary,

Queen *Elizabeth* is told of the Marriage.

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She giveth the Duke a Caution.

trary, promiſing to break the matter to the Queen in her Progreſs. But while he with fair words put off the matter from day to day, the Queen took the Duke to her Board at *Farnham*, and pleaſantly gave him warning *to beware upon what Pillow he leaned his Head.* At length *Leiceſter* fell ſick at *Tichfield*, or at leaſtwiſe counterfeited himſelf ſo. The Queen coming to viſit him, and with comfortable words to chear him, found his Spirits and Bloud to be retired inward through Fear: to whom he now opened the whole matter from the firſt Beginning, with Sighs and Tears craving her Pardon.

Leiceſter revealeth the matter to the Queen.

The Queen deterreth the Duke.

The Queen then called the Duke unto her into a Gallery, and ſharply chid him, that he had ſought the Queen of *Scots* in Marriage without acquainting her therewith; and commanded him upon his Allegeance to give over that Enterpriſe. The Duke willingly and readily promiſed ſo to doe, and (as if he quite neglected the Q. of *Scots*) ſtuck not to affirm, that his Revenues in *England* were little leſs then thoſe of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, which was now miſerably exhauſted with Wars; and that when he was in his Tennis-court at *Norwich*, he thought himſelf in a manner equall with ſome Kings. But from thenceforth he began to be more cooled in Courage: and when he perceived the Queen, by her Countenance and Voice, to be every day more diſpleaſed with him, *Leiceſter* in a manner alienated from him, and many of the better ſort of the Nobility to withdraw themſelves by little and little from his Familiarity, ſcarcely ſaluting him, and ſoon breaking off Diſcourſe with him; he reſolved to goe to *London* without taking his Leave, and lodged with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who bade him be of good Hope, and cheared him up as well as he could. And the very ſame day Queen *Elizabeth* in anger rejected the Scottiſh Embaſſadour, who ſolicited for the Delivery of the captive Queen, and charged ſhe ſhould reſt herſelf contented, leſt ſhe ſaw ere long thoſe on whom ſhe moſt depended hop without Heads.

He retireth from the Court.

Cecyl ſifteth out how matters ſtood concerning the Marriage.

Whenas now the Rumour of the Marriage grew hotter and hotter, and the French Embaſſadour (rather by Perſwaſion of ſome Engliſh-men, then by Command of the French King, as ſhortly after it came to be known,) earneſtly urged the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*; new Suſpicions aroſe on all ſides; and *Cecyl*, who had always a great Care for the Safety of the Commonwealth and Religion, bent his mind moſt diligently to ſift out the matter. By Letters therefore he dealt with *Suſſex*, Lord Preſident of the North, who was moſt intimate with the Duke, and moſt nearly tied to him in Friendſhip, that if he underſtood any thing of the Duke's Marriage, he ſhould let the Queen know thereof. What Anſwer he made I know not. But whereas it had been obſerved, that the Duke had had now and then ſecret Conferences at *Hampton-Court* with *Murray* Regent of *Scotland*, Sir *George Cary*, the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Son, was privately ſent to *Murray*, to get out of him whether the Duke had imparted any thing to him touching the Marriage.

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The Duke in the mean time being terrified with a falſe Rumour which was ſpred, that there was a Rebellion raiſed in the North, and being certified by *Leiceſter* that he was to be committed to the Tower, withdrew himſelf to *Norfolk*, till ſuch time as his Friends at the Court might divert the Storm that hung over him, (as they had undertaken to doe,) and he himſelf might by ſubmiſſive Letters pacifie the Queen's Diſpleaſure. But ſome there were who were ſet to obſerve his Motions and Attempts, yea his very Becks and Geſtures. But when he found no Comfort from his Friends, and *Heydon*, *Cornwallis*, and others of the chief men of thoſe parts, perſwaded him, if in ought he found himſelf guilty, to fly unto the Queen's Mercy, he wavered in mind being diſtracted with doubtfull Cares, In the mean time all the whole Court hung in Suſpenſe and Fear leſt he ſhould break forth into Rebellion; and it was determined, (as the Report went) if he did ſo, forthwith to put the Queen of *Scots* to death.

The Duke retireth into *Norfolk*.

They are afraid of him at the Court.

But the Duke, out of his innate Goodneſs, and the Conſcience of his well meaning, knowing that he came not within any Law of High treaſon, (for that Act of *Henry* the Eighth, that none ſhould marry with the Children of the Siſters or Brethren or Aunts of the King without the King's Privity upon pain of High treaſon, King *Edward* the Sixth had repealed,) and alſo out of Fear leſt the Queen of *Scots* ſhould upon Suſpicion be more hardly dealt withall, wrote Letters to his Friends at the Court, wherein he gave them to underſtand, that he had withdrawn himſelf to his Home for Fear of Impriſonment, and that he might in time by abſenting himſelf cure thoſe malignant Rumours, which are always readily entertained at Court: and ſo moſt humbly craving Pardon, he forthwith buckled himſelf to his Journey towards the Court.

He giveth the reaſon thereof;

At *Saint Albans*, in his Return, *Owen* the Earl of *Arundel*'s man, being privily ſent from *Throckmorton* and the Lord *Lumley*, (who was now in Cuſtody,) wiſhed him to take the Fault wholly upon himſelf, and not to lay it upon *Leiceſter* or others, leſt of Friends he made them his Foes. There *Edward Fitz-Girald*, the Earl of *Kildare*'s Brother, (Lieutenant of the Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners,) met and received him, and conveyed him to *Burnham*, three miles from *Windſor*, (where the Queen then lay.) The fourth day after, the Abbot of *Dunfermelin* delivered Letters to the Queen from *Murray* Regent of *Scotland*, whereby he ſignified that the Duke had ſecretly dealt with him at *Hampton-Court* to favour his Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, and threatned him ſore unleſs he would favour it: That he had promiſed to favour it, meerly to prevent a Plot laid for his Life by one *Norton* as he was to return; and thereupon the Duke promiſed him that he ſhould return in Safety, without Danger of the ſaid *Norton* or any others. And that ſhortly after the Duke did by Letters, written in privy Cyphers, intreat him to give his Aſſent to the Marriage. Moreover, that the Duke gave him to underſtand

and returneth to the Court.

Murray diſcovereth the whole Buſineſs to the Queen.

1569. by *Boyd*, that he would never forſake the Queen of *Scots*: and farther, That the ſaid Queen's Miniſters had in a manner perſwaded him the ſaid Regent, that Q. *Elizabeth* had conſented to the Marriage, and had alſo given her Hope of the Kingdome of *England*. Queen *Elizabeth* found alſo, that ſhe had intimated to ſome Noblemen of *England*, to draw them to her Party, that ſhe was in hand with that which would be for the Security of the Queen, and the moſt aſſured Safety of both Kingdomes.

Norfolk committed;

The Duke, who ſecretly and warily held Correſpondence by Letters (which were ſent privily in Ale-bottles) with the Biſhop of *Roſs*, *Leiceſter* and *Throckmorton*, was about this time examined concerning his Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, and his private Conferences with the Biſhop of *Roſs*; and, confeſſing many things, was ſent to the Tower of *London*, under the Cuſtody of *Henry Nevill* Knight, being ſharply reprehended for that he had departed from the Court without Leave, and accuſed as if he ſought to trouble the Peace of the Land.

and others.

Two days after the Biſhop of *Roſſe* was in like manner examined; and *Robert Ridolph*, that Gentleman of *Florence*, with whom *Roſſe* and the reſt had great Familiarity, was committed to Sir *Francis Walſingham*'s Cuſtody. The Earl of *Pembroke* was commanded to keep his Houſe, and brought to a private Examination. Nevertheleſs, in regard of his Nobility and Age, he had the Favour that his Confeſſion was not ſet down in writing, for ſo he requeſted, in regard he could not write himſelf.

The guilty crave Pardon.

Certain Noblemen were removed from the Court as acceſſary to the matter, who craved Pardon, confeſſing that they had conſented with the Duke to the Marriage, which *Murray* had firſt propounded; yet ſo, as both the Duke, the Queen of *Scots* and they themſelves thought good that the matter ſhould be imparted to the Queen before the Marriage were contracted. In like manner the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, who had their hands in the Plot, ſubmitted themſelves to the Earl of *Suſſex*, Lord Preſident of the North, and beſought him to make Interceſſion for them to the Queen.

Books againſt this Marriage.

Divers Books alſo came forth againſt this Marriage, againſt the Queen of *Scots*, and againſt her Title whereby ſhe claimed *England* as next Heir, written with ſuch a ſaucy Malapertneſs, that the Queen reſolved to prohibit them by a ſtrict Proclamation, and by way of Connivence ſuffered the Biſhop of *Roſſe* to anſwer them.

Anſwered by the Biſhop of *Roſs*.

Who preſently ſet forth a Book againſt them, under the name of *Morgan Philips*, to maintain the Honour of the Queen his Miſtreſs, her Title to the Succeſſion, and the Government of Women, (for this alſo was wrote againſt.) But his Arguments for the Title of Succeſſion he afterwards freely confeſſed, in his Commentaries, that he had privately borrowed from *Anthony Brown*, Lord chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas, and *Carell*, two moſt learned and judicious men in the Laws of *England*.

Chapine Vitelli why he came into *England*.

In thoſe days came from the Duke of *Alva Chapine Vitelli*, Marqueſs of *Cetona*, with old-dated Letters of the *Spaniard*, under pretence to com-

compound the Differences about Commerce; but indeed his Errand was to obſerve the Succeſs of a Rebellion now ready to break forth, and to have the Command of certain Forces which the Duke of *Alva* had ſecretly promiſed out of the *Netherlands*: who alſo had ſent *La-Mott*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, before, (as he himſelf confeſſed,) in the habit of a Sailour, to ſound the Ports. But when it was found that this Marqueſs was deputed by the Duke of *Alva* onely, who likewiſe himſelf was no more but a Deputy-Governour, it was doubted whether he ſhould be treated with as an Embaſſadour. Yet the Queen ſignified that ſhe would acknowledge him as the *Spaniard*'s Embaſſadour. But when he produced no other Commiſſion but to demand the Money detained, ſhe, being much deſirous of Peace, adviſed him to procure a more ample Authority for compounding of matters. Which whileſt he expected, the Rumour grew rife of a Rebellion ready to break forth in the North parts of the Land. 1569.

The Rebellion in the North.

Touching this Rebellion (to fetch the matter a little higher) there aroſe a very ſlight Rumour in the beginning of Autumn; which was at firſt neglected, becauſe it had no good Ground: but ſhortly after it increaſed by reaſon of the frequent Meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and others, inſomuch as *Suſſex* the Lord Preſident ſent for them, and queſtioned them concerning the ſaid Rumour. Who confeſſed that they had heard thereof, but that they were guilty thereof they flatly denied, and with many and deep Obteſtations vowed to ſpend their Lives for the Queen againſt all Rebels whatſoever. Hereupon they were ſent home again, and that with Power to inquire after the Authours of ſuch a Rumour. Nevertheleſs the Rumour increaſed again in ſuch ſort, that the Queen, though ſhe thought nothing was to be raſhly credited againſt ſuch Great men, yet ſhe commanded them by *Suſſex* to come up forthwith to *London*, to remove all Suſpicion. *Suſſex* notwithſtanding (with what intent I know not) commanded them to come unto him, as it were to conſult with them about the Affairs of that Province. They at the firſt made Delays, and ſoon after flatly denied to come. Hereupon the Queen in all haſte by peremptory Letters commanded them, all Excuſe ſet apart, to appear preſently before her, to the end ſhe might either quite deterre them from Rebellion, or elſe they might forthwith break out into Rebellion, before they could gather all their Force together, and the matter grow ripe. For (as was known afterward) certain auxiliary Companies both from the Scottiſh Confederates, and alſo from the Duke of *Alva*, were privily appointed to be landed at *Hartlepool* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.

As ſoon as *Northumberland* had read the Letters, being a man of an eaſie nature, and conſcious of his own Guiltineſs, greatly addicted to the Romiſh Religion, and much exaſperated with a Wrong done unto him (as he took it) about a rich Vein or Mine of Copper in his

1569. Soil, *judged from him by virtue of the Queen's Right or Prerogative in Mines Royal*, and yet comforted with great Hope of the Queen's Clemency; he wavered in a carefull Doubt, whether he should goe unto the Queen, or save himself by Flight, or else break forth into Rebellion. His Friends and Servants being now prepared for Rebellion, seeing him thus wavering and fearfull, called upon him at unawares in the dead of the Night, crying that *Oswald Ulstrop* and *Vaughan*, his Enemies, were at hand with an armed Power to carry him away Prisoner. They beseech him not to neglect himself, his Friends, nor the Religion of his Fathers. The Catholicks (say they) are now ready prepared all over *England* to maintain the Romish Religion, the Bells are tumultuously rung backwards throughout all Towns, to stir up the Multitude. The Earl trembling rose out of his Bed, and withdrew himself to a Lodge in his Park near *Topcliff*, and the next night to *Bransperh*, an House of the Earl of *Westmorland*'s, where many who were not ignorant of the matter were assembled already.

The Pretence of the Rebels.

For, the better to gather together the silly Multitude, they commanded some to arm and joyn together for the Defence of the Queen; to others they signified, that all the Lords of *England* had conspired with them for restoring the Romish Religion; to others, that they were forced of necessity to take Arms, lest the ancient Nobility of *England* should be troden under foot by new Upstarts, and their Country delivered for a Prey to Strangers.

They break forth into Rebellion.

Hereupon they rush into open Rebellion, and are the first that disturb the publick Peace of the Land, which now had continued unshaken the space of eleven years under Q. *Elizabeth*, *Nicholas Morton*, a Priest, thrusting them forward, who was sent from the Bishop of *Rome* to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* to be an Heretick, and thereby to have forfeited all Dominion and Power. And immediately they set forth a Writing, wherein they declared, *That they had not taken Arms with any other Intent, then that the Religion of their Forefathers might be restored, corrupt Counsellours removed from the Queen, the Duke and other faithfull Lords, that were put from their Rank and Degree, restored to Liberty and Grace: And that they attempted nothing against the Queen, to whom they vowed themselves now and ever to be most dutifull and obedient Subjects.*

Letters to the Papists.

They sent Letters also to the Papists round about throughout the whole Kingdom, exhorting them to joyn their Forces with theirs. But so far were they from associating themselves with them, that most of them sent the Letters which they received, together with the Bearers, to the Queen, and every one strived who should be forwardest, from all parts of the Land, to offer his person and his Purse against them: and so did even *Norfolk* himself. Insomuch as she assuredly understood the great and singular Fidelity her Subjects bare her; and in that regard acknowledged with most thankfull Heart the Goodness of God toward her.

Their rage against Books.

The Rebels went first to *Durham*, an Episcopal See hard by, where they

1569.

they rent and trampled under feet the Engliſh Bibles and Books of Common-prayer which they found in the Churches. From thence they went ſmall Journeys, celebrating Maſs in all places where they came, trouping together under their Colours, (wherein were painted, in ſome the five Wounds of *Chriſt*, in others the Chalice,) *Richard Norton*, an old Gentleman with a reverend gray Head, bearing a Croſs with a Streamer before them, as far as *Clifford-moor*, not far from *Wetherbey*, where the twelfth day of their Rebellion they muſtered their Army, and found no more but ſix hundred horſe-men, and four thouſand foot. Here when they certainly underſtood that the Queen of *Scots* (for whoſe Deliverance they had taken Arms) was carried from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*, a ſtrong City, under the Cuſtody of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Huntingdon*; that *Suſſex* on the ſide of them had leavied a ſtrong Army againſt them; that Sir *George Bowes* had a ſelect Party at their Backs, and had fortified *Bernard-Caſtle*; and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had ſtrengthened *Carliſle*, and were leavying a Body of men; they retired, and going back almoſt the ſame way they went, came to *Raby*, the chief Houſe of the Earl of *Weſtmorland*. From whence they turned aſide, and ſtreightly beſieged *Bernard-Caſtle*, which for want of Victuals they ſoon took by Compoſition; Sir *George Bowes* with his Brother *Robert*, and the Garriſon-Souldiers, being diſmiſſed by Agreement with their Arms.

Their Banners.

Their numbers.

They retire.

They take *Bernard-Caſtle*.

Upon which very day, when they were now proclaimed Traitours to their Country, *Suſſex* marched againſt them with ſeven thouſand men, accompanied with *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Evers*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. When *Suſſex* was come to *Aukland*, the Rebells in fearfull manner fled to *Hexham*, and ſhortly after came diſperſedly, wandring through Byways, to *Naworth* Caſtle: where hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* and *Clinton* Lord Admiral purſued them in haſte with twelve thouſand men from the South parts of *England*, the two Earls with a ſmall Company, unknown to the reſt, preſently withdrew themſelves into the neighbour Country of *Scotland*. *Northumberland* lurked privily at *Harclaw* in poor Cottages among the *Grahams*, famous Thieves, by whom he was afterwards delivered into *Murray*'s hands. *Weſtmorland* found a Lurking-place with *Carr* of *Fernihurſt*, and *Buchluy*, and at length eſcaped with ſome Engliſh-men into the *Netherlands*, where he led a very poor Life, even to his Old age, living upon a very ſlender Penſion from the *Spaniard*. The reſt, being diſperſed, ſaved themſelves, ſome by Flight, and ſome by Lurking in cloſe Corners. Threeſcore and ſix petty Conſtables and others were hanged for a Terrour at *Durham*, amongſt whom the man of moſt note was one *Plomtree* a Prieſt. At *York* were executed *Simon Digbey*, *J. Fulthorp*, *Thomas Biſhop*, *Robert Peneman*; and at *London*, ſome few months after, *Chriſtopher* and *Thomas Norton*, and ſome others elſewhere.

They fly.

Some are executed.

After-

1569.

Others proſcribed.

Afterwards ſuch of the Rebels as were of beſt Note were convict of High Treaſon, and proſcribed; namely, *Charles* Earl of *Weſtmorland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Anne* Counteſs of *Northumberland*, Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Worceſter*, *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*, *John Nevil* of *Leverſege*, *John Swinborne*, *Thomas Markenfeld*, *Egremond Ratcliffe*, the Earl of *Suſſex* his Brother, *Chriſtopher Nevil*, *Richard Norton* of *Norton-Coniers*, *Chriſtopher*, *Marmaduke* and *Thomas*, of the Family of the *Nortons*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempeſt*, *George Stafford*, and about forty moe of Noble birth. Theſe mens Conviction and Proſcription was confirmed in the next Parliament following. The reſt, which had no Eſtates, nor had fled the Land, were pardoned. Thus was the Flame of this Rebellion ſoon extinct, while *Chapine Vitelli* (who, as I ſaid, was privy thereunto,) openly before the Queen and the Lords admired, but inwardly fretted, that it was ſo ſuddenly and eaſily extinguiſhed, and that his coming into *England* was by this means fruſtrate.

A new Rebellion.

Out of the ſmothered Fire of this Rebellion there brake forth, as it were out of the Embers, a new Flame at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, near *Vallum Severi*, called the *Pict's Wall*, kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, ſecond Son to *William* Lord *Dacres* of *Gilleſland*. This *Leonard Dacres* (when the Lord *Dacres*, his Nephew by his elder Brother, died, as I ſaid, young,) ſtomacked it much, that ſo goodly an Inheritance deſcended by Law to his Nieces, whom the Duke of *Norfolk* their Father-in-law had betrothed to his Sons, and had commenced a Suit againſt his Nieces: which when it went not to his Deſire, he fell to plotting and practiſing with the Rebels, and attempted (but in vain) to deliver the Queen of *Scots* out of Cuſtody. But when they had taken up the Banner of Rebellion ſooner then he thought, and were proclaimed Enemies to their Country while he was at Court, he, being admitted to ſalute the Queen, tendered her his beſt Service againſt the Rebels, and was thereupon ſent home again. By the way (as was found afterwards) he held Correſpondence with them, by Meſſengers that went between him and them, and encouraged them, promiſing great matters from the Embaſſadours of forrein Princes, and, amongſt other things, that he (having leavied men in the Queen's name) would cut off the Lord *Scroope*, Warden of the Weſt *March*, and the Biſhop of *Carliſle*. Which when he could not effect, he ſent Letters of Commendation after the Earls that were flying to the *Scots*, ſeized upon the Caſtle of *Greyſtock*, and other Houſes belonging to the *Dacres*, fortified the Caſtle of *Naworth* as his own Inheritance, and, under colour of defending his own, and reſiſting the Rebels, gathered together three thouſand of the Rank-riders of the Borders, and ſome others which were moſt devoted to the Name of the *Dacres*, which in that Tract was a Name of great Reputation.

The Rebels defeated.

Againſt theſe marcheth the Lord *Hunſdon* with the old Garriſon-Souldiers of *Berwick*. The Rebels, not truſting to their Strong holds,

holds, march forth to encounter him, and with a triangular Battell, flanked on every ſide with Horſe-men, receive him at the little River *Gelt*. The Fight was maintained on both ſides very ſharply, and *Leonard* (though he were crook-backed) omitted nothing that could be deſired in a moſt valiant Leader. But after very many of his men were ſlain, he left the Victory (though with ſmall Joy) to the Lord *Hunſdon*, and withdrew himſelf to the next part of *Scotland*. From whence ſhortly after he croſſed the Seas into the *Low-Countries*, and died a poor man at *Lovain*. So as it ſeemeth his Father was not much miſtaken, who upon his Death-bed prayed God to ſend him much Sorrow for his Diſobedience. The Lord *Hunſdon*, having taken in the Caſtles, committed them to the Cuſtody of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Servants: and the Queen by publick Proclamation pardoned the Multitude, whom he had excited to Rebellion. 1569.

The Queen, though ſhe were imbroiled with this Rebellion at home, yet failed not to relieve the Proteſtants of *France*, who were now in a diſtreſſed and almoſt deſperate Condition. For ſhe exhorted the Princes of the ſame Profeſſion to take upon them the Defence of the common Cauſe: ſhe ſupplied the Queen of *Navar* with Money, taking Jewells in pawn for the ſame: and permitted *Henry Champernoun* (whoſe Couſin-german *Gawin* had married the Earl of *Montgomery*'s Daughter) to carry into *France* a Troup of a hundred voluntier-Gentlemen on horſeback, who had in his Colours this Motto, *Finem det mihi Virtus*, that is, let Vertue give me my End. Amongſt theſe voluntier-Gentlemen were *Philip Butſhide*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Raleigh*, a very young man, who now firſt began to be of any Note. Theſe things were not hid from the French King, who, either to exhauſt the Wealth of *England*, which overflowed to the Relief of the Proteſtants, or at the leaſt wiſe to make it run in ſome other Chanel, determined to raiſe a new Flame of War in *Scotland* againſt *England*, by Relieving the *Scots* which held the Caſtle of *Dunbriton* for the Queen of *Scots*. And to this purpoſe he intended to ſend thither *Sebaſtian Martigues*, a man flouriſhing in Martiall glory: but he being ſhot at the Siege of *Saint John d' Angeli*, this Deſign quite vaniſhed.

Queen *Elizabeth* relieveth the Proteſtants of *France*.

Neither was *Ireland* at this time free from Rebellions. For *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, the Earl of *Ormond*'s Brethren, who had wrongfully abuſed their Neighbours in *Munſter*, refuſed to obey the Laws, proſecuting the good Subjects with Fire and ſword, and entred into a Confederacy with *James Fitz-Moris*, of the Houſe of *Deſmond*, *Mac-Arti-More*, *Fitz-Edmund* Steward of *Imokelly*, and others, who, with the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, laboured all they could to maintain their Religion, and to out Queen *Elizabeth* of her Kingdome of *Ireland*. Whereupon they were proclaimed Traitours, and Sir *Peter Carew* the elder skirmiſhed with them ſundry times with variable Succeſs. Nevertheleſs, having gathered together certain Companies of people of deſperate Fortune, they beſieged *Kilkenny*, and com-

Rebellion in *Munſter*.

1569. commanded the Citizens to deliver *Warham Saint-Leger*'s Wife into their hands. But being beaten off by the Garriſon-Souldiers, who ſallied upon them, they miſerably haraſſed the Country round about. To kindle the Flame of this Rebellion there, came privily from the *Spaniard Juan Mendoza*; and out of *England*, to quench it, came the Earl of *Ormond*, who perſwaded his Brethren ſo that they ſubmitted themſelves. Yet were they caſt into Priſon. But the Earl's continuall Interceſſion for them to the Queen obtained that they were not brought to their Triall, as their Offences deſerved: for the Earl took it very much to heart, that ſuch a Blot was by their means laid upon that moſt Noble Family. And one means alſo to procure this Favour was, the nearneſs of Bloud between them and the Queen, who now and then with Joy gloried in the untainted Nobility of this Family. But the Lord Deputy ſharply purſued the Remainders of this Rebellion by the means of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, and ſoon diſperſed them.

Pacified.

In *Ulſter* alſo they were up in Rebellion, *Turlough Leinigh*, through his own Levity, and the reſtleſs Fancy of his Miniſters, engaging himſelf ſometimes in War, and ſometimes embracing Peace. But he was kept within his Duty, not ſo much by the Engliſh Garriſons, as by the *Hebridians*, who now and then out of thoſe hungry Iſlands overflowed his fat Country. Againſt whoſe Incurſions on that ſide great ſtore of Money was ſent ever and anon out of *England*, to fortifie the Sea-coaſt: but all in vain, by reaſon of a certain Unhappineſs common as well to *England* as *Ireland*, where for the moſt part ſuch men thruſt themſelves forward, and are admitted, in ſuch matters, as do ſordidly prefer their own private before the publick Good.

Another in *Ulſter*.

An Infelicity in *Ireland*.

The

1570.

The True

HISTORIE OR ANNALLS OF ENGLAND,

During the whole Life and Reign of the Ever-Renowned and Victorious Princeſs,

ELIZABETH,

Late Queen of *ENGLAND.*

The Second Book.

The Thirteenth Year of Her Reign, Ann. 1570.

THE Rebellion in *England* being now extinguiſhed, *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, laboured earneſtly that the Queen of *Scots* might be delivered into his Hands; and upon that Condition he both offered Hoſtages, and promiſed to deliver up the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*; and ſo wrought, that the Biſhop of *Roſſe* was committed to the Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *London*, as Authour of the Rebellion. Then, to win Favour with Queen *Elizabeth* by ſome meritorious Exploit, in the moneth of *January* he entred into the Borders of *Scotland* joyning upon *England* with an Army, to ſearch for the *Engliſh* Rebells, of whom a few he took, but thoſe of no Note;

Murray ſueth to have the Queen of *Scots* delivered unto him.

He purſueth the *Engliſh* Rebells.

1570. and at the length he found the Earl of *Northumberland*, betrayed by his Hoſt, as he lurked amongſt the Rank-riders on the Borders, ſent him to *Lough-Levin* to be kept, and grievouſly afflicted the Borderers.

He is ſlain. But the ſame moneth, after ſo great Pains taken, when he thought himſelf ſecure, he was ſlain at *Limnuch*, (commonly called *Lithquo*) being ſhot with a leaden Bullet beneath the Navell, as he rode in the Street, by one that lay in wait for him. The Murtherer was one *Hamilton*, who preſently eſcaped into *France*, and lived certain years after, proteſting many times that he had taken a private Revenge on *Murray*, becauſe his Patience could no longer endure the Injuries he had done him. For *Murray*, becauſe he had ſtood for the Queen, had proſcribed him, and ſhut him up in Priſon, threatning to hang him, untill he delivered up to a Vaſſal of *Murray*'s a Farm which fell to him by his Wife. Whereupon his Wife became diſtracted in mind, and he himſelf in a rage brake Priſon, and committed the Murther. Neither could he be perſwaded in *France* afterward, though he ſeemed a man ready enough to commit any villainous Fact, to attempt the like againſt the Admirall *Coligny*; ſaying many times, that he had revenged his own juſt Grief, whereof he repented; but to be a Revenger of another man's, he would never be drawn either by Intreaty or Reward.

Sundry Judgements of him. Hereupon much Talk there was all over *Britain* of the Murther of the Regent, many making a Wonderment at Trifles; as at his Mother's Dream after her night's Lodging by ſtealth with King *James* the Fifth, of a Lion and a Dragon fighting together in her Wombe. Amongſt the wiſer ſort he was, according to that Party they affected, by ſome commended, for expelling the Romiſh Religion out of *Scotland*, for preſerving the young King, for adminiſtring Juſtice indifferently, and for his Bounty towards Learned men, eſpecially *Buchanan*. Contrariwiſe, by others he was taxed, as if he had taken Religion for a Cloak, that he might glut himſelf and his with the Spoils of the Church; and that, being moſt unreaſonably ungratefull to the Queen his Siſter, to whom he was ſo much engaged, he had unworthily inſulted over her womanly Weakneſs. And theſe, out of their Suſpicions and Conjectures, and from the bad Diſpoſitions of many that are Baſe born, gueſſed that he would hardly ſpare the Son, who had deſpoiled the Mother of her Kingdome. The Queen of *Scots* was troubled that he was taken away by ſo ſudden and violent a Death, before he had (as ſhe ſaid) expiated his Sins againſt God, his Prince, and Country, by ſerious Repentance. But the *Engliſh*, ſo many as favoured *Norfolk*, accuſed him, as far as they durſt, as a ſlie and cunning Diſſembler.

An Incurſion of the *Scots* and Rebels into *England*. The next night after the Murther of the Regent, *Thomas Carr* of *Fernihurſt*, and *Walter Scot* of *Buchluy*, two ſtout men amongſt the Scottiſh Borderers, to the Scottiſh Queen moſt devoted, and who had ſtood out for her even to Baniſhment and the Ruine of their Eſtates,

Eſtates, breathing Revenge againſt the Queen of *England*, becauſe the Regent had for her ſake ſo puniſhed the Borderers, entred by force into *England* with the *Scots* and ſome *Engliſh* Rebells, brake the Peace, and with Fire and ſword haraſſed the Borders, as if they meant to make a Deſolation. Hereupon Mr. *Thomas Randolph* was ſent preſently into *Scotland*, to inform the Scottiſh Lords of ſo great an Injury, in a publick Aſſembly; and to ſignifie unto them, that if they could not reſtrain the Diſturbers of the Peace, (*Scotland* being now in an Uproar,) the Queen would with her Forces proſecute the Wrongs done unto her without dammaging any that were innocent of the Fact. Hereunto no Anſwer was made, becauſe there was as yet no Regent appointed. Yet to defend the Engliſh Borderers from Wrong, and to repreſs the Inſolency of the Enemy, the Earl of *Suſſex* was commanded to leavy Forces, and to march againſt *Buchluy* and *Fernihurſt*; but to proſecute by War thoſe onely who had lately with the Engliſh Rebels invaded *England*, living by Robbery and Spoil, or had relieved, or from thenceforth ſhould relieve, the Engliſh Rebels, contrary to the Confederacies. Neither could he be ſtayed, though the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley*, who favoured the Queen of *Scots*, ſent *Treboun*, and craved a Truce, till they might acquaint Queen *Elizabeth* with the *Scottiſh* matters: whom when they could not diſſwade from her Purpoſe, firſt they caſt forth certain Threats, and by and by turning to Prayers and Intreaties, they beſought her that certain matters enacted and eſtabliſhed in *Scotland* the laſt two years might be repealed.

1570.

Complaint thereof in vain.

Suſſex ſent to repreſs them.

Nevertheleſs in the midſt of *April Suſſex*, with the Lord *Hunſdon*, *Drury* Marſhall of *Berwick*, and an *Engliſh* Army, entred into *Scotland*, fired the Towns and Villages of *Buchluy* and the *Carrs* all over *Tividale*, ſpoiled their Fields, and demoliſhed *Fernihurſt* and *Craling*, two Caſtles of *Thomas Carr's*. On the other ſide, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* entred at the very ſame time into the Weſt *March* of *Scotland*, and waſted far and wide all over *Anandale* the Territories of *Johnſton* and others which had harboured the Engliſh Rebels. At this time were burnt 300 Villages, and about 50 Caſtles razed.

The *Engliſh* revenge themſelves.

Some few days after, *Suſſex* entring again into *Scotland* with the Lord *Hunſdon*, beſieged *Humes* Caſtle, a Receptacle of the Engliſh Rebels, planted his Ordnance againſt it, and took it by Compoſition: wherein were found not above one or two of the Rebels, who being hanged, and a Garriſon put into the Caſtle, he commanded *Drury* to beſiege *Faſt* Caſtle, another Hold alſo of the Lord *Humes*, which was alſo ſoon yielded up unto him.

When the Engliſh Rebels had now retired themſelves into the inner parts of *Scotland*, and, aſſociating with others like themſelves, threatned Fire and ſword to the Borderers in *England*, and to thoſe of the King's Party in *Scotland*; *Suſſex*, as ſoon as *Drury* was returned, ſent him back again the ſeventh day after into *Scotland* with twelve hundred Foot, and four hundred Horſe: who at *Colding-*

They aid the King's Party in *Scotland*.

1570. *ham* received Hoſtages for the Earls of *Angus*, *Morton*, *Marre*, and *Glencarne*, and for the Barons of *Renven* and *Lindſey*, who had with much Intreaty invited in the *Engliſh*. Afterwards *Suſſex* himſelf, accompanied with Sir *George Cary*, Sir *Thomas Manours*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, (whom together with *Drury* he had Knighted,) *Hierome Bows*, *William Knolles*, *Thomas Brickwell*, *Robert Games*, *Elrington*, *Carvill*, and other Captains and Commanders, marched to *Edenborough*, and joyned his Forces with the ſaid Earls, and with *Lenox*, who was then newly returned out of *England*; though *Suſſex* were by them ſomewhat ſuſpected as inclining to *Norfolk* and the Queen of *Scots* Party. All theſe march by *Lithquo* to *Glaſcow*, from whence *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault* had withdrawn himſelf. From thence they turn aſide to *Hamilton* Caſtle, which being battered with great Ordnance, was ſoon rendred, and half razed. A goodly Town alſo of the *Hamiltons* was fired, and their Poſſeſſions every-where waſted all over *Cluidſdale*, as was alſo in their Return *Hamilton*'s Palace at *Lithquo*.

They take *Hamilton* Caſtle.

Now the Lords of *Scotland*, having removed the *Hamiltons*, and the reſt which had ſtood for the depoſed Queen, from the King, and being to meet together about chuſing a new Regent, asked Queen *Elizabeth*'s Counſell. She anſwered, that ſhe would not intermeddle in making a Regent, leſt ſhe might ſeem to prejudice the Queen of *Scots*, whoſe Cauſe was not yet decided. But they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grand-father, firſt *Interrex*, that is, Viceroy, during the King's Nonage, and ſoon after Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* not oppoſing it. For ſhe knew he would out of natural Affection be moſt kind and loving to the young King, his Grand-ſon, and moſt affectionate to the *Engliſh* for the Courteſies he had received: and ſhe doubted not but that he would be at her Devotion, conſidering that ſhe had his Wife in her power.

Lenox made Regent of *Scotland*.

Whileſt Queen *Elizabeth* thus aſſiſted the King's Party in *Scotland*, the *Spaniard* failed not the captive Queen, but through the Procurement of *Hamilton*, Rectour of the Church of *Dunbar*, ſent privily out of the *Netherlands* great Proviſion of Arms and Powder, ſeven Pieces of great Ordnance, and ſome quantity of Money, to *Huntley* the Queen's Lieutenant in the North parts of *Scotland*. In the mean time *Huntley*, the Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, and *Argyle*, the Queen's Lieutenants, by common Counſell and the Queen's Conſent, diſpatched *George* Lord *Seaton* in Embaſſage to the Duke of *Alva*: who having Audience inſiſted on theſe things following. *That he was ſent from a Kingdome deprived of publick Peace, and of a moſt Excellent Princeſs, through the Treachery of diſloyal Subjects. That the Summe of his Meſſage conſiſted in theſe Points: That Help might be given to redeem the Queen out of miſerable Captivity in a forrein Land, and the Realm from the Oppreſſion of Strangers: That the Scottiſh Rebels might be prohibited Traffick in the* Spaniard's *Dominions: and That the ten thou-*

The *Spaniard* ſendeth Aid againſt the King's Party.

Seaton's Embaſſie to the Duke of *Alva*.

thouſand Ducats aſſigned the Queen of Scots *might be paid. That the Queen fled to the* Spaniard's *Boſome, as one in whoſe mind was ſeated nothing but Honour, Juſtice and Piety, (Objects moſt worthy of a Catholick Prince:) That ſhe made uſe of the Duke of* Alva *as an Interceſſour for her, one whoſe whole Endeavour it is, that thoſe laudable Intentions of the Catholick King may be brought to effect. Profit hereby to the* Spaniard *he propounded none, for that were a thing unworthy ſo great a Monarch; but he offered him the perpetual Amity of a moſt renowned Queen and a moſt ſtout Nation, and their aſſured Obſequiouſneſs with moſt thankfull hearts. Far and wide ſhone the Glory of his Father* Charles *the Fifth, by his Reſtoring the Duke of* Florence *and the* Mahometan *King to their former Dignity. But if he ſhould reſtore a Chriſtian Queen, a conſtant Embracer of the Chriſtian Religion, an abſolute Princeſs, allied in Blood and League to the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendome, and the moſt undoubted Heir of two moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms, how glorious a thing would it be, and how incomparable an argument of his Piety? Hereby he may not onely oblige* France, Denmark, Lorrain, *the* Guiſes, *the moſt Holy Father, and the whole Catholick Church in general; but alſo, treading in his Father's Steps, by relieving and reſtoring Princes unjuſtly deprived of their Thrones, he may equal, yea far ſurpaſs, the Glory of his Father. Him principally it concerneth, that this dangerous Example of Depoſing hereditary Kings be revenged, conſidering he is the greateſt Monarch of* Europe; *and his Dominions, being far diſ-joyned, may afford moſt eaſie Opportunities to ſuch inſolent Arrogancy. Neither can there be any more notable or more advantageous Example of Juſtice: For by Reſtoring her, he ſhall bind unto him in a ſtreight Band of Amity and Confederacy a Queen Dowager of* France, *an abſolute Queen of* Scotland, *the undoubted Heir of* England, *and the whole Scottiſh Nation, whoſe unſhaken Fidelity in obſerving the League with* France *ever ſince the days of* Charles *the Great is ſo well known to the whole World. Moreover hereby (if he bear a Mind worthy himſelf) lieth a way open to revenge his Wrongs received from the Queen of* England, *who favoureth his Rebels in the* Netherlands, *hath intercepted his Money, ill intreated his Embaſſadour, and laid hands on his Subjects Goods. To lie ſtill till* Scotland *have ſubmitted itſelf to the Queen of* England, *were careleſs and groſs Slothfulneſs. That Woman will, by ſo great an Increaſe of her Empire, and having ſecured all at home, grow dreadfull to her Neighbours; and her manly Courage, and Sex ambitious of Command, will eaſily invent ways to imbroil* Spain *in a long War. Wherein if ſhe be prevented, ſhe may eaſily be reſtrained with the Fear of her own Eſtate; conſidering that few in* Scotland *are Enemies to the captive Queen, moſt of the Noblemen, and all the Catholicks in general of both Kingdoms, favour her, all the Ports of* Scotland *are in her Power; and for carrying on of this ſo Holy a War, the Biſhop of* Rome *will not ſpare the very Goods of the Church. Nothing therefore now remaineth, but that the Catholick King give his beſt Aſſiſtence in a Cauſe ſo juſt, ſo pious, and ſo profitable. From him alone* 1570.

all

1570.

all the Catholicks of Britain *do now either expect Comfort, or look to be undone.*

The Duke of *Alva*'s Anſwer.

The Duke of *Alva* anſwered, "That he ſhould be ready and "forward to promote the Buſineſs with the *Spaniard* by all means "poſſible. But as for the Commerce of the Scottiſh Rebels, he could "not prohibit it, for that it was contrary to the Freedome of the "*Netherlands*: But he promiſed that the Money ſhould be paid out "of hand. *Seaton* in the mean time, the more to win Favour with the *Spaniard* and the Duke of *Alva* by ſome good Service, went in diſguiſed Habit to the Confederate *Netherlanders*, and by ſmooth Words, Feaſtings, and other corrupting ways, drew the *Scots* that ſerved under them to revolt: and when he was to be put to Torture for it, he hardly eſcaped with great peril of his Life to the Duke of *Alva*, who promiſed him Pay for ten thouſand men for ſix months. But all in vain, for by reaſon of great Troubles ariſing in the *Netherlands*, he could ſend no men into *Scotland*.

Seaton ſeduceth the *Scots* in the ſervice of the *Hollanders*.

The Biſhop of *Roſſe* ſet at liberty.

Meanwhile the Biſhop of *Roſſe* (who had vigorouſly ſolicited the Queen of *Scots* Affairs in *England*, and was committed to the Biſhop of *London*'s Cuſtody, for having privily promoted the late Rebellion,) being now ſet at Liberty, ſo wrought, that the French King dealt ſeriouſly by his Embaſſadour and *Montluke* with Queen *Elizabeth* for the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*: Which Embaſſadour and *Montluke* highly complained, that ſhe was kept in ſo ſtreight Cuſtody, and that under the Earl of *Huntingdon*, her moſt bitter Adverſary and Competitor, (for he openly laid Claim to the Kingdome of *England* as well as ſhe.) The ſame alſo did the King of *Spain*'s Embaſſadour moſt earneſtly urge in the King his Maſter's name, through the Procurement of *Roſſe*. The Queen, after ſhe had reckoned up the cunning Practices of ſome for Delivering the Queen of *Scots*, (whom ſhe covertly hinted to have been acceſſary to the late Rebellion,) anſwered, *That it were a point of inconſiderate and moſt dangerous Folly to let her looſe, who ſo openly aſpired by bad Practices to the Kingdome of* England, *that ſhe was conſtrained of neceſſity to commit her to ſtreighter Cuſtody, to remove ſome of her Servants, whom ſhe had entertained in great numbers, and to joyn the Earl of* Huntingdon (*in whom ſhe acknowledged no Right to the Crown, but ſome Kindred to her ſhe confeſſed,*) *with the Earl of* Shrewsbury, *whom ſhe had appointed her Keeper, who began of late to ſuſpect the Truſtineſs of his own Servants, while he perceived many to be drawn daily to favour the Queen of* Scots. *Nevertheleſs the Earl of* Huntingdon (*ſaid ſhe*) *hath been a good while ſince removed from her.* She promiſeth moreover, *That ſhe would omit nothing which might make for Compounding of matters between the Scottiſh Queen and the* Scots: *And withall proteſted, that ſhe would not proſecute the Injuries ſhe had received. But yet, by the* French *King's, the* Spaniard's *and the Queen of* Scots *Leave, ſhe may* (*ſhe hopeth*) *provide for her own and her People's Quiet and Safety, according as Nature, Reaſon, and her Princely*

He ſeeketh the Queen of *Scots* Delivery by the Embaſſadours of *France* and *Spain*.

The Queen of *England*'s Anſwer.

Princely Reputation or Honour, do juſtly require. And if any of them can adviſe any more likely means to avoid the Danger, ſhe will moſt gladly hearken to it, and embrace it.

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After this much conſulting there was at the Court, whether the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be ſent Home, or be ſtayed in *England*; and how the Safety of the Realm, the Queen, and Religion, might beſt be provided for.

Conſultation about Delivering the Q. of *Scots*.

In the mean time *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, Son of *Richard*, Son of *William Herbert* the elder, Earl of *Pembroke*, preſaging ſome Diſaſter to himſelf, departed this life in his Climacterical year, leaving behind him 3 Children, *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Anne*, being with a ſtately Funerall intombed in a fair Monument in S. *Paul*'s Church. An excellent man, who was in a manner the Raiſer of his own Fortune. With *Henry* the Eighth he got into great Favour, to whom he was Chamberlain. By his Wiſedome he increaſed his Wealth, eſpecially after ſuch time as the King had married *Katharine Par*, his Wife's Siſter. Under *Edward* the Sixth, whileſt the Court was diſtracted with Factions, he obtained the Garter of the Order of S. *George*, the Dignity of Maſter of the Horſe, the Title of Baron *Herbert* of *Caerdiff*, and the Honour of Earl of *Pembroke*. Under Queen *Mary* he commanded her Forces againſt *Wiat*, and was Generall of the Engliſh Army at *S. Quintin's*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*, and twice Governour of *Calice*. Under Queen *Elizabeth* he was made Great Maſter of the Houſhold; whoſe Favour he loſt for a time, for that (though with no ill Meaning nor bad Intent) he was a great fartherer of *Norfolk*'s Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*: and he miſſed but little of having been proſcribed after he was dead, by means of certain matters then brought to light, and ſome ſtrong Preſumptions againſt him.

The death of the Earl of *Pembroke*.

Pius Quintus, Biſhop of *Rome*, who had hitherto laid cloſe Plots againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and had the laſt year by his Bull declaratory, without any previous Admonition or Citation, privately ſtricken her with the Sentence of Excommunication, and raiſed Rebellions againſt her, now cauſed the ſame to be openly publiſhed, and ſet up upon the Gates of the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, in theſe words.

A Bull publiſhed againſt the Queen.

A Sentence declaratory of our Holy Lord, Pope Pius Quintus, *againſt* Elizabeth *Queen of* England, *and the Hereticks adhering unto her. Wherein alſo all her Subjects are declared to be abſolved from the Oath of Allegeance, and what-ever other Duty they owe unto her: and thoſe which from henceforth ſhall obey her, are involved in the ſame Curſe or Anathema.*

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Pius Biſhop, Servant to God's Servants, for a future Memoriall of the matter.

HE *that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in Heaven and in Earth, hath committed his One, Holy, Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to one alone upon Earth, namely to* Peter *the chief of the Apoſtles, and to* Peter's *Succeſſour the Biſhop of* Rome, *to be by him governed with plenary Authority. Him alone hath he made Prince over all People and all Kingdoms, to pluck up, deſtroy, ſcatter, conſume, plant and build; that he may preſerve his Faithfull people (knit together with the Band of Charity) in the Unity of the Spirit, and preſent them ſpotleſs and unblamable to their Saviour. In Diſcharge of which Function, We, who are by God's Goodneſs called to the Government of the aforeſaid Church, do ſpare no Pains, labouring with all earneſtneſs, that Unity and the Catholick Religion (which the Authour thereof hath, for the Triall of his Childrens Faith, and for our Amendment, ſuffered to be toſſed with ſo great Afflictions,) might be preſerved ſincere. But the number of the Ungodly hath gotten ſuch Power, that there is now no place in the whole World left which they have not aſſayed to corrupt with their moſt wicked Doctrines; and amongſt others,* Elizabeth, *the pretended Queen of* England, *the Servant of Wickedneſs, lendeth thereunto her helping hand, with whom, as in a Sanctuary, the moſt pernicious perſons have found a Refuge. This very Woman, having ſeized on the Kingdome, and monſtrouſly uſurped the place of* Supreme Head of the Church *in all* England, *and the chief Authority and Juriſdiction thereof, hath again reduced the ſaid Kingdome into a miſerable and ruinous Condition, which was ſo lately reclaimed to the Catholick Faith and a thriving Condition.*

For having by ſtrong hand prohibited the Exerciſe of the true Religion, which Mary, *the lawfull Queen of famous Memory, had by the Help of this See reſtored, after it had been formerly overthrown by* Henry *the Eighth, a Revolter therefrom, and following and embracing the Errours of Hereticks, ſhe hath changed the Royall Council, conſiſting of the Engliſh Nobility, and filled it up with Obſcure men being Hereticks; ſuppreſſed the Embracers of the Catholick Faith; conſtituted lewd Preachers and Miniſters of Impietie; aboliſhed the Sacrifice of the Maſs, Prayers, Faſtings, Choice of Meats, Unmarried life, and the Catholick Rites and Ceremonies; commanded Books to be read through the whole Realm containing manifeſt Hereſie, and appointed impious Rites and Inſtitutions, by herſelf entertained and obſerved according to the Preſcript of* Calvin, *to be likewiſe obſerved by her Subjects; preſumed to eject Biſhops, Parſons of Churches, and other Catholick Prieſts, out of their Churches and Benefices, and to beſtow them and other Church-Livings upon Hereticks, and to determine of Church Cauſes; prohibited the Prelates, Clergie and People to acknowledge the Church of* Rome, *or obey the Precepts and Canonicall Sanctions thereof; compelled moſt of them to condeſcend to her wicked*

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ked Laws, and to abjure the Authority and Obedience of the Biſhop of Rome, *and to acknowledge her to be ſole Lady in Temporall and Spirituall matters, and this by Oath; impoſed Penalties and Puniſhments upon thoſe which obeyed not, and exacted them of thoſe which perſevered in the Unity of the Faith and their Obedience aforeſaid; caſt the Catholick Prelats and Rectours of Churches into Priſon, where many of them, being worn out with long Languiſhing and Sorrow, miſerably ended their Lives. All which things being ſo manifeſt and notorious to all Nations, and by the ſerious Teſtimonie of very many ſo ſubſtantially proved, that there is no place at all left for Excuſe, Defence or Evaſion: We, ſeeing that Impieties and Wicked actions are multiplied one upon another, as alſo that the Perſecution of the Faithfull and Affliction for Religion groweth every day heavier and heavier, through the Inſtigation and by means of the ſaid* Elizabeth, *and ſince We underſtand her Heart to be ſo hardned and obdurate, that ſhe hath not onely contemned the godly Requeſts and Admonitions of Catholick Princes concerning her Cure and Converſion, but alſo hath not ſo much as ſuffered the Nuncio's of this See to croſs the Seas for this purpoſe into* England, *are conſtrained of neceſſity to betake ourſelves to the Weapons of Juſtice againſt her, being heartily grieved and ſorry, that we are compelled thus to puniſh one to whoſe Anceſtours the whole State of Chriſtendome hath been ſo much beholden. Being therefore ſupported with His Authority whoſe Pleaſure it was to place Us (though unable for ſo great a Burthen) in this Supreme Throne of Juſtice, We do, out of the fulneſs of our Apoſtolick Power, declare the aforeſaid* Elizabeth, *as being an Heretick and a Favourer of Hereticks, and her Adherents in the matters aforeſaid, to have incurred the Sentence of Excommunication, and to be cut off from the Unity of the Body of Chriſt. And moreover We do declare her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the Kingdome aforeſaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity and Priviledge whatſoever; and alſo the Nobility, Subjects and People of the ſaid Kingdome, and all others who have in any ſort ſworn unto her, to be for ever abſolved from any ſuch Oath, and all manner of Duty of Dominion, Allegeance and Obedience: and We alſo do by Authority of theſe Preſents abſolve them, and do deprive the ſaid* Elizabeth *of her pretended Title to the Kingdome, and all other things before named. And We do command and charge all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforeſaid, that they preſume not to obey her, or her Orders, Mandates and Laws: and thoſe which ſhall doe the contrary, We do include them in the like Sentence of Anathema. And becauſe it would be a difficult matter to convey theſe Preſents to all places whereſoever it ſhall be needfull; Our Will is, that the Copies thereof under a publick Notarie's Hand, and ſealed with the Seal of an Eccleſiaſticall Prelate, or of his Court, ſhall carry altogether the ſame Credit with all men, judicially and extrajudicially, as theſe Preſents ſhould doe, if they were exhibited or ſhewed. Given at Rome at* S. Peter's *in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thouſand five hundred ſixty nine, the fifth of the Calends of* March, *and of our Popedome the fifth year.* Cæ. Glorierius.

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A Rebellion deſigned in *Norfolk* prevented.

Hereupon new Suſpicions aroſe that ſome Monſter was a-breeding: and certainly another Rebellion was ready forthwith to break out in *Norfolk*, but was prevented in its very Beginning. Certain *Norfolk* Gentlemen, being minded to ſet the Duke at Liberty, (towards whom all men bare a ſingular Love) laid a Plot, that when the people reſorted to a Fair at *Harleſtone*, they would gather the Multitude together by the ſound of a Trumpet, under pretence of expelling the *Netherlanders* out of *England*, who had withdrawn themſelves in great numbers to that Coaſt, by reaſon of the Duke of *Alva*'s Tyranny. Of theſe Gentlemen ſome were brought to their Triall and condemned of High Treaſon; three onely were executed, (ſuch was the Queen's Mercy.) The man of greateſt Note was *John Throckmorton*, who at the Bar ſtood mute; but at the Gallows, to excuſe the reſt, confeſſed himſelf the principall Authour and Perſwader of the Buſineſs.

The Authours tried and executed.

Felton hanged.

John Felton, the man that ſet up the Bull upon the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace-gates, was now taken, (for fly he would not,) arraigned, and with an undaunted mind confeſſed the Fact, (which notwithſtanding he would not acknowledge to be a Fault;) for which he was hanged near the place where he had ſet it up, getting thereby the vain Repute of a glorious Martyrdome. But the moſt part of the moderate ſort of Papiſts ſecretly miſliked this Bull, becauſe there had no Admonition preceded according to Law, and foreſeeing alſo that hereby a great Heap of Miſchiefs hung over their Heads, who before had private Exerciſe of their Religion within their own Houſes quietly enough, or elſe refuſed not to goe to the Service of God received in the Engliſh Church, without Scruple of Conſcience. And from that time many of them continued firm in their Obedience, when they ſaw the neighbour Princes and Catholick Countries not to forbear their wonted Commerce with the Queen, and that the Bull was ſlighted as a vain Crack of words that made a Noiſe onely.

The Bull miſliked by the Papiſts:

and by moſt of them ſlighted.

The Duke delivered out of the Tower.

The ſame day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* (having confeſſed that he had ſlipped and offended for want of Prudence, and made ſhew of ſo great Repentance, that not onely his Minde ſeemed to abhor from the Marriage, but his Ears alſo from hearing any mention thereof, and having bound himſelf by faithfull Promiſe in writing, that he would meddle no more in the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, without acquainting Queen *Elizabeth* therewith,) was, to the great Rejoycing of all men, let forth of the Tower of *London*, (wherein the Peſtilence now began to wax hot,) and ſent home to his own Houſe, to live there under the free Cuſtody of Sir *Henry Nevill*. Neither indeed could he be proceeded againſt by the Statute of the 25. of *Edward* the 3. concerning High treaſon, as *Cecyl* acquainted him, who, favouring the Duke, did his beſt endeavour that he might marry ſome other Woman, that there might be no more cauſe to miſdoubt him, and the publick Tranquillity might be provided for. Yet ſome there were who thought he was

Cecyl perſwadeth him to ſome other Marriage.

now

now let out of purpoſe, that he might be brought into ſome greater Danger. Certainly there were more things came afterwards daily to light then ever he ſuſpected, and the Fidelity of thoſe who were of his inwardeſt Counſels either through Hope or Corruption began to fail. 1570.

The Times were now moſt full of Jealouſies and Conſpiracies. For *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, the Earl of *Derby*'s younger Sons by the Daughter of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Rolſton*, *Hall*, and others in the County of *Derby*, conſpired to deliver the Queen of *Scots* out of Cuſtody. But *Rolſton*'s Son, who was one of the Band of Gentlemen-Penſioners, revealed the Conſpiracy, and they were all caſt into Priſon but *Hall*, who eſcaped into the Iſle of *Man*, and from thence was ſent with the Biſhop of *Roſſe* his Commendations over to *Dunbriton*, where he was taken afterwards when that Caſtle was wone, and at length executed at *London*. The Biſhop of *Roſſe* alſo himſelf, having been lately delivered out of Cuſtody, was again committed to the Biſhop of *London*'s Keeping, for holding ſecret Conferences with the Earl of *Southampton*, a man moſt devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion. Many impriſoned.

In the mean time *Suſſex*, accompanied with the Lord *Scroop* and certain light Companies, entred again into *Scotland*, fired the Towns and Villages all over *Anandale*, razed *Anand* a Caſtle of *Heris* his, and *Caer-Laverock* a Caſtle of *Maxwell*'s, (which two had made Inroads into *England* for Booty,) and drove thoſe which held for the Queen of *Scots* to ſuch Streights, that the Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, *Huntley* and *Argyle*, ſent unto him a Writing under their Hands and Seals, whereby they bound themſelves both to forbear War, and to forſake the Engliſh Rebells. *Suſſex*, being now returned, knighted *Edward Haſtings*, *Francis Ruſſell*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Curwen*, and *Simon Muſgrave*, for their Valour: and he himſelf afterwards, for his approved Wiſedome and Vertue, was admitted of the Queen's Privy Council. An Expedition into *Scotland*. *Suſſex* admitted of the Privy Council.

Queen *Elizabeth* (whoſe Mind hung in ſuſpence with ſundry Suſpicions by reaſon of the ſaid Bull and the Conſpiracy of *Norfolk*) ſent *Cecyl* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scots*, then lying at *Chatteſworth* in the County of *Derby*, (who, after a dangerous Journey, the Waters every-where being very much out, came thither in the month of *October*,) to conſult with her by what means moſt conveniently the Diſſenſion in *Scotland* might be compounded, herſelf might be reſtored to her former Dignity, and the Security of Queen *Elizabeth* and the Safety of her young Son provided for. She did nothing but lament her moſt afflicted Condition, complain of *Murray*'s cunning Practices, excuſe *Norfolk*, and put all her Hope in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Goodneſs, in whoſe Hands ſhe heard that the diſpoſing of all matters in *Scotland* as well as in *England* now were. They propounded, that for eſtabliſhing of a ſincere League of Peace betwixt both Kingdomes, "The Treaty of *Edenborough* might be "con- A Treaty with the Queen of *Scots*.

1570.

Propoſitions of the *Engliſh.*

"confirmed: That ſhe ſhould renounce her Title and Claim to *Eng-*
"*land* as long as Queen *Elizabeth* and the Children lawfully born
"of her Body ſhould live: That ſhe ſhould neither renew nor keep
"any League with forrein Princes againſt *England:* That ſhe ſhould
"not receive any forrein Souldiers into *Scotland:* That ſhe ſhould
"hold no Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*, without acquain-
"ting the Queen therewith: That ſhe ſhould deliver up the En-
"gliſh Fugitives and Rebells: That ſhe ſhould ſatisfie for the Dam-
"mages done to the Engliſh Borderers: That ſhe ſhould make a Le-
"gal Inquiſition into the Murther as well of the Lord *Darly* her Huſ-
"band, as of *Murray:* That ſhe ſhould deliver her Son into *England*
"as an Hoſtage: That ſhe ſhould contract Marriage with no En-
"gliſh-man without the Advice of the Queen of *England*, nor with
"any other againſt the Will of the Eſtates of *Scotland:* That the
"*Scots* ſhould not croſs over into *Ireland* without Leave firſt obtai-
"ned out of *England:* That, for Confirmation of theſe things, the
"Queen and the Commiſſioners to be appointed ſhould ſet to their
"Hands and Seals: That ſix Hoſtages, whom the Queen of *England*
"ſhould name, ſhould be ſent into *England:* That if the Queen of
"*Scots* ſhould attempt any thing by herſelf or any other againſt
"Q. *Elizabeth*, ſhe ſhould *ipſo facto* forfeit all her Right and Title ſhe
"claimeth to *England:* That *Humes* Caſtle and *Faſt* Caſtle ſhould be
"holden by the *Engliſh* for three years: That in like manner ſome
"ſtrong Hold in *Galloway* or *Cantire* ſhould be delivered into the En-
"gliſh-mens hands, leſt from thence the *Scottiſh-Iriſh* ſhould infeſt
"*Ireland:* Laſtly, That the Eſtates of *Scotland* ſhould confirm all
"theſe things by Authority of Parliament.

The Anſwer of the *Scots.*

Hereunto firſt the Queen of *Scots*, according to her Wiſedome, very prudently anſwered *ex tempore*, but referred them for a fuller Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Roſſe* her Embaſſadour in *England*, *Alexander Gordon* Biſhop of *Galloway*, the Earl of *Huntley*'s Uncle, and *William* Baron of *Levingſtone*, Deputies from her Lieutenants in *Scotland*; who afterwards accepted ſome of theſe Articles, and ſome they rejected. They anſwered, "That the Treaty of *Edenborough* ſhould
"be confirmed: That the Title ſhould be renounced as long as
"Queen *Elizabeth* lived: That the ancient League with the *French*
"was to be conſidered of; which if they ſhould not obſerve, the
"Queen ſhould loſe her Dowry, the Scottiſh Nation, (of whom an
"hundred men at Arms and 124 Archers were there entertained
"for a Guard) the Merchants, Students, and many which had got
"Eſtates in *France*, and held Prieſtly Preferments there, would be
"deprived and thrown out of thoſe large Penſions and Privileges
"which they enjoyed, and *Scotland* would be deprived of the Ami-
"ty and Aſſiſtence of a moſt potent Nation. Which things unleſs
"the *Engliſh* would recompenſe to the full, they could by no means
"renounce the French League. Forrein Souldiers they would not
"admit, unleſs ſuch a Rebellion ſhould break forth as could not be
"ſup-

1570.

"ſuppreſſed by their own Forces. That the Queen of *Scots* ſhould "hold no Correſpondence with the Subjects of *England* to the Pre- "judice of *England*, ſo as the Queen of *England* in like ſort would hold "none with the Scottiſh Subjects to the Prejudice of *Scotland*: That "if there were any Engliſh Fugitives and Rebells in *Scotland*, they "were with the Scottiſh Rebells, and were to be demanded of them: "That the Dammages which were done ſhould be examined by "Commiſſioners: That the Murther of the Lord *Darly* and *Murray* "ſhould be inquired into by the Laws of *Scotland*: That they could "not deliver the King for Hoſtage into her Hands, foraſmuch as he "was in the Power of thoſe men who pretended the King's Name "for a Cloak to their Rebellion againſt the Queen: That it was a "ſtrange thing and never before heard of, that a free Princeſs ſhould "be preſcribed by a forrein Prince and her own Subjects in contrac- "ting Marriage: That the *Scots* ſhould not croſs over into *Ireland* "to the Dammage of the Queen of *England* without Licence, if the "*Iriſh* might be tied with the ſame Condition, that they ſhould not "croſs the Seas into *Scotland*. For Security of performance, they "conſented to give for Hoſtages whomſoever the Queen of *Eng-* "*land* ſhould name, except the Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, *Huntley*, "*Argyle* and *Athol*. Moreover they aſſented that the Queen of *Scots* "ſhould be excluded from all Right of Succeſſion in *England*, if "ſhe attempted any thing againſt the Queen of *England*'s Right, ſo "as the Queen of *England* would be likewiſe bound in ſome equi- "valent Penalty if ſhe ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Queen "of *Scots*. As for *Humes* Caſtle and *Faſt* Caſtle, they deſired they "might be reſtored to the Lord *Humes* the right Owner thereof, and "no longer held by the *Engliſh*. That to deliver up Fortreſſes in "*Galloway* or *Cantire* into Forreiners hands, were nothing elſe but "to miniſter new occaſion of War.

They cannot agree.

Whenas they could not agree about theſe Points, neither came there any Commiſſioners from the Regent of *Scotland*, and in the mean time Rumours were ſpread abroad that great Endeavours were uſed with the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Freneh King, and the Duke of *Alva*, for Help to deliver the Queen of *Scots*, and the Engliſh Rebels, *Weſtmorland*, the Counteſs of *Northumberland*, and the reſt, were conveyed out of *Scotland*, (whom the Biſhop of *Rome* had by *Roſſe* his means ſupplied with twelve thouſand Crowns) nothing at all came of this Treaty, ſave that Queen *Elizabeth* (who ſate as it were at the Helm of all *Britain* as the chief Umpire) commanded by her Authority the Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Scotland* to be prorogued, and a Truce many times to be treated of. For the Heads of both Partles very much diſquieted *Scotland* in all parts.

Roſſe craveth Aid for the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*, but in vain.

The Articles of this Treaty the Biſhop of *Roſſe* ſent to the Pope, the *French* King and the *Spaniard*, and let them know, that the Queen of *Scots* muſt of neceſſity conſent to them, unleſs ſhe were timely aſſiſted with their Aid and Advice; which he craved with all Earneſt-

1570. Earneſtneſs, but all in vain. For they were taken up with other Cares, and the *Spaniard* was wholly employed in preparing for his Marriage with *Anne* of *Auſtria*, the Emperour *Maximilian*'s Daughter, his own Niece by his Siſter, who at this time ſet ſail out of *Zeland* for *Spain*: for whoſe Convoy through the *Britiſh* Sea into *Spain*, Queen *Elizabeth*, as a ſingular teſtimony of her Honour and Love to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent *Charles Howard* with a ſtrong Fleet and many choice Gentlemen.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reſpect to the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

The Anniverſary of the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth* begun to be celebrated.

The twelfth Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* being now happily expired, wherein ſome credulous Papiſts expected, according to the Prediction of certain Wizzards, their *Golden day*, as they termed it, all good men through *England* joyfully triumphed, and with Thankſgivings, Sermons in Churches, multiplied Prayers, joyfull Ringing of Bells, running at Tilt, and Feſtival Mirth, began to celebrate the Seventeenth day of *November*, being the Anniverſary day of the Beginning of her Reign; which, in teſtimony of their affectionate Love towards her, they never ceaſed to obſerve as long as ſhe lived.

The death of the Earl of *Cumberland*.

In the mean time died *Henry Clifford*, the ſecond Earl of *Cumberland* of that Surname, the Son of *Henry*, whom *Henry* the Eighth had raiſed to the Honour of an Earl in the year 1525; yet was he of a very ancient and Noble Family, to which much Honour was added by Marriages with the Heirs both of the *Veſcies*, and of the *Vipont*, or *De veteri ponte*, who were in times paſt hereditary Sheriffs of *Weſtmorland*. He begat on his firſt Wife *Eleanor*, one of the Daughters of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* by *Mary* Siſter to *Henry* the Eighth, *Margaret*, married with great Hope and Pomp to *Henry* the Earl of *Derby*'s Son, as being the onely Heir of the Family of the *Cliffords*. But this Hope ſoon vaniſhed, when by a ſecond Wife, *Anne Dacres*, he begat two Sons, who ſucceeded one another in their Father's Honour.

The death of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*.

Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* alſo now payed his Debt to Nature, a man often mentioned already, being the fourth Son of Sir *George Throckmorton* Knight, by *Katharine* the Daughter of *Nicholas* Lord *Vaulx*: a man of great Experience, very ready Wit, and ſingular Diligence; who buſily attempting many things in Queen *Marie*'s days hardly ſaved his Life by his eloquent Wiſedome; and under Queen *Elizabeth* having with indefatigable Pains diſcharged many Embaſſies with great Commendation, yet could he riſe but to ſmall Wealth, and thoſe ſlight Dignities (though glorious in Title) of Chief Butler of *England*, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer, whileſt he ſhewed himſelf an Antagoniſt againſt *Cecyl* in favour of *Leiceſter*. In whoſe Houſe as he was feeding hard at Supper on Sallats, he was taken, as ſome report, with an Impoſtume of the Lungs, as others ſay, with a violent Catarrhe, and died (not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon) in a good time for himſelf and his, being in great danger of loſing Life and Eſtate by reaſon of his reſtleſs Spirit.

In

1570. A Rebellion in *Ireland* cometh to nothing.

In *Ireland Conogher O-Brien*, Earl of *Twomond*, becauſe he could not brook *Edward Fitton* Governour of *Connaught*, (who had begun to govern that Countrey ſomewhat ſeverely, and to cut off all Hope from the great Lords of *Ireland* of pilling and polling the Subjects,) cloſely contrived with ſome others to raiſe a Rebellion; which, juſt as it was ready to break forth, was by meer chance blown over. For the very day before they were to take up Arms, *Fitton*, being utterly ignorant of the matter, courteouſly ſignified to *Twomond*, that he would be his Gueſt the next day with ſome Friends of his. *Twomond* being convicted in his own Conſcience, and ſtricken with Fear, which is the worſt Preſager in doubtfull matters, ſuppoſing that his Plot was diſcovered, and that the Governour would come as an Enemy, not as a Gueſt, put to Sea preſently and ſailed into *France*, whileſt all men wondered what was become of him. The Conſpiratours, fearing he had been gone into *England* to reveal the matter, continued in their Obedience. But when he came to have certain Knowledge of all, he ſeriouſly repented him, and freely confeſſed the whole matter to *Norris* the Embaſſadour in *France*, and by his Interceſſion obtained ſuch Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, that he was reſtored to his Eſtate.

Stukeley flieth out of *Ireland* to *Rome*.

But *Thomas Stukeley*, an Engliſh-man, a Ruffian, a riotous Spendthrift, and a notable Vapourer, (who having conſumed his Eſtate had fled into *Ireland*,) being diſappointed of his Hope of the Stewardſhip of *Wexford*, after he had firſt vomited forth moſt undeſerved Diſgraces againſt his Princeſs, to whom he was extraordinarily bounden, and being a man of ſmall Account, and therefore unable to raiſe Commotions, ſlipped out of *Ireland* into *Italy*, to *Pius Quintus* Biſhop of *Rome*; where incredible it is into how great Grace and Favour he wrought himſelf by his Flatteries with that Old man, who breathed after the Deſtruction of Queen *Elizabeth*, making great Boaſts and Promiſes, that with three thouſand *Italians* he would drive the *Engliſh* out of *Ireland*, and fire the Engliſh Fleet, Which things afterwards he wickedly attempted, but to his own Deſtruction, as we ſhall ſhew by and by.

The Fourteenth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1571.

The Royall Exchange.

QUeen *Elizabeth* entring with Royall State into *London* in the firſt moneth of the Year, went to ſee a moſt beautifull Burſe, (as they call it) which Sir *Thomas Greſham* Knight, Citizen of *London*, and the Queen's Merchant, had built for the Uſe of the Merchants; and by the voice of the Crier and ſound of Trumpets, as it were by way of Dedication, ſhe named it *The Royall Exchange*.

Some

1571.

The creation of the Baron of *Burghley*.

The form of creating Barons.

Some few days after, ſhe, who was very ſparing in conferring of Honours, (for in full twelve years ſhe had not raiſed above four men to the Dignity of Barons,) by her Letters Patents worthily ennobled *William Cecyl*, her Secretary, being inveſted in Barons Robes, with the Title of Baron of *Burghley*, in this form of words: "As well "for his long Services in the time of our Progenitours Kings of *Eng-*"*land*, as alſo for the faithfull and acceptable Duty and Obſervance "which he hath conſtantly performed from the very beginning of "our Reign, and ceaſeth not daily to perform many ways, not onely "in the great and weighty Affairs of Counſell, but generally alſo in "all other Concernments of the Realm, and alſo for his Circumſpecti-"on, Valour, Wiſedome, Dexterity, Integrity of life, Providence, "Care, and Faithfulneſs, We have of our ſpeciall Grace and Favour, "and of our own certain Knowledge and meer Motion, raiſed, crea-"ted and advanced him to the State, Degree, Dignity and Honour "of Baron of *Burghley*, and have conferred, given and beſtowed up-"on him the Name, Style and Title of *Baron of Burghley*, *&c.* To have "and to hold to him and his Heirs male iſſuing from his body for "ever, *&c.* This man, and others whom ſhe raiſed to the ſtate of Barons, I have the more willingly mentioned, and ſhall mention, becauſe it is one of the moſt noble Degrees of Honour. For the Parliamentary Barons of *England* are Peers, States, and Counſellours of the Realm born, and do enjoy many Immunities and Priviledges, which to reckon up is not proper to this place, and ſome of them I have taken notice of elſewhere.

Their Dignity.

Letters of *Pius Quintus* to the Queen of *Scots*.

A little before, *Ridolpho* the *Florentine* already mentioned, who had for the ſpace of fifteen years lived a Merchant in *London*, privately conveyed Letters from the Biſhop of *Rome* to the Queen of *Scots*, wherein he promiſeth all Kindneſs, Aid and Aſſiſtence for advancing the Catholick Religion and her Intereſts; and prayeth her that Favour and Credit may be given to *Ridolph* in all things, and that he may underſtand by him (who then intended to come into *Italy*) by what means the Catholick Religion and the common Calamities in *Britain* might be beſt relieved. *Ridolpho* alſo by his own particular Letters prayeth the Queen to acquaint the Duke of *Norfolk* and her Friends with theſe things, and to commend him unto them. But ſhe deferred her Anſwer, (though the *French* King, the *Spaniard* and the Duke of *Alva* had written to the ſame purpoſe,) till ſhe ſaw what would be the iſſue of the Treaty then begun.

A Writing of the *Scots* againſt the Regall Power.

For there were now come about *Scottiſh* matters, in the Name of the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Morton*, *Petcarne* Abbot of *Dunfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gilly*: who, being commanded by Queen *Elizabeth* to deliver their Reaſons poſitively for their Depoſing the Queen, and to ſhew the Juſtice of them, produced a large Diſcourſe, wherein, with inſolent Liberty and Sharpneſs of words, they went about to prove by an ancient Right of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, by outworn Examples and new ones picked up here and there, "That "the

"the *Scottiſh* People are above their Kings; yea and by the Autho- 1571.
"rity of *Calvin*, That popular Magiſtrates are conſtituted every-
"where to bridle the Luſt of Kings, and that it is lawfull for them to
"reſtrain bad Kings by Impriſonment, and to depoſe them. They boaſted much of their Civility and Lenity towards the depoſed Queen, in permitting her to ſubſtitute her Son in her room, and to appoint him Guardians; "That it was more out of the People's "Mercy then her own Innocency that ſhe had her Life: and many other like things, which tumultuous Spirits inſolently deviſe againſt the Royall Majeſty. This Diſcourſe Queen *Elizabeth* read, (not without Indignation,) and tacitly condemned, as written in Affront and Wrong to Kings. But to the Commiſſioners ſhe anſwered, "That ſhe "ſaw not yet any juſt Cauſe they had ſo to moleſt and perſecute "their Queen. She willed them therefore to take ſome ſpeedy courſe for extinguiſhing the Diſcords in *Scotland*.

Condemned by the Queen of *England*.

Hereupon, to ſecure the Queen and Realm of *England*, and the Noblemen of *Scotland* that were of the King's Party, it was propounded at *Bacon*'s Houſe, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and the Baron of *Levingſtone*, the Queen of *Scots* Deputies, That before the Queen of *Scots* ſhould have her Liberty, the Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lord *Humes*, the Lord *Herie*, and another of the Barons, ſhould be given for Hoſtages; and that the Caſtles of *Dunbriton* and *Humes* ſhould be delivered into the Engliſh-mens hands for three years. They anſwered, "That there was no doubt but the Queen "of *Scots*, who had voluntarily put herſelf under the Queen of *Eng-*
"*land*'s Protection, would alſo moſt willingly ſatisfie her in all things "which might conveniently be granted. But to deliver up men of "ſuch Quality, and thoſe ſtrong Holds, were nothing elſe but to de-
"prive the miſerable Queen of the Strength of all her faithfulleſt "Friends and ſafeſt places, and to expoſe her for a Prey to her Ad-
"verſaries. Yet two Earls they offered, whereof one of the three aforeſaid to be one, and two Barons, in Hoſtage for two years. But as for the ſtrong Holds, they could not by the League be delivered up to the *Engliſh*, unleſs others likewiſe were delivered up to the *French*. But (ſaid *Bacon*) "the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*, the "Prince, Peers, and ſtrong Holds, are all too little to ſecure the Queen "and the moſt flouriſhing Kingdome of *England*: and therefore "the Queen of *Scots* was not to be delivered upon whatſoever Secu-
"rity the *Scots* ſhould propound.

Terms propoſed by the *Engliſh* for the Delivery of the Q. of *Scots*.

The Anſwer of the Q. of *Scots* Deputies.

The *Engliſh* reject the Offers of the *Scots*.

From hence the Queen of *Scots* Deputies preſently gathered, and ſaid as much openly, that now at length they plainly underſtood, that the *Engliſh* were fully bent and reſolved to detain the Queen in *England* for ever, and withall to break off the Treaty, ſeeing they ſo peremptorily ſtood upon ſuch Security as *Scotland* was no ways able to give. Nevertheleſs the reſt of the Council in *England* proteſted, that they much deſired the Queen of *Scots* might be ſet at

1571. Liberty, ſo that ſufficient Security were given. And indeed they dealt afterwards with *Morton* and his Colleagues concerning theſe matters, and the Delivery of the King into *England*: who anſwered flatly, that they had no Commiſſion to treat either about receiving the Queen into *Scotland*, or delivering the King. But this the Queen of *Scots* Deputies rejected as a frivolous Shift: for "they had Au-"thority enough to treat about the Queen's Delivery, who were the "Authours of the Queen's Depoſing. Neither was there any reaſon "for their expecting fuller Authority from the reſt of the Conſpi-"ratours, foraſmuch as a wicked Act makes them all Equals that are "guilty of it. As for the Prince, he being now ſcarce five years old "could give them no Authority: And for the Regent, he had refer-"red the whole matter to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Diſpoſure. They ear-neſtly requeſted therefore, that either the ſaid Commiſſioners might be compelled to treat, or elſe the matter might be otherwiſe compounded upon reaſonable Conditions without them. But Queen *Elizabeth*, perceiving that nothing could be concluded for her own, the King's and Queen's Security, unleſs both Factions did conſent, thought it reaſonable that the Eſtates of *Scotland*, being now ready to aſſemble, ſhould chuſe out certain men that might endeavour a peaceable Concluſion.

Jangling betwixt the Scottiſh Commiſſioners of both Parties.

Hereupon *Roſs* and his Colleagues openly complained, that ſome Counſellours of *England* abuſed the Queen of *England*'s Wiſedome, and the Queen of *Scots* Patience, deluding forrein Princes with crafty Fetches, and feeding the *Scots* with Hopes which turned to their Prejudice. And certainly the Queen of *Scots* herſelf, throughly angry and complaining, and weary of ſuch Delays, recalled the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingſtone*. The Biſhop of *Roſs*, whom the Queen of *England* had commanded to depart from *London*, ſhe commanded to ſtay at *London*, by his Priviledge of an Embaſſadour: which thing cauſed ſome Suſpicion. Her own Party in *Scotland* ſhe appointed to take up Arms, and truſt no longer to theſe prejudicial Truces and Conferences.

Complaints againſt the Engliſh Counſellours.

For whileſt theſe things were doing in *England*, the Queen's Party in *Scotland* received very great Detriment: many of them were executed, more ſlain; *Dunbriton*, the ſtrongeſt Fort of *Scotland*, ſeated upon the Æſtuary of *Glotta* or *Cluid*, commonly called *Dunbriton Frith*, taken; and *J. Hamilton*, Archbiſhop of *S. Andrews*, the Duke of *Chaſtel-Herault*'s Brother, hanged on a Gibbet, as acceſſary to the King's Murther, (though he were never called to his Triall according to the Cuſtome of his Countrey,) and this upon the Impeachment of a Prieſt, who affirmed he had heard it formerly in Confeſſion from thoſe who had murthered the King.

The Queen of *Scots* party oppreſſed.

The Archbiſhop of *S. Andrews* hanged.

When the captive Queen was now without all Hope, though not without extreme Grief, and all her Servants were removed from her but ten and a Prieſt, and all means of procuring her Safety and Liberty, which by the very direction of Nature are honeſt and reaſo-

nable,

nable, were obſtructed, ſhe could no longer conceal that which had been long time locked up in her Breaſt. She therefore privately ſendeth a large Commentary or Draught of her Counſels and Affairs which ſhe had formerly written, together with certain Love-letters, to the Duke of *Norfolk*, written in Cyphers known onely to them two; as alſo other Letters to be conveyed by *Ridolpho* to the Pope and the *Spaniard:* which *Ridolpho* ſhe commendeth as a man moſt devoted to her, and moſt neceſſary for her Service. *Higforde*, the Duke's Secretary, who tranſcribed theſe Papers in an ordinary Character, being commanded to caſt them into the Fire, hid them under a Mat in the Duke's Chamber, and this (as it ſeemeth) by appointment beforehand. This *Ridolpho*, once in the Duke's preſence, and often beſides by the mouth of *Barker*, expreſſed himſelf as followeth.

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The Queen of *Scots* ſendeth Writings to *Norfolk*.

That he had obſerved, that there were many, as well of the Nobility as Commonalty, in England *who deſired a Change in the State: and that theſe were of three ſorts: ſome who in the Reign of Queen* Mary *had been in Authority and Favour, and now were in no Eſtimation; others who, being addicted to the Popiſh Religion, were diſpleaſed that they could not have the Exerciſe thereof at their pleaſure; and others who, cheriſhing new Hopes, were much diſcontented with their preſent eſtate. That theſe wanted nothing to encourage them upon any Deſign but onely a Leader of Noble Stock, Money, and forrein Aſſiſtence. As for a Leader, there could be none found of more Noble Bloud, nor a fitter man, then the Duke, a man moſt gracious amongſt all ſorts of people. Reaſon there was alſo that he ſhould revenge the Injuries he had received, who had been ſo long kept in Priſon contrary to the Priviledge of his Country, and now out of Diſgrace to him was not called to the Parliament, wherein he had a Place and Voice, as being the chief amongſt the Peers, and Earl-Marſhall of the Realm of* England. And the more effectually to perſwade him hereunto, he produced a Catalogue of the Gentlemen who had vowed themſelves and their Fortunes to the Duke, if he would undertake the matter. As for forrein Aid, he affirmed, *that the Pope (ſo that the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would bear the Charge of the whole War, who had to that purpoſe laid down an hundred thouſand Crowns the laſt year, when the Bull was publiſhed, whereof twelve thouſand he the ſaid* Ridolpho *had diſtributed amongſt the Engliſh Fugitives. He promiſed that the* Spaniard, *incenſed with the Wrongs done him by the* Engliſh, *would ſupply him with auxiliary Forces, to wit, four thouſand Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot, which might be ſent over to* Harwich, *a Port town in* Eſſex, (*near whereunto the Duke had many potent Adherents,*) *and that moſt commodiouſly and without Suſpicion, in the beginning of Summer, when the Duke of* Medina Cæli *was to come with a ſtrong Fleet into the* Netherlands. To be ſhort, he concluded, *that ſuch Caution might be uſed, that the Duke might be cleared from all Suſpicion of affecting the Crown, and the Queen of* England's *Safety might be provided for, ſo as ſhe would embrace or tolerate the Romiſh Religion, and give her Aſſent to the Queen of* Scots *Marriage with the Duke.*

Ridolph's Diſcourſe.

His Promiſes.

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Ross his Plot.

These things the Duke hearkened unto as carrying some Probability, yet he refused to subscribe to the *Letters of Credit* (as they call them) which *Ridolpho* now ready to depart presented unto him. Neither would he hearken to the Plot which *Rosse* had with much beating of his Brains hammered out, and suggested unto him by *Barker: That the Duke with a select number of Gentlemen should surprize the Queen at unawares, and interrupt the Parliament; which might easily be done* (he said) *by means of the Opportunity then offering itself, when so many Gentlemen, devoted to the Duke, as at another time could not easily meet in one place without Suspicion, would be ready to put these things in execution with all forwardness of Resolution. That there were just Causes for it; because the Duke had been a long time kept Prisoner contrary to the Laws of his Country, and not admitted to the Parliament, and severe Laws were devised against the Papists. Neither were there lacking Examples: for* Castrutio *in* Italy, *and others elsewhere, had happily effected great matters by sudden Attempts. That five Gentlemen in* Scotland *had very lately interrupted the Parliament wherein* Murray *was to be proscribed, and seized the Queen into their Hands: and by the same means and with like Facility* (*if the Opportunity were taken*) *might Queen* Elizabeth *be surprized, the Marriage with the Queen of* Scots *dispatched, and the Popish Religion in* England *secured, without any great Stir, or need of forrein Assistence.*

Attempts of others.

This Design the Duke (who, according to his innate Goodness, was averse from any unworthy Attempt,) detested from his Heart, as both pernicious and full of Danger. But at the same time *Henry Percy* offered his Service to *Rosse* to free the Queen of *Scots* out of Prison, if so be *Grange* and *Carre* of *Fernihurst* would receive her at the Borders of *Scotland*, and his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland* might be delivered out of *Scotland*. But forasmuch as he was somewhat suspected by reason of his intimate Familiarity with *Burghley*, and because he delayed the matter somewhat long, this Plot failed. As also did that of *Powell* of *Sandford*, one of the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, and of *Owen*, a Retainer of *Arundel*'s; who were both of them ready to have undertaken the same, had not *Rosse* forbidden them, as men unfit for so great an Undertaking, being persons but of small Note. Other matters relating to this Business which were more closely carried we will omit at present, till Time shall more fully discover them.

An Earthquake in *Herefordshire*.

Whilest these things are closely acting at *London*, there happened a prodigious Earthquake in the East part of the County of *Hereford*, at *Kinnaston* a small Village. For on the seventeenth of *February*, at six of the clock in the Evening, the Ground sunk, and an Hill with a Rock of Stones at the Foot of it raised itself up, as if it had risen out of a long Sleep, with a very great Roaring and Noise at first, so that it was heard by the Neighbours far and near: then ascending to an higher place, and leaving a deep Pit behind it, it carried with it Trees growing, Sheepcoats, and Flocks of Sheep. Of the Trees some were over-

overthrown and covered with Earth; and others ſticking faſt in the Hill as it went ſtood upright, as if they had taken Root there at firſt. In the place whence it departed it left a Pit or Hole forty Foot wide, and fourſcore Ells long. The Ground in all was about twenty Acres, which in going overthrew a Chappel that ſtood in the way. A Yew-tree which ſtood in the Church-yard it removed from the Weſt to the Eaſt. With the ſame Violence it forced forward the High-ways, with Sheep-coats, Hedges, and Trees in them. Of Arable-ground it made Paſture, and of Paſture Arable-ground. The higher Ground which it met with it drave before it, and cruſhing it together with great Force, made it an higher Hill, as it were a Mount caſt up. Thus when it had walked from Saturday in the Evening till Monday at Noon, at length, as if it were weary of its Journey, and laboured with its own Weight, it ſtood ſtill. 1571.

Charles the Ninth of *France* marrieth the Emperour's Daughter.

In *France* a Marriage was ſolemnized a little before with great and Royal Pomp, at *Maſiers* on the river *Maes*, between *Charles* the Ninth King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, the Emperour *Maximilian*'s Daughter. Which Marriage Queen *Elizabeth* honourably to congratulate, out of her hearty Good will to the Emperour, whom ſhe reſpected as a Father, and out of her great Love to the *French* King, her Neighbour and Confederate, and to doe him Honour, ſent *Thomas Sackvill*, Baron of *Buckhurſt*, into *France*, who was there honourably received according to his Prince's Worth and his own. In his Company was *Guido Cavalcanti*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, a man of very great Experience, with whom the Queen-mother of *France*, who was alſo herſelf a *Florentine*, being intent upon her own and her Childrens good, dealt openly about a Marriage betwixt Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, and ſent forthwith certain Articles by him to Queen *Elizabeth* concerning the ſame; and afterwards the French King diligently followed the matter for his Brother by *Maveſier* his Embaſſadour-Leiger, and by *La-Mott Fenellon*, *Archant*, and *Foix*, who both joyntly and ſeverally ſolicited Queen *Elizabeth* therein almoſt a whole year.

Buckhurſt's Embaſſage into *France*.

A Marriage propounded betwixt Queen *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*.

This Marriage was not a little furthered by the Hope which was conceived, that the Romiſh Religion had not taken ſo deep Root in the Duke's Minde, (as well becauſe he was yet but young, as alſo becauſe he was brought up under *Carvalette*, a man not averſe from the Proteſtant Religion,) but that by little and little he might be drawn to the Proteſtant Profeſſion. Which if it might be effected, many and great Advantages would (as was gueſſed) enſue by this Marriage to the good of the Reformed Religion: as, that he, being a man of a Military Diſpoſition, might with the joynt Forces of the *Germans* and the *Engliſh* be the Overthrower of the Papiſts, eſtabliſh a perpetual Peace between *England* and *France*, fruſtrate the Attempts of the *Scottiſh* Queen, the *Spaniard*, the Pope, and the *Iriſh* Rebels; and moreover annex unto the Crown of *England* the rich Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, and in probability greater

The Hopes conceived thereof.

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ter matters. In brief, if this were neglected, there would never be a more honourable Marriage offered her.

Articles propounded by the *French*. The Answer of Queen *Elizabeth*.

After much and often arguing and debating, the *French* propounded three Articles, viz. concerning *the Duke's Coronation, the joynt Administration of the Kingdome*, and *Toleration of his Religion*. To these three at length it was answered, *That the Queen could not grant, without the Assent of the Estates of the Realm, that he should be Crowned after the Marriage; but, in regard of the Marriage, she would very willingly assent that he should wear the* Matrimonial Crown, *(as she called it) without Prejudice to her Majesty, or her Heir or Successour, if the Estates of the Realm so thought good: and there should be nothing wanting in her, but that all due and full Honour should be given to her Husband. Concerning the joynt Government, she thought it not unreasonable, that him whom she vouchsafed the Title of King and Husband, him she should also take for a Consort and Helper in Governing her Kingdoms. But as for Toleration of Religion, she could not yet, for some weighty Reasons, give her Assent thereto.* Which Reasons (as I have observed out of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letters) were these: *Although the outward Exercise of Christian Religion with different Rites and Ceremonies might be tolerated amongst the Subjects of one and the same Kingdome; yet a different, yea a flat contrary, Exercise of the Queen, which is the Head of her People, from her Husband, might seem not onely dangerous, but also altogether absurd.*

The French King and the Queen-Mother she prayeth to *weigh with equal Balance, on the one side her own Hazzard, and on the other side the Duke of* Anjou's *Honour. By tolerating his Religion she should break the Laws established, give Offence to her best Subjects, and Encouragement to her worst: which things would certainly over-balance the Duke of* Anjou's *Honour.* But the *French* replied, "That it was no "ways meet he should live without the Exercise of his Religion; for "this would seem altogether irreligious: neither would Queen *E-* "*lizabeth*, for her own Honour, that he should be branded with the "note of an Atheist. On the other side Queen *Elizabeth* answered, *If the Duke would plentifully water the Seeds of the purer Religion already sown, and suffer more to be sown, he should soon see that it would be unto him the highest Honour attainable.*

The *French* Reply.

The Queen's Answer.

The Issue.

At length it came to this Issue, "That if the Duke would be pre- "sent with the Queen at the Celebration of Divine Service, and "would not refuse to hear and learn the Principles of the Protestant "Religion, she would agree that neither the Duke nor his Family "should be constrained to use the Rites and Ceremonies of the "Church of *England*, nor molested in the use of other Divine Rites "not openly and manifestly repugnant to God's Word, provided it "were done in a certain and private place; and no occasion thereby "given to the *English* to break the Laws established. *Foix* stuck at that word, *The Word of God:* For whose Satisfaction Queen *Elizabeth* commanded, in stead of *God's Word*, to put in *God's Church*.

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Which when he liked worſe, and for it he would have had added, *The Catholick Church*, Queen *Elizabeth* flatly refuſed. And hereupon the matter by little and little grew cold.

With what Intent the Marriage was propounded.

Some thought that this was never ſeriouſly intended by the *French* King and his Mother, but that the Driſt was, that the mention of Marriage with a Proteſtant Princeſs might be a Pledge of their ſincere Affection toward the Proteſtants, and might give ſome Stop to a ſecret Treaty of Marriage which they ſuſpected was carrying on betwixt Queen *Elizabeth* and the King of *Navar*, whom the *French* King deſired for an Husband to his Siſter. Neither was it believed in *England* that it was ſeriouſly entertained by Queen *Elizabeth*, but onely that the Proteſtants of *France* might by this means find the King and his Mother and Brethren the more favourable, the Queen of *Scots* Hopes might be weakned, the Practices of the *Spaniard* and the *Iriſh* againſt *England* by means of the Cardinall of *Lorrain* diſappointed, and the Pope's Fulminations, procured by the *French* King, ſcattered and blown over. For at that time *Leiceſter* (who dived farther into Queen *Elizabeth*'s ſecret Thoughts then any man) wrote to *Walſingham*, then Embaſſadour in *France*, *That the Queen had ſome Inclination to marry, but it was a very cold one; and that ſhe perſwaded herſelf, that it was rather convenient ſhe ſhould marry, then that ſhe had any Deſire of herſelf to it. Moreover, that if the Duke of* Anjou *ſhould not ſtand upon that Point in the Treaty concerning Toleration of Religion, yet would Queen* Elizabeth *bind him by ſome ſuch Caution that he ſhould never care more for the Marriage.*

The Queen of *Scots* Marriage haſtned.

The *French* took not ſo great Care and Pains for the concluding of this Marriage, but ſome *Engliſh* took as great to haſten another Marriage betwixt the Queen of *Scots* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom they had by their corrupt Counſels drawn again to that paſs, that, contrary to what he had promiſed, he began to think again of Marriage with her: which was firſt thus diſcovered.

By what means diſcovered.

Ridolph the *Florentine*, who was ſent (as I ſaid) into forrein Parts to ſolicite the Queen of *Scots* Affairs, had imparted to *Charles Bailiſe* a *Netherlander*, the Queen of *Scots* Servant, all his Tranſactions with the Duke of *Alva*, and had delivered him Letters written in Cyphers for her, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Roſſe*, and the Lord *Lumley*, made up all in one Packet: which *Bailiſe* brought over himſelf, though *Roſſe* had commanded he ſhould leave them with the Governour of *Calice* to be ſent over.

But as ſoon as *Bailiſe* was arrived in the Haven of *Dover*, he was apprehended and impriſoned, and the Packet of Letters ſent to the Lord *Cobham*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports: Whereof *Roſſe* was the firſt that had any Notice; who dealt ſo carefully and cunningly with the Lord *Cobham*, being a Favourer of the Duke's Purpoſe, that the ſaid Packet was delivered to him, and another Packet made up of old inſignificant Letters delivered to the Council, and this alſo was notified to *Bailiſe*. He, being put to the Rack, confeſſed ſome

1571. ſome things, and amongſt others, that a Packet of Letters came to *Roſſe* his hands. Neither was *Roſſe* ignorant of this, who preſently diſpatched *Cuthbert* his Secretary privately to leave his Cyphers, and whatſoever elſe might doe any Hurt, abroad amongſt his Friends; ſo that when *Suſſex*, *Burghley*, *Mildmay* and *Sadlier* diligently ſearched his Houſe, they found nothing, nor could they draw any thing from him by Queſtions, who obſtinately maintained, that an Embaſſadour was not to give Account to any but his Prince. Nevertheleſs he was committed the third day after to the Cuſtody of the Biſhop of *Ely*, and within a while after conveyed into the Iſle of *Ely*. Sir *Thomas Stanley* alſo and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Knights, and *Rolſton*, (all three mentioned before,) were caſt into the Tower of *London*. And *Henry Howard* (who had aſpired to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*) was upon Suſpicion committed to the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Roſſe committed to Cuſtody, and others.

About the ſame time the Queen of *Scots* had ſent a certain Summe of Money to the French Embaſſadour, to be conveyed to her Party in *Scotland*. The Embaſſadour delivered it to *Barker* and *Higford*, who, acquainting the Duke therewith, delivered it to *Brown* a Citizen of *Shrewsbury*, one of the Duke's Retainers, to be conveyed by *Baniſter* and *Lowder* into *Scotland*, to the Lord *Heris*. *Brown*, being a man of a nature apt to ſuſpect, and finding by the Weight that Gold Coin was delivered him for Silver, put the ſame with the Letters into the Council's hands.

Money ſent to the Queen's party in *Scotland*, betrayed.

Herein the wiſer ſort have obſerved that the Duke firſt made himſelf guilty of High treaſon, in that he relieved *Heris* and the *Scots*, who were proclaimed Enemies, and had waſted the Borders of *England*. Hereupon *Higford* was carried to Priſon, who of his own accord preſently confeſſed the whole matter touching the Money, and withall revealed in what places he had hid the Letters and Cyphers, and alſo the Queen of *Scots* Commentary before mentioned, viz. under the Mat and Tiles.

In this Commentary ſhe diſcourſed theſe things following at large. "That the *French* approved of the Conference begun with the *Scots*, "and yet propounded the Marriage of the Duke of *Anjou* with "Queen *Elizabeth*, and that to no other end, but that they might have "the better Pretence to deny the Aid promiſed for her Reſtitution. "That the ſame *French* privately oppoſed her Marriage with Don "*John* of *Auſtria*, and highly favoured that with *Norfolk*, in Hatred "to the *Spaniards*. That the Duke of *Alva* did ſo far condemn the "Deſign for ſending back the Queen of *Scots* into *Scotland*, that he "thought it to be attended with the utter Undoing of the Queen, "and Overthrow of the Catholick Religion in *Britain*; for the "Queen being returned into *Scotland*, muſt of neceſſity either un- "dergoe the Danger of being beſieged, or elſe hazzard a Battell "with the Rebells, who with the Help of the *Engliſh* would ſoon get "her into their power, before any forrein Forces could come to her "Aſſi-

A Breviary of the Queen of *Scots* Commentary.

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"Aſſiſtence. Seeing then ſhe could not be ſafe in *Scotland*, and from "*France* there was ſmall Hope, that being imbroiled with Wars with- "in itſelf; he thought it her beſt Courſe to fly to the *Spaniard's* "Help, who had profered her Marriage with Don *John* of *Au-* "*ſtria*: (which notwithſtanding ſhe would refuſe, having given "her Faith that the Popiſh Religion in *Britain* ſhould be reſtored by "*Norfolk*:) as alſo that her Son ſhould forthwith be conveyed "out of *Scotland*, and ſent into *Spain*; for ſo he would be kept in "Safety, and inſtructed in the *Romiſh* Religion from his very Child- "hood, and withall all Pretences would be taken from the *Scots*, "who cloaked their Rebellion under his Name. That to ſolicite "theſe matters, and to procure forrein Aſſiſtence, *Ridolph* was to be "ſent away preſently, who was to have private Direction, in any caſe "to conceal theſe things from the *French*.

When the Council had received this Commentary, and the Letters before mentioned, as likewiſe other Letters ſent from the Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Barker* being apprehended had confeſſed all theſe things, Sir *Ralph Sadleir* was commanded to keep a Guard upon the Duke's Houſe at *London*, (which in times paſt had been an Houſe of the *Carthuſian* Monks.) The third day after the Duke himſelf was examined, and (not knowing what his Servants had confeſſed, but ſuppoſing the ſaid Commentary with the Letters had been burnt,) denied all things which they had confeſſed. Hereupon within a day or two, namely, the 7. of *September*, he was, to the great Grief of the people, brought back again to the Tower of *London* (from whence he was ſet at Liberty a year before) by Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, and Doctor *Wilſon*. Afterwards *Baniſter*, who was the Duke's Counſellour at Law, the Earls of *Arundell* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*, and *Thomas* his Brother, *Henry Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, *Goodyer*, and others, were committed to Priſon, who every one of them in hopes of Pardon confeſſed what they knew.

Norfolk again committed to the Tower,

and ſome others.

As ſoon as the Council produced theſe mens Confeſſions, the Queen of *Scots* and the Biſhop of *Roſſe's* Letters, with the foreſaid Commentary, to the Duke's Face, he was wonderfully troubled: but when he looked upon the Commentary and the Letters, which he thought had been burnt, he was abaſhed, and brake forth into theſe words, *I am betrayed and undone by my own Confidents, being loth to miſtruſt them, which is the Strength and Nerves of Wiſedome.* But he humbly beſought the Council to make Interceſſion for him to the Queen, promiſing to conceal nothing which he knew, and religiouſly proteſting that he had conſented to nothing which might be prejudiciall to the Queen or hurtfull to the Realm; yea, he had condemned from his heart the Plots laid for ſurprizing the Queen, for ſeizing upon the Tower of *London*, and delivering the Queen of *Scots* out of Cuſtody: and that he never thought of calling in forrein Forces into *Britain*, but onely to ſuppreſs the *Scots* who rebelled againſt their

He confeſſeth the matter,

and craveth Pardon,

extenuating his Fault.

1571. Queen. The ſame day he was examined upon fifty Articles or thereabouts, and concealed nothing. Then was the whole Proceeding reported in the Star-Chamber, in a full Aſſembly of the Nobility, the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of *London* being preſent; and afterwards to all the Citizens at the *Guild-Hall*, by *William Fleetwood* Recorder.

A Conſultation concerning the Biſhop of *Roſs*.

But whereas by the Confeſſions of them all, yea and of the Duke himſelf, the Biſhop of *Roſſe* was charged as the Contriver of the Buſineſs, they entred into a ſerious Conſultation what ſhould be done with him, being an Embaſſadour. For whileſt he (as the manner of that ſort of men is) thought it was lawfull for him to promote the Service of his Prince by what means ſoever, and that by the ſacred and inviolable Priviledge of Embaſſadours he was not to be accountable to another's Jurisdiction, he had for a good while done many irregular things, by kindling Rebellion, and holding nocturnall Conſultations with the Earl of *Southampton* and others, and now at laſt with the Engliſh Fugitives in the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Alva*, the *Spaniard*, and the Biſhop of *Rome*, for Invading of *England*. Theſe Caſes therefore were propounded to *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubrey*, and *Henry Jones*, learned Civil-Lawyers.

Queſtions and Anſwers concerning an Embaſſadour.

Firſt, *Whether an Embaſſadour who ſtirreth up Rebellion againſt the Prince to whom he is ſent ſhould enjoy the Priviledges of an Embaſſadour, and not rather be liable to Puniſhment as an Enemy.*

They anſwered, "That ſuch an Embaſſadour hath by the Law of "Nations, and by the Civil Law of the *Romans*, forfeited all the Pri-"viledges of an Embaſſadour, and is liable to Puniſhment.

Secondly, *Whether the Miniſter or Agent of a Prince depoſed from the Exerciſe of his Authority, and in whoſe place another is ſubſtituted, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Embaſſadour.*

They anſwered, "If ſuch a Prince have been lawfully depoſed, his "Agent cannot challenge the Priviledges of an Embaſſadour; foraſ-"much as none but abſolute Princes, and ſuch as enjoy the Preroga-"tives of Majeſty, can conſtitute Embaſſadours.

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince which hath come into another Prince his Kingdome, and is there kept in Cuſtody, may have his Agent; and whether he may be reputed an Embaſſadour.*

They anſwered, "If ſuch a Prince have not forfeited his Princi-"pality, he may have an Agent: but whether that Agent may be re-"puted an Embaſſadour, that depended upon the Authority of his "Commiſſion.

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince declare to ſuch an Agent and his Prince in Cuſtody, that the ſaid Agent ſhall from thenceforth no longer be reputed an Embaſſadour, the ſaid Agent may by Law challenge the Priviledges of an Embaſſadour.*

They anſwered, "That the Prince may prohibit the Embaſſadour "Entrance into his Kingdome, and may command him to depart out

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out of his Kingdome, if he keep not himſelf within the Bounds preſcribed an Embaſſadour: yet in the mean time he is to enjoy the Priviledges of an Embaſſadour according to the Authority deputed to him.

Roſſe diſowned for an Embaſſadour.

According to theſe Anſwers of the learned Lawyers, *Roſſe*, being called up from the Iſle of *Ely*, and ſharply rebuked, it was declared to him by the Council, that he ſhould no longer be acknowledged for an Embaſſadour, but ſeverely puniſhed as one that had well deſerved it. He anſwered, *That he was Embaſſadour of an abſolute Queen, and of one that was unjuſtly depoſed, and had, according to his Duty, carefully endeavoured the Delivery of his Princeſs, and the Safety of both Kingdoms: That he came into* England *with full Authority of an Embaſſadour, and that upon publick Warrandiſe or Safe conduct, which he had produced; and that the ſacred Priviledges of Embaſſadours are by no means to be violated.* His Anſwer.

Burghley moſt gravely ſhewed him, that neither the Priviledges of an Embaſſage, nor Letters of publick Warrandiſe, can protect Embaſſadours that offend againſt the publick Majeſty of a Prince, but they are liable to penal Actions for the ſame: otherwiſe lewd Embaſſadours might attempt the Life of Princes without any Puniſhment. He obſtinately maintained to the contrary, That the Priviledges of Embaſſadours have never been violated (to uſe his own words) *viâ juris*, that is, *by way of Right*, but *viâ facti*, that is, *by way of Fact*; and pleaſantly wiſhed, that he might be no harſhlier dealt withall then were the Engliſh Embaſſadours, *Throckmorton* in *France*, and *Randolph* and *Tamworth* in *Scotland*, who had raiſed Rebellions, and openly fomented them, and yet endured no heavier Cenſure, then that they were commanded to depart within certain days prefixed. *Burghley's* Reply.

Roſſe's Anſwer.

When they began to urge him with Teſtimonies of Engliſh-men, he kindly prayed them not to doe it, foraſmuch as by a conſtantly-received Cuſtome, which (as he ſaid) was grown into the Force of a Law, *The Teſtimony of an* Engliſh-*man againſt a* Scot, *or of a* Scot *againſt an* Engliſh *man, was not to be admitted.* He waveth the Teſtimonies of Engliſh-men.

After ſome Diſputes, whether this had any place ſave onely betwixt the Borderers of both Kingdoms, and that in caſes relating to the Borders, and whether the Engliſh Embaſſadours had raiſed Rebellions, *Roſſe* was conveyed to the Tower of *London*, where, being kept very ſtreightly, in a ſhort time he anſwered to all Queſtions, with Proviſo that his Anſwers ſhould not be prejudicial to any. He anſwereth to Articles.

The Queen of *Scots* he excuſed, "That ſhe, being a Priſoner, and in the Flower of "her Age, could not but endeavour by all means to ſet herſelf free, "ſeeing Queen *Elizabeth* excluded her from all Acceſs unto her, bar-"red her from all Hope of her Liberty, and openly relieved her Ad-"verſaries. The Duke he excuſed, "That he had done nothing "touching the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* but with the Con-"ſent of many of the Queen's Council; neither could he forſake her, "although he had promiſed ſo to doe under his Hand and Seal, in "regard there was a Promiſe before betwixt them of future Mar-"riage.

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"baſſadour and a Servant, he could not without juſt Blame be wan-
"ting to his Duty, and fail his Princeſs in her afflicted Condition.
"As for the Deſign for Intercepting Queen *Elizabeth*, he propoſed
"it to no other end, but to try whether the Duke's mind were ready
"to undertake ſuch an Adventure. The reſt of the Conſpirators
crimes he cunningly extenuated, but could by no means be brought
to tell the Names of the Gentlemen who had vowed their Service to
the Duke in Intercepting the Queen. But he confeſſed that, by Com-
mand of the Queen of *Scots*, he had, by Servants employed betwixt
them, treated with the Duke, *Arundell*, *Lumley*, and *Throckmorton*,
and with the Lord Viſcount *Montacute* by *Lumley*, about delivering
the Caſtles in *Scotland*, the Hoſtages, and the King of *Scots*, into the
Engliſh-mens hands, about Renouncing the Title, and giving up the
Engliſh Rebels. Thus far of theſe matters for this Year, and all out
of the Confeſſion of the Duke, and *Roſſe* his own Commentary under
his Hand ſent to the Queen of *Scots*.

Lenox Regent of *Scotland* ſlain.

At this very time had *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, Regent of
Scotland, the King's Grandfather, ſummoned in the King's Name an
Aſſembly of the Eſtates at *Sterling*; where (while he ſpent his time
in Security) he was ſurprized at unawares by the Nobility of the
adverſe Faction, who held a Parliament in the Queen's Name at *E-
denborough*. And after he had yielded himſelf to *David Spenſe* of
Wormeſtone, (who laboured all he could to protect him,) he was ſlain
together with him by *Bell* and *Caulder*, after he had carefully gover-
ned the Kingdome about the ſpace of fourteen moneths for the King
his Grandſon: whileſt on the one ſide the French King maintained
the Queen's Party, and on the other ſide Queen *Elizabeth* ſuppor-
ted the King's, not ſo much that their Friends might overcome, as
that they might not be overcome; Queen *Elizabeth* out of Hope that
the young King might be delivered into her Hands, the French King,
that *Dunbriton* and *Edenborough* might be delivered up to him, who
heavily troubled the Scottiſh Merchants, prohibiting them Com-
merce in *France*, and drew many daily to the Queen of *Scots* Party,
in hopes they might enjoy their Trading. In *Lenox* his room was
elected for Regent by general Conſent of the King's Party *John*
Areskin, Earl of *Marre*: who, finding himſelf no leſs toſſed and trou-
bled with the Counſels of his own Party then with the Inſultings of
his Adverſaries, being a man of a very mild Spirit, and loving Affec-
tion to his Country, departed this life for very Grief, after he had
governed thirteen moneths.

The Earl of *Marre* Regent of *Scotland*.

Laws againſt turbulent and ſeditious perſons.

The Iniquity of theſe Times, and the Love of the Eſtates of *Eng-
land* (which were then aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*) towards their
Prince and Countrey, extorted a Law for preventing the Practices
of Seditious perſons, by which it was Enacted and provided, accor-
ding to the Tenour of former Laws, *That if any man ſhould attempt
the Deſtruction or perſonall Hurt of the Queen, or raiſe War, or excite
others*

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others to war againſt her; If any man ſhould affirm that ſhe is not, or ought not of right to be deemed, Queen of this Realm, but that the Kingdome is more juſtly due to any other; or ſhould pronounce her to be an Heretick, Schiſmatick, or Infidell; or ſhould uſurp the Right and Title of the Kingdome during her Life; or affirm that any other hath a Right to the Crown; or that the Laws and Statutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the Crown and the Succeſſion thereof; every ſuch perſon ſhould be guilty of High treaſon. That if any man, during the Queen's Life, ſhould by any Book, written or printed, expreſly maintain that any perſon is or ought to be Heir or Succeſſour to the Queen, except the ſame be the natural Iſſue of her Body; or ſhould wilfully publiſh, print or utter any Books or Writings to that effect; he and his Abettors ſhould for the firſt Offence ſuffer Impriſonment for one whole year, and forfeit the one half of his Goods: and if any ſhould offend therein the ſecond time, he ſhould incurre the Penalty of a Præmunire, *that is, Loſs of all his Goods, and perpetual Impriſonment.*

This ſeemed harſh to ſome, who were of opinion that it would make for the Tranquillity of the Realm if an Heir apparent were deſigned. But incredible it is what Jeſts thoſe that lewdly catch at Words made amongſt themſelves upon occaſion of that Clauſe, *Except the ſame be the natural Iſſue of her Body*; foraſmuch as the Lawyers term thoſe Children *Natural* who are gotten out of Wedlock, whom Nature alone, and not honeſt Wedlock, hath begotten: and thoſe they call *Lawfull*, according to the ordinary form of the Common Law of *England*, *who are lawfully procreated of the Body.* Inſomuch as I myſelf, being then a young man, have heard ſome oftentimes ſay, that that word was inſerted into the Act of purpoſe by *Leiceſter*, that he might one day obtrude upon the Engliſh ſome Baſtard-ſon of his for the Queen's *natural* Iſſue.

Againſt Papiſts.

It was alſo Enacted, "That they who by Bulls or other Inſtru-"ments of the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould reconcile any man to the "Church of *Rome*, and thoſe alſo who ſhould be ſo reconciled, "ſhould incurre the Penalty of High treaſon. That thoſe who ſhould "relieve ſuch as did ſo reconcile men, or ſhould bring into *England* "any *Agnus-Dei's*, Grains, Crucifixes, or other things Conſecrated by "the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould undergoe the Penalty of a *Præmunire*. "That they who ſhould not diſcover ſuch as did ſo reconcile ſhould "be guilty of concealing Treaſon, (*Miſpriſion of Treaſon* they call it.)

Againſt Rebells.

Moreover the Conviction and Proſcription of the Rebels in the North was confirmed, and their Goods and Poſſeſſions within the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme* adjudged to the Queen and her Succeſſours, (againſt *James Pilkington* the Biſhop, who challenged the Royalties between the Rivers of *Teſe* and *Tine*,) in regard ſhe had with great Charges delivered both the Biſhop and the Biſhoprick from the Rebels: yet ſo as this ſhould not prejudice the Right and Title of the Church of *Dureſme* for the future. Againſt the Inſolency alſo of ſuch as, being devoted to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and contemning the Autho-

Againſt Fugitives.

1571. Authority of the Laws, and their Obedience to their Prince, had daily withdrawn themſelves in great numbers, without the Queen's Licence, into forrein Countries, to contrive Innovations in the State, it was provided, upon Pain of Loſs of Goods, "That they ſhould with-"in a time prefixed return and ſubmit themſelves; and that the frau-"dulent Conveiances which they had made ſhould be void. So much againſt the Papiſts.

Againſt covetous Church-men.

On the other ſide alſo was reſtrained by wholeſome Laws as well the Covetouſneſs of certain Church-men, who (as if they were born for themſelves alone) did, to the notorious Defrauding of their Succeſſours, waſt the Goods of the Church, and let Leaſes for many years; as alſo the Inſolency of others, who, affecting Innovation, oppoſed the Articles concluded in a Synod at *London* in the year one thouſand five hundred ſixty and two for aboliſhing of Schiſms.

Againſt Puritans.

Againſt the Queen of *Scots*.

It was alſo propounded, "That if the Queen of *Scots* ſhould again "offend againſt the Laws of *England*, ſhe ſhould be proceeded a-"gainſt by Law, as a Peer's Wife of the Realm of *England*. But the Queen by her Authority hindred the Enacting thereof.

John Story condemned.

As ſoon as the Eſtates of the Realm were riſen, in the beginning of *June*, a Conſultation was had concerning *John Story*, Doctor in the Laws, one of the Duke of *Alva*'s Searchers for Engliſh Commodities imported into the Spaniſh *Netherlands*, (of whom I made mention before in the year 1569.) whether he, being an Engliſh man born, who in *Brabant* had conſulted with a forrein Prince about invading his own Country, and had ſhewed the beſt way of invading it, could be charged with High treaſon. The ableſt Lawyers affirmed that he might. Whereupon he was arraigned, and being to be charged with Treaſon for having conſulted with one *Preſtall*, a man much addicted to Magical Illuſions, againſt his Prince's Life, for having conſpired the Deſtruction of her and the King of *Scots*, curſed her daily in his Grace at Meals, and ſhewed the Duke of *Alva*'s Secretary the way to invade *England*, to put *Ireland* into Rebellion, and to excite the *Scots* to break into *England*, all at once; he refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to Trial, and to the Laws of *England*, affirming that the Judges had no power over him, for that he was no ſworn Subject to the Queen of *England*, but to the King of *Spain*. But he was condemned according to the ordinary Form of *Nihil dicit*, (becauſe no man can ſhake off his Countrey wherein he was born, nor abjure his native Soil, or his Prince, at his pleaſure,) and ſuffered the Death of a Traitour.

Differences between the *Engliſh* and the *Portugals* compounded.

There had been now for ſome years Differences depending betwixt the *Portugal* and *Engliſh* Merchants, whileſt the *Engliſh* had from the year 1552. exerciſed a gainfull Trade for Gold with the *Negroes* or *Black-moors* on that Coaſt of *Africa* which they call *Guinea*; and the *Portugals*, as the firſt Diſcoverers of thoſe Coaſts, did the beſt they could by Force and Arms to hinder them from ſo doing: inſomuch as now and then they had Conflicts at Sea, and made Seizure of one a-

nothers

nothers Ships. But *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugall*, who was now out of his Minority, to procure a Peace, ſent *Francis Gerard* into *England*, who ſtruck up a League with the Queen in theſe or the like Words. *That there ſhould be a perfect Amity and free Commerce on both ſides: That neither of them ſhould attempt any thing in Prejudice of the other, nor aſſiſt the Enemies, Rebels or Traitours of the other: That all Merchandize, Money and Ships arreſted ſhould be reſtored. And that the Queen, to gratifie the King of* Portugall, *ſhould prohibit the* Engliſh *making any Voiages to the Seas and Lands of the Conqueſts of* Portugall; *and if they ſhould ſo doe, they ſhould ſtand to their own Perill, in caſe they ſhould be deprived of Goods and Life by the* Portugalls. *The Kingdomes of* Portugall *and* Algarbe *were excepted; and alſo the Iſles of* Azores, Madera, *and the Coaſt of* Barbary, *in all which free Trading was allowed.* 1571.

This year *William Parr* Marqueſs of *Northampton* ſweetly ended his Life, a man very well verſed in the more delightfull ſort of Studies, as Muſick, Love-toyes, and other Courtly Dalliances. He was advanced by King *Henry* the Eighth, firſt to the Dignity of Baron *Parr* of *Kendal*, and then to the Marriage of *Anne Bourchier*, the ſole Heireſs to the Earl of *Eſſex*; and withall to the Title of Earl of *Eſſex*, the King having married his Siſter. And by King *Edward* the Sixth to the Style and Honour of Marqueſs of *Northampton*. Under Queen *Mary* he was condemned of Treaſon, becauſe he took up Arms for the pretended Queen *Jane Grey*: yet was he ſoon after pardoned by her, and reſtored to his Eſtate; as he was afterwards by Queen *Elizabeth* to his Honours. Children he had none, but left for his Heir *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Nephew by one of his Siſters. The Death of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*.

Now alſo *John Jnell* rendred his Soul to God, being ſcarce fifty years of age, a man of an excellent Wit, exquiſite Learning, and ſinlar Piety. He was born of honeſt Parentage in *Devonſhire*, and proved a moſt excellent Student at the Univerſity of *Oxford* in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge. Under Queen *Mary* he lived an Exile in *Germany*. By Queen *Elizabeth* he was promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*. In the year 1562. he ſet forth an *Apology for the Church of England*; and in two Volumes in the Engliſh Tongue he moſt learnedly maintained the Proteſtant Doctrine againſt *Thomas Harding*, a Revolter from the ſame: Which Volumes are now extant tranſlated into Latine. And of Biſhop *John Jnell*.

Ireland was at this time reaſonably quiet; for Sir *John Perott*, Preſident of *Munſter*, purſued *James Fitz-Moris*, who had rifled *Kilmalock*, in ſuch ſort that he was glad to hide himſelf in Lurking-holes near *Ardagh*; and at length (as we will ſhew in its proper place) drove him to thoſe Streights, that he humbly craved Pardon. *Sidney* Lord Deputy returned into *England*, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, who had married his Siſter, was ſubſtituted in his room. Iriſh matters. Sir *John Perott* Preſident of *Munſter*. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputy.

The

1572.

The Fifteenth Year of Her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1572.

THE beginning of the new Year preſented the *Londoners* with a new and ſad Spectacle in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. For a wooden Scaffold was there erected from the Gate through the midſt of the Hall to the upper end, where there was a Tribunall or Judgement-ſeat, with Benches on both ſides, ſuch a Sight as they had not ſeen in full eighteen years. Before this Judgement-ſeat was *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, brought the ſixteenth day of *January*, between Sir *Owen Hopton* Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir *Peter Carew*, Knights, the fatall Axe being born before him with the Edge from him. Upon the Judgement-ſeat ſate *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, conſtituted Lord high Steward of *England* for that day. And on both ſides of him ſate thoſe Noblemen who were appointed to be his Triers, whom we call *Peers*; namely,

The Duke of *Norfolk* arraigned.

His Peers.

Reginald Grey Earl of *Kent*,
Thomas Ratcliffe Earl of *Suſſex*,
Henry Haſtings Earl of *Huntingdon*,
Francis Ruſſell Earl of *Bedford*,
Henry Herbert Earl of *Pembroke*,
Edward Seimour, or of *Saint Maur*, Earl of *Hertford*,
Ambroſe Dudley Earl of *Warwick*,
Robert Dudley Earl of *Leiceſter*,
Walter D' Evereux Viſcount *Hereford*,
Edward Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admirall,
William Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlain,
William Cecyl Lord *Burghley*, Secretary,
Arthur Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*,
James Blount Lord *Mountjoy*,
William Lord *Sands*,
Thomas Lord *Wentworth*,
William Lord *Burroughs*,
Lewis Lord *Mordant*,
John Powlet Lord *Saint-John* of *Baſing*,
Robert Lord *Rich*,
Roger Lord *North*,
Edmund Bruges Lord *Chandos*,
Oliver Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletneſho*,
Thomas Sackvill Lord *Buckhurſt*, and
William Weſt Lord *De la-Ware*.

The form of the Arraignment.

After Silence proclaimed, the Commiſſion was read, wherein the Authority granted to the Lord Steward was contained: then was there a white Staff given into his hands by *Garter* King of Arms, which

which he forthwith delivered to his Gentleman-Uſher, who ſtanding by him held it upright all the time of the Arraignment. Then were the Earls and Barons called by their names, and every one anſwered to his Name. Silence being again commanded, the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to deliver his Writ, and to bring the Duke to the Barr. The Duke was preſently brought: On the one ſide of him was the Lieutenant of the Tower, on the other ſide Sir *Peter Carew*, and next unto him ſtood the Axe-bearer, with the Edge turned from the Duke. Then, after Silence once again proclaimed, the Clerk of the Crown ſpake to the Duke in this manner: Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *late of* Kenninghale *in the County of* Norfolk, *hold up thy Hand.* When he had holden up his Hand, the Clerk read with a loud voice the Crimes whereof he was arraigned, to wit; 1572.

The Heads of his Accuſation.

"That in the eleventh year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards, "the Duke had traitorouſly conſulted about Depoſing her from her "Throne, and taking away her Life; and by raiſing War, and bring-"ing in a forrein Power, to invade the Kingdome.

"That whereas he knew for certain, that *Mary* late Queen of "*Scots* had uſurped the Crown of *England*, with the Title and "Arms thereof, he notwithſtanding had gone about to contract "Marriage with her, (without acquainting the Queen,) and had lent "her a great Summe of Money, contrary to what he had promiſed "under his Hand.

"That whereas he very well knew, that the Earls of *Northumber-*"*land* and *Weſtmorland*, *Markenfield*, and others, had raiſed a Rebel-"lion againſt the Queen, and were driven into *Scotland*, he notwith-"ſtanding had relieved them with Money.

"That in the thirteenth year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* he "had by his Letters craved auxiliary Forces of *Pius Quintus*, Biſhop "of *Rome*, the Queen's profeſſed Enemy, the *Spaniard*, and the Duke "of *Alva*, to ſet the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty, and to reſtore the Po-"piſh Religion in *England*.

"Laſtly, That he had relieved *Heris* the *Scot*, and other the Queen's "Enemies in *Scotland*.

Theſe Articles being read, the Clark asked the Duke whether he were guilty, or not guilty.

He deſireth Counſell: which is denied him.

The Duke craved, that, if the Law would permit it, he might have an Advocate aſſigned him to defend his Cauſe. *Cateline* Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, that it could not be allowed by Law. *It is meet* (ſaid the Duke) *that I ſhould ſubmit myſelf to the Opinion of the Judges: but in this Caſe there are many nice Points, and I underſtood not till within theſe fourteen hours that I ſhould come to my Triall. I have been alſo unprovided of Books. I ſee now I muſt fight for my Life without Weapons. Yet I have heard that in the Reign of* Henry *the Seventh Sir* Humfrey Stafford *had Counſell aſſigned him in a Caſe of High treaſon. Dier* Lord Chief Juſtice in the Common Pleas anſwered, "Counſell was aſſigned *Stafford* about the Priviledge of Sanctuary,

1572. "from whence he was drawn by force: but for the matter of High "treason he pleaded his own Cause without an Advocate. *I must then* (said the Duke) *plead this day for my Life, my Estate, my Children, and* (*which is as much as all of them*) *for my Honesty*: (*as for my Honour, let it goe.*) *If I die innocent, God will not let it goe unrevenged. Yet let me ask this one Question, Whether that Enumeration of my Crimes be to be taken for true in every part, and to which part I must answer.* *Catelin* said, "Seeing the Causes are true, that Enumeration "is also to be taken for true. *I desire* (said the Duke) *to be informed whether every one of those Crimes be High treason. For I have heard say that in a Case of the Lord* Scroop's *in the Reign of* Henry *the Fourth*—As he was about to say more, the Clark interrupted him, crying, Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *art thou guilty of these Crimes, or no?* He said, *Not guilty.* The Clark asked him again, *How wilt thou be tried?* He answered, *To God and these Peers I commend my Cause. The Hainousness of these Crimes daunteth me, but the Royall Goodness of the Queen comforteth me again, from whom I could expect no more. But you, my Lord Steward, I earnestly beseech, that I may be dealt withall according to Right; and that my Memory, which is very short, may not be overcharged with any confused variety of matter. That I have you for my Peers and Judges, I acknowledge my self happy, to most of whose Integrities I would very willingly and gladly commit my Life. I have relied upon mine Innocency, and so have not shifted for my self by Flight. Yet can I not but ingenuously confess, I have failed of my Duty towards the Queen; howbeit in matters which import not High treason. I beseech you that those lighter Crimes may not be promiscuously accounted Crimes of High treason.*

He taketh his Trial.

The Charge. Then said *Barham*, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, "The Crimes of "High treason wherewith you stand charged are these. You have "plotted to deprive the Queen of her Kingdome and Life; You "designed to marry with the Queen of *Scots*; You invited forrein "Forces into the Kingdome; You assisted the Rebells; And you "relieved the *Scots*, the Queen's Enemies. *Barham*, (said the Duke) *do not, I pray you, aggravate the matter by words, by objecting that Marriage, and other matters which come not within the compass of High treason.* *Barham* turning himself to the Peers, urged the point.

The 1. Article of his Accusation, with the Duke's Answer. "He (saith he) who will take that Woman to Wife which claimeth the Kingdome, the same man affecteth the Kingdome. But "this the Duke went about when he was one of the Commissioners "at *York* to hear the Queen of *Scots* Cause; at what time he was "bound by Oath to weigh indifferently the Accusations and Defences on both sides. *That Case* (said the Duke) *hath severall things in it which amount not to the Charge of High treason.* The Lord Steward of *England* commanded the Duke not to stray from the matter by Digressions: who, when *Barham* clamorously insisted upon it, acknowledged that the Queen of *Scots* had claimed the Kingdome of *England*, but had long agoe desisted from her Claim. *Barham* shewed

shewed to the contrary, that she had not given it over, because she would not yet renounce the Title which she pretended; and sharply accused the Duke, that he had instructed the Queen of *Scots* Commissioners what they should answer; and this was proved out of the Bishop of *Rosse* his Confession. The Duke confessed that *Lidington* had mentioned the Marriage to him, but that he refused it; and Instructions to the Commissioners he gave none: and withall desired that *Rosse* might be brought face to face against him. 1572.

Then *Barham* pressed at large many things (already mentioned) concerning the Marriage, to prove that the Duke had affected the Crown, and urged with often repetition this Question, "What else "could the Duke propound to himself, while he resolved, without "acquainting the Queen, to take the Queen of *Scots* to Wife, a Wo- "man without Fortune, without a Kingdome, (her Son being now "established in the Kingdome of *Scotland*,) but that he might by her "enjoy the Kingdome of *England*, and consequently deprive the "Queen of her Crown and Life? *These things* (said the Duke) *are far fetcht, to prove me to have intended the Deposing and Destruction of the Queen.* The 2. Article of his Accusation, with his Answers.

"To come (said *Barham*) a little nearer: It is well known that "you plotted to seize the Tower of *London* into your hands, which "is the Strength of the Kingdome of *England*. So that it must needs "be you then attempted the Destruction of the Queen, forasmuch "as a Kingdom cannot brook a Consort. The Duke denied not but that one *Hopton* had proposed a way to take the Tower, but that he rejected it. "Why then (said *Barham*) did you consult with "the Earl of *Pembroke* about the same matter, who disswaded you "from it?. Concerning the Surprisal of the Tower of *London*.

Barham proceeded, and urged, that when the Queen required to have the young King of *Scots* and certain Castles with the *English* Rebels delivered into her Hands out of *Scotland*, the Duke underhand advised the *Scots* that they should not assent thereto. He accused him also, that he had attempted to convey the Queen of *Scots* out of Custody, and that after he had religiously promised under his Hand that he would have nothing to doe with her. Other Instances.

Now was *Candish* produced as a Witness, that the Duke seriously intended the Marriage, and had asked him, whether, if Queen *Elizabeth* should die, he would draw his Uncle to his Party. These things the Duke utterly denied, and rejected his Testimony, as a man necessitous and a beggarly Witness. It was farther proved, that the Duke had privily sent his Servant to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, to advise them not to break out into Rebellion, because it would be very dangerous. There were produced also the Queen of *Scots* Letters to the Duke, wherein she shewed herself troubled that *Northumberland* was taken before such time as he had taken up Arms for Rebellion. (For so it had been reported unto her, whether of set purpose or not, I cannot say.) *Candish* his Testimony rejected by the Duke.

1572.

To theſe things the Duke anſwered, *That it could not from theſe Grounds be probably concluded, that he had ſought the Deſtruction of the Queen; and that nothing yet produced was of any moment againſt him but onely the Biſhop of* Roſſe *his Teſtimony; and that (by the Authority of* Bracton, *a man of deep knowledge in our Common Laws,) was not to be admitted, becauſe he was a Forreiner. That he never made ſuch reckoning of the Earls of* Northumberland *and* Weſtmorland, *as to commit his Life into their hands. That his own Innocency had been ſuch a ſafe Bulwark to him, that he never had the leaſt thought of Flying.*

A Forreiner's Teſtimony not to be admitted.

The 3. Article of his Accuſation, with his Defence.

It is moſt notorious (ſaid *Gerard* the Queen's Atturney) that the Duke did ſeriouſly reſolve of Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* to the Deſtruction of the Queen. And that he alſo as ſeriouſly conſulted about Invading the Realm, is manifeſt by his Letters to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the *Spaniard*, and the Duke of *Alva*.

What Dealings he had with *Ridolpho* is now come to light by thoſe obſcure Notes in Cypher hid under the Tiles in *Howard*'s Houſe; as alſo by Letters (which he had commanded to be burnt) found under the Mat in the Portall of his Chamber. All which things may eaſily be proved by the Examinations of ſuch men as have been neither compelled by Torture, nor convicted of Treaſon. Hereunto the Duke anſwered, *Of thoſe Conſultations with the Pope and the* Spaniard *I was neither Authour, nor Favourer; nay I always miſliked them. They who are guilty of the Fault let them bear the Blame, and not lay it upon me, to excuſe themſelves.*

Gerard farther accuſed the Duke, That he had treated with *Ridolpho* about ten thouſand men out of *Flanders* to be landed at *Harwich*, a Port-town in *Eſſex*; and this out of *Barker*'s Examination: That Letters alſo were written by *Ridolpho* to the *Spaniard* and the Duke of *Alva*, whereto though the Duke ſubſcribed not, yet by *Roſs* his Advice he ſent *Barker* his Secretary to the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, to aſſure him that the Letters were his.

My Memory (ſaid the Duke) *faileth me, and cannot comprehend ſuch manifold variety of matter. Ye Lawyers have your brief Notes: I muſt anſwer* ex tempore. *Certainly it is very unlikely that I ſhould have dealt with the Biſhop of* Rome, *who have always been averſe from the Romiſh Religion. I had rather be drawn in pieces with Horſes, then revolt from the Religion which I profeſs. The very Situation of* Harwich *may eaſily clear me of this Accuſation. Who knoweth not how hard a matter it is to lead an Army through that Country, which is wholly incloſed with Hedges, and ſo encumbered by reaſon of the narrow Waies? If I had intended War againſt my Prince, I would certainly have provided my ſelf of Weapons; but this full ten years I have furniſhed myſelf with no more but eight Corſlets, and not any Powder at all. Such Letters I ſhould never have committed to* Barker's *Truſt, but rather to* Baniſter's, *who was to me as good as many* Barkers.

The Duke's averſeneſs from the Romiſh Religion.

Now were produced the Biſhop of *Roſſe* his Letters to the Queen of

of *Scots* from the Tower, which had been intercepted, by which the things aforeſaid were confirmed. 1572.

The Duke deſired he might ſee thoſe Letters; for he ſeemed to ſuſpect they were counterfeit. "Doubt them not, (ſaid the Lord Steward of *England*,) they are written with *Roſſe* his own Hand.

Then was alſo produced another ſhort Letter written with Oker, from the Duke to his man, wherein he commanded him to burn a Packet of Letters hidden in ſuch a place, and to lay the Blame upon *Roſſe*, who by the Priviledge of an Embaſſadour would eaſily elude the Law.

To theſe things he anſwered, *Being informed that it was commonly bruited abroad that I had accuſed many, I anſwered it by that ſhort Letter; and when I ſaw all things to be curiouſly ſearched into and inquired after, I commanded that Packet to be burnt, that I might ſave ſome from Danger.*

Bromley the Queen's Solicitor, or ſecond Atturney, produced *Ridolph*'s Letters, wherein he wrote that the Duke of *Alva* approved the Plot: he ſhewed alſo the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Letters to the Duke dated the fourth of the Nones of *May*. Then *Wilbraham* made an eloquent Speech concerning the Validity of the Teſtimonies of the Biſhop of *Roſſe* and the Duke's Servants. Whereto the Duke anſwered, *I know not how to refute ſo quaint and poliſhed an Oration. But yet that Oratour,* (ſaid he) *how able ſoever he be, hath in the mean time omitted to ſhew how great the power of Fear is, which oftentimes removeth a ſettled Mind from its place and ſtation.* And here again he quoted and urged *Bracton* againſt the Validity of forrein Witneſſes.

Catelin Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, that in ſuch Caſes as this, the Teſtimonies of Forreiners are of force, and it is in the Breaſt of the Peers to credit or diſcredit ſuch Teſtimonies. The Teſtimony of a Forreiner.

The next thing to be proved was, that the Duke had relieved the Rebels that were fled. And this appeared by the Counteſs of *Northumberland*'s Letters, wherein ſhe thanked the Duke for the Money wherewith he had ſupplied her Husband and her. The fourth Point of his Accuſation.

That which was laſt of all objected, concerning the Relieving of the *Scots*, the Queen's Enemies, was proved by the Duke's Letters to *Baniſter*, and *Baniſter*'s Confeſſion, and by the Money delivered to *Brown* of *Shrewsbury*. The fifth Point.

Here the Duke asked the Judges, *Whether the Subjects of another Prince who was confederate with the Queen were to be reputed the Queen's Enemies. Catelin* anſwered, They were; and that the Queen of *England* might make War with any Duke of *France*, and yet in the mean time be at Peace with the French King.

When it now grew towards Evening, the Lord Steward asked the Duke if he had any thing more to ſay for himſelf. The Duke anſwered, *I put my truſt in the Equity of the Laws.* The Lord Steward commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to take the Duke from the Bar; and after Silence proclaimed, turning to the Peers, he ſaid, *Ye have*

1572.

The Lord Steward's Direction to the Peers.

have heard how Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *being charged with High treaſon, and not confeſſing himſelf guilty, hath ſubmitted his Cauſe to God and you. It is your part therefore to conſider among yourſelves whether he be to be found guilty, and to give your Verdict according to your Conſcience and Honour.* And withall he willed them to withdraw themſelves, and adviſe together.

Their Verdict.

After a ſhort ſpace they returned to their Seats again. Then the Lord Steward, beginning with the laſt in order, ſaid, *My Lord* De-la-Ware, *is* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk *guilty of the High treaſons whereof he ſtands arraigned?* He, riſing up, and laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, anſwered, *Guilty.* And in like manner anſwered every one of the reſt, being asked in order.

Then was the Duke brought again to the Bar, to whom the Lord Steward ſpake in this manner: Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk, *Thou haſt been arraigned upon divers Crimes of High treaſon, and haſt ſubmitted thyſelf to God and theſe thy Peers, who have all of them found thee guilty. Haſt thou any thing to ſay why Judgement ſhould not be given againſt thee?* The Duke anſwered, *God's will be done, who will judge between me and my falſe Accuſers.*

Silence being now kept, the Edge of the Axe was turned towards him: when preſently *Barham* required the Lord Steward in the Queen's Name to give Judgement; which he, with Tears burſting forth, pronounced according to the uſual Form, in theſe words: *Foraſmuch as thou* Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk *haſt been charged with High treaſon, and haſt denied thyſelf to be guilty, and haſt ſubmitted thyſelf to the Trial of thy Peers, who have found thee guilty; This Bench adjudgeth thee to be carried back from hence to the Tower, then to be laid upon an Hurdle, and drawn through the midſt of the City to the Gallows, there to be hanged, and being half dead to be taken down, bowelled, and, after thy Head is cut off, to be quartered into four parts; thy Head and Body to be done with according to the Queen's Pleaſure. And God have mercy on thy Soul.*

Sentence of death pronounced.

The Duke, having heard this Sentence, anſwered with an undaunted Spirit, *Sentence is given againſt me as againſt a Traitour: I truſt in God and the Queen: and I hope though I be excluded from your Society, I ſhall ſhortly enjoy the Heavenly. I will make myſelf ready to die. This one thing onely I crave, that the Queen would be good to my Children and Servants, and take care that my Debts be paid.*

These things which I heard with mine own ears I have the more exactly penned down, becauſe in great and weighty matters it may concern Poſterity to have the very leaſt Particulars thereof recorded.

Barney and *Mather* executed.

Some few days after *Barney* and *Mather* were executed, who had conſpired with one *Herle*, a lewd Companion of theirs, to make away ſome of the Councill, and deliver the Duke. But *Herle* ſoon revealed the matter: to whom *Barney* (when he ſaw him brought as his Accuſer) ſmiling ſaid, Herle, *thou haſt prevented me one Hour, elſe I had*

had ſtood in thy place as thy Accuſer, and thou hadſt ſtood here in mine as guilty, and to be hanged.

1572.

This Conſpiracy, and ſeverall other Practices to deliver the Priſoners, were the Cauſe that a Parliament was holden. Againſt which the Queen honoured *Walter Deverenx*, Viſcount *Hereford*, with the Title of Earl of *Eſſex*, who by his Great-grandmother drew his Deſcent from the *Bourchiers* Earls of *Eſſex:* and *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, who had a fair Eſtate in the County of *Lincoln*, with the Title of Earl of *Lincoln*. Alſo *John Powlet* of *Baſing*, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*'s Son, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheiney*, and *Henry Norris*, ſhe called by Summons as Barons to this Parliament.

Earls created.

Barons made.

At this time the Eſtates of the Realm by Act of Parliament ordained, *That thoſe who ſhould ſurprize, demoliſh, or burn any of the Queen's Forts, ſhould be guilty of Felony:* and *That thoſe who ſhould hold the ſame by force againſt the Queen, burn her Ships, or ſtop up her Havens, ſhould be guilty of High treaſon.* Alſo, *That whoſoever ſhould practiſe to deliver any man impriſoned by the Queen's expreſs Command for Treaſon, or Suſpicion of Treaſon, before his Indictment, ſhould forfeit his Lands during life, and be impriſoned at the Queen's Pleaſure: If indicted, he ſhould incurr the pain of Death; and if condemned, the pain of High treaſon.*

An Act for ſecurity of Forts, &c.

Another againſt Attempts to reſcue Priſoners.

The Severity of theſe Laws, as it was needfull for the Time, ſo it ſeemed good to the Eſtates that it ſhould be but temporary, namely, during the Queen's Life. But the frequent Attempts of this nature were laid hold on as Arguments to haſten the Duke's Death: which notwithſtanding was deferred about the ſpace of four moneths. And ſooner then that could neither the Lower Houſe in Parliament, nor the Counſellours at Court, nor the zealous Preachers, (though they laid before her the greatneſs of the Dangers,) overcome her Majeſtie's Mercy.

But on the ſecond of *June*, by eight of the clok in the morning, the Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected upon Tower-hill: and when he was upon it, and *Alexander Nowell* Dean of *Paul*'s, who was there to comfort him, had prayed the Multitude that ſtood round about to keep Silence, he ſaid, *It is no new thing for men to ſuffer Death in this place, though ſince the beginning of our moſt gracious Queen's Reign I am the firſt, and God grant I may be the laſt.* The People cried, *Amen.* Then, (to tell briefly what I heard him ſpeak at large,) *I acknowledge* (ſaid he) *that my Peers have juſtly judged me worthy of Death, neither is it my meaning to excuſe myſelf. That I have treated with the Queen of* Scots *I freely confeſs, and that in matters of great Conſequence, without acquainting my Sovereign; which I ought not to have done: for which I was caſt into the Tower. I was afterwards ſet free, upon my humble Submiſſion, and giving my Faith that I would have no more to doe with her. Yet I confeſs I did the contrary, and this troubleth my Conſcience. But at the Communion-Table (as is commonly reported) I neither promiſed nor ſware it.* Ridolpho *I never talked with but once, and*

The Duke of *Norfolk* brought to Execution.

His Speech and Confeſſion at his Death.

1572. *and that not to the Prejudice of the Queen. For many men know I had Dealing with him for Money-matters upon Bills and Bonds. I found him to be a man that envied the Tranquillity of* England, *and of a prompt and ready Wit for any wicked Deſign. Two Letters from the Biſhop of* Rome *I ſaw, to which I aſſented not; nor yet to the Rebellion in the North. I have not been addicted to Popery ſince the time that I had any Taſte of Religion; but have always been averſe from Popiſh Doctrines, and embraced the true Religion of* Jeſus Chriſt, *and have put my whole Truſt in the Bloud of* Chriſt *my Redeemer and Bleſſed Saviour. Yet can I not deny but I have had amongſt my Servants and Familiars ſome that have been addicted to the Popiſh Religion. If I have thereby offended God, the Church, or the Proteſtants, I beſeech God and them to forgive me.*

The manner of his Death.

Then, after the Recitall of one or two Pſalms, he ſaid with a loud voice, *Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my Spirit.* Then embracing Sir *Henry Leigh*, he whiſpered ſome few things in his eare, as he did alſo to Dean *Nowell*, who, turning to the People, ſaid, "The Duke de-"ſires you that you will all joyn together in Prayer to God to have "Mercy on him, and withall keep Silence, leſt his Mind be diſcompoſed. Then the Executioner asked him Forgiveneſs, which he gave him. And when one reached him an Handkerchief to cover his Eyes, he refuſed it, ſaying, *I fear not Death.* And ſo falling upon his Knees, and fixing his Mind upon God, he laid himſelf down, Dean *Nowell* praying by him. Then ſtretching forth his Neck upon the Block, in an inſtant his Head was cut off at one Stroak, and was ſhewed by the Executioner as a lamentable Spectacle to the ſorrowing and weeping People.

Severall Judgements of him.

Incredible it is how dearly the People loved him: which Love he had got by his Bounty and ſingular Courteſie, not unbeſeeming ſo great a Prince. The wiſer ſort of men were diverſly affected about him. Some were terrified with the greatneſs of that Danger which, while he lived, ſeemed to threaten the State by means of him and his Faction. Others were moved with Pity towards him, as being a man of ſo noble Deſcent, ſingular Goodneſs of nature, goodly Perſonage, and manly Countenance, who might have been both a great Strength and Ornament to his Countrey, had not the cunning Practices of his malicious Adverſaries, and his own falſe Hopes attended with a Shew of the publick Good, diverted him from his firſt Courſe of life. They called alſo to remembrance the unhappy Fate of his Father, who, being a man moſt accompliſhed in all good Learning, and famous for martiall Glory, was beheaded in the ſame place five and twenty years before, and that for very light Cauſes, viz. for Quartering the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſour with his own; which notwithſtanding we reade that the *Mowbrays* Dukes of *Norfolk*, from whom he drew his Deſcent, had formerly born by Permiſſion of King *Richard* the Second.

His Father died the ſame death in the ſame place formerly.

Hieronimo Catena his Relation of this matter.

Here it will not be amiſs to add briefly what *Hieronymo Catena* hath left in writing concerning this matter, in the Life of *Pius Quintus* Biſhop

Biſhop of *Rome*, an Authour for his Faithfulneſs made free of the City of *Rome*, and Secretary to Cardinall *Alexandrino*, *Pius Quintus* his Nephew; that we may ſee out of what Shop this whole Buſineſs came, and by what perſons this Conſpiracy was plotted. "*Pius Quin-*
"*tus* (ſaith he) being inflamed with Zeal for reſtoring the Romiſh
"Religion in *England*, and depriving Queen *Elizabeth* of her King-
"dome, ſince he could not have an Apoſtolicall Nuncio, or any
"publick perſon, to carry on theſe matters, he procured one *Robert*
"*Ridolpho*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, (who lived in *England* under
"colour of Merchandizing) to animate mens minds to work the De-
"ſtruction of Queen *Elizabeth*. Which he diligently performed, not
"onely amongſt the Catholicks, but alſo with ſome Proteſtants, who
"in this conſpired together, ſome out of private Hatred to thoſe who
"aſpired to the Crown, and others affecting Innovations. Whileſt
"theſe things were privately acting, there happened a Difference be-
"twixt the *Spaniard* and Queen *Elizabeth*, about ſome Money that
"was intercepted. From hence the Pope taking occaſion, perſwaded
"the *Spaniard* to aſſiſt the Conſpiratours in *England* againſt Queen
"*Elizabeth*, that ſo he might the more ſecurely carry on his Affairs in
"the *Netherlands*, and the Romiſh Religion might be reſtored in *Bri-*
"*tain*. The *French* King alſo he perſwaded to doe the like, as ob-
"liged thereto for his Kinſwoman the Queen of *Scots* ſake; and by
"the good Service of the *Scots*, who had by their Incurſions diverted
"the Engliſh Forces from aiding the Proteſtants of *France*; as alſo by
"the Merit of thoſe Noblemen Conſpiratours in *England*, who had
"by their Artifices hindered the Queen of *England* from giving open
"Aſſiſtence to the Proteſtants of *France*. In which regard alſo the
"French King had promiſed them his Aid for Delivery of the Queen
"of *Scots*, and failed them. In the mean time *Ridolpho* ſo handled
"the matter, that the Conſpiratours drew the Duke of *Norfolk* into
"their number, and made him the Head of their Party, whom they
"promiſed Marriage with the Queen of *Scots*, ſhe alſo conſenting
"thereto. The Pope, to forward the matter, publiſhed a Bull, de-
"poſed the Queen from her Crown, and abſolved her Subjects from
"all their Oaths and Obedience, ſending printed Copies thereof to
"*Ridolpho*, to be diſperſed all over *England*. Hereupon the Earls of
"*Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland* took up Arms againſt their
"Prince; who ſoon after for lack of Money withdrew themſelves
"into *Scotland*. *Norfolk* and others were committed to Cuſtody;
"amongſt whom was *Ridolpho*, whom the Pope had commanded to
"furniſh the Conſpiratours with an hundred and fifty thouſand
"Crowns, which, being kept in Priſon, he could not doe.

"But foraſmuch as the Queen could not diſcover the depth of the
"Conſpiracy, he with the reſt was let out of Priſon, and then diſtri-
"buted thoſe Crowns amongſt the Conſpiratours, who ſent him to
"the Pope, to give him Notice that all things were prepared and in
"a readineſs at home againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and to intreat the

1572.

Pius Quintus his Contrivance againſt Queen *Elizabeth*,

with the *Engliſh*;

with the *Spaniard*;

with the *French*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* drawn in.

The Pope's Bull againſt the Queen.

The Northern Rebellion.

1572.

" *Spaniard* forthwith to assist them out of the *Low-Countries*. The " Pope commended the Enterprise; though the Duke of *Alva*, when " *Ridolpho* in his Journey imparted the matter to him, liked it not, " as a matter too full of Difficulty.

The *Portugall* and *Spaniard* dealt withall.

" The same *Ridolpho* he sent to the *Spaniard*, under another Pre- " tence, and to the *Portugall*, with Instructions: and at the same time " by Letters he promised Aid to *Norfolk*.

" The *Spaniard* he urged to aid the Conspirators, and the more " effectually to perswade him, he promised to goe himself to their " Succour, and, if need were, to morgage all the Goods of the Apo- " stolick See, Chalices, Crosses, and holy Vestments. As for Dif- " ficulty, there was none at all in it, if he would send *Chapini Vitelli* " out of the *Netherlands* with an Army into *England*. Which the " *Spaniard* with all Alacrity commanded forthwith to be done: and " the Pope himself provided Money in a readiness in the *Nether-* " *lands*.

The Duke of *Alva* oppo- seth the Design. For what Reason.

" These things pleased not the Duke of *Alva*, as well because he " envied *Vitelli* the Glory of this Action, and would have had his Son " preferred before him, as also because he feared some hostile At- " tempt from *France*. And he propounded to Consideration, whe- " ther *England* being conquered would fall to the *Spaniard*; whe- " ther the French King would not withstand it; and whether the " Bishop of *Rome* could sufficiently supply them for so great an Un- " dertaking. The *Spaniard* nevertheless commanded expressly that " he should make an Attempt against *England*, sending back *Ridolpho* " himself with Money into the *Netherlands*. Howbeit by God's Per- " mission the whole Plot was revealed to Queen *Elizabeth* by the " Discovery of some body without the Realm, and *Norfolk* was ta- " ken and put to death. Which the Pope took heavily, and the " *Spaniard* was troubled at it, who said in the presence of Cardinall " *Alexandrino*, the Pope's Nephew, That never any Conspiracy was " entred into with better Advice, nor with greater Consent and " Constancy concealed, which in so long a time was never discovered " by any of the Conspiratours: and that Forces might in four and " twenty hours time have easily been transported out of the *Nether-* " *lands*, which might at unawares have surprized the Queen and the " City of *London*, restored Religion, and established the Queen of " *Scots* in the Throne; especially considering that *Thomas Stukely*, " an English Fugitive, had taken upon him at the same time with " 3000 *Spaniards* to reduce all *Ireland* under the Subjection of the " *Spaniard*, and with one or two Pinnaces to fire the English Fleet.

The Succes frustrate.

The Pope and *Spani- ard's* Sorrow for it.

All this is written by *Hieronymo Catena*, some of which things were unknown to the *English* till such time as he published them in his Book printed at *Rome*, with the Priviledge of *Sixtus Quintus*, in the year one thousand five hundred eighty and eight.

Now to the purpose, if this be beside it.

Scarce were ten days come and gone after the Duke's Execution, when

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An Expoſtulation with the Queen of *Scots*.

when *William* Lord *De-la-Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, *Thomas Wilſon* Doctour of Law, and *Thomas Bromley* the Queen's Majeſtie's Solicitour, or ſecond Atturney, were ſent to the Queen of *Scots*, who was then caſt down into Mourning and Lamentations, to expoſtulate with her by way of Accuſation, "That ſhe had uſurped the Title and "Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had not renounced the ſame, "as was agreed in the Treaty of *Edenborough*: That for the more full "poſſeſſing herſelf thereof, ſhe had attempted to marry the Duke of "*Norfolk* without the Queen's Privity; for the conſummating where-"of by Force and Arms, and for the Delivery of the Duke out of "the Tower, ſhe had left no means untried by her Miniſters: That "ſhe raiſed a Rebellion in the North parts, relieved thoſe Rebels "in *Scotland* and the *Netherlands* after they were put to flight, cra-"ved forrein Aſſiſtence from the Biſhop of *Rome*, the *Spaniard*, and "others, by *Ridolpho* an *Italian*, to invade *England*, and conſpired "with certain Engliſh-men to take her forcibly out of Cuſtody, and "proclaim her Queen of *England*: That ſhe had received Letters "from the Biſhop of *Rome*, wherein he promiſed to cheriſh her as "the Hen cheriſheth her Chickens, and that thoſe who ſtood for her "he would account of as Children of the Church: Laſtly, That ſhe "had procured the Pope's Bull againſt the Queen, and had ſuffered "herſelf to be publickly ſtyled *Queen of England* by her Favourers "in forrein Parts.

Her Anſwer.

To theſe things ſhe (after Proteſtation firſt made that ſhe was a free Queen, and ſubject to none,) anſwered with a ſettled Mind and Countenance, *That ſhe had not uſurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdome of* England, *but that the King of* France *and her Husband had impoſed them upon her being then but young, and under the power of an Husband; and therefore ſhe was not to be blamed for it. Neither had ſhe born them ſince her Husband's death, nor would ſhe challenge them as long as Queen* Elizabeth *or her Children lived.*

As for Marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, *ſhe never intended it to the Hurt of the Queen, for ſhe was perſwaded it would rather be for the good of the Commonwealth: but ſhe had not renounced it, for that ſhe had plighted her Troth unto him. She had adviſed the Duke to free himſelf out of Priſon and Danger, as by the Love of a Wife ſhe was bound to doe.*

Rebellion ſhe had raiſed none, nor was ſhe acceſſary thereto, but was ever moſt ready to reveal any Attempts againſt the Queen, if ſhe would vouchſafe to hear her face to face. The Engliſh Rebels ſhe had never relieved; onely ſhe had by her Letters recommended the Counteſs of Northumberland *to the Duke of* Alva. Ridolpho, *whom ſhe knew to be in great Favour with the Pope, ſhe had made uſe of in Money-matters; yet did ſhe never receive any Letters from him.*

She had encouraged none to endeavour her Liberty. She had indeed willingly given them the hearing who had offered their Service therein, and in that regard ſhe had communicated to Rolſton *and* Hall *a privy Cypher.*

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From the Bishop of Rome *she had received Letters now and then, and those full of Piety and Consolation, wherein there were no such manner of Expressions as is pretended.*

She procured no Bull from Rome, *onely she saw a printed Copy thereof, which as soon as she had read she threw into the Fire. If any in forrein Parts do write or name her otherwise then they ought, let them bear the Blame. She never by Letters craved Aid of the Bishop of* Rome *and the* Spaniard *to invade* England; *but she had implored their Help to restore her to her Kingdome, and that with the Queen's Privity.*

And if any Question be made of those Letters, or of her endeavouring the Marriage by Force and Arms, she prayeth that (since she is born of the Blood Royal of England) *she may answer the matter personally in the next Parliament of* England.

Seditions in *Scotland.*

In the mean time *Scotland* laboured and was most miserably afflicted with Civil Dissensions, while on the one side those who bare an Affection to the Queen, presuming upon the Favour of the *French*, and on the other side such as stood for the King, relying upon the Aid of the *English*, bare mortal Hatred and made deadly Wars one against another. Nevertheless the *English* and the *French*, sending their Embassadours into *Scotland*, pretended an exceeding great Desire to compound the Difference.

The French King and Q. *Elizabeth* labour to compound them.

The *French*, supposing there was no fitter means for that purpose, propounded, that some indifferent men might be chosen to govern the Kingdom of *Scotland* for the time, and that neither in the King's nor Queen's Name. For the *French* would not acknowledge the King of *Scots* for King, because he had no other Title to the Crown then from his Mother, and his Mother they thought could not be justly deposed by her own Subjects. She was therefore (said they) justly to be acknowledged for Queen, and the ancient League betwixt her and the French King to be observed.

Different Opinions betwixt them concerning Scottish matters.

The *English* on the contrary stiffly argued, "That such a Government would be a meer Anarchy: That the Commonwealth will not "admit of many Rulers: That the *Scots*, who had always been ruled "by a King, would never agree in the Choice of such Governours: "That the Estates of the Realm had deposed the Queen, and had "duly constituted and inaugurated the King: and That that ancient "League was contracted not betwixt Persons, but betwixt the Kingdoms of *France* and *Scotland*: yea, That the most Christian King "was by the League bound to defend the King of *Scots*; for it was "articled in expres words, *That if at any time the Succession in the "Kingdom of* Scotland *should happen to be controverted, the Kings of "France should defend him to whom the Estates of* Scotland *should adjudge the Kingdome.* And as for the Reasons of Deposing the Queen, "the *Scots*, who had deposed her, were to be consulted about them.

The Reasons why the French King favoured the Queen of *Scots.*

Nevertheless the French King openly favoured the Queen of *Scots* Party, and earnestly interceded with Queen *Elizabeth* for her Delivery, lest (as his Embassadours ingenuously professed) he

should

should seem to neglect her who had been Wife to the King his Brother, and was now Dowager of *France*, to break the ancient League betwixt the French King and the King of *Scots*, to slight the House of *Guise*, which was now so powerfull in *France*, or to approve of so dangerous an Example of Deposing Kings; and (which was the chiefest thing of all) lest she, being forsaken by the *French* in her Adversity, should close with the *Spaniard*, and so at length the most potent Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* should by her be joyned in a League of Amity with *Spain*, to the endangering of *France*. 1572.

To these things Queen *Elizabeth* gently answered: "Let the "French King be well advised what Esteem he sets upon the Queen "of *Scots*, who though she have been Queen of *France*, and be now "Dowager, yet had she secretly consulted with the *Spaniard* to hinder the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. Let him consider whether he do not break that ancient League, if he defend not the "young King. Let him consider how little *France* is beholden to "the House of *Guise*, by whose Carriage of things both *France* hath "been embroiled in a most lamentable War, *Scotland* alienated from "the *French*, and the Queen of *Scots* herself brought into these "Streights. Certainly dangerous is the Example of Deposing Princes, "and to be condemned beneath the Pit of Hell: but for that matter "let the *Scots* answer. For my part I do unwillingly mention these "things, which from my Heart I mislike. Yet whether the *French* "have heretofore misliked them I know not; when *Pepin* deprived "*Childeric*, and *Hugh Capet Charles* of *Lorrain*, of their Ancestours "Kingdome, translating the Scepter to new Families; and when "*Philip le Bon* the *Burgundian* stripped *Jaquetta* of *Heinault* and *Holland*: or the *Danes*, when they ejected *Christian* the Second and "his Daughters out of that Kingdom: or the *Spaniards*, when they "deprived Queen *Vraca* of her Kingdom, and imprisoned her. That "Sons should be admitted to the Government, their Mothers being "excluded, is no new thing. So were *Henry* the Second King of "*England*, *Alphonsus* the Son of *Vraca* King of *Castile*, and lately "within our Memory *Charles* the Fifth King of *Spain* and *Sicily*, admitted to the Government during the Lives of their Mothers. That "Queens also have been imprisoned, every Age affords Instances: "and *France* it self may abundantly testifie as much, which hath seen "the Wives of three Kings successively, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip le Long*, "and *Charles the Fair*, imprisoned, to say no worse. To speak the "truth, I for my part do detain the Queen of *Scots* in honourable "Custody, for the Safety of *England* and mine own Security; "and for it I have Examples of the *French*, who shut up *Childeric* in "a Monastery, *Charles* of *Lorrain* in a deep Dungeon, and *Lodowic* "*Sforza* Duke of *Millain* in an iron Grate, to secure their own E-"states. Other like Instances she produced out of the Spanish Historie, as she was excellently well seen in the Histories of all Nations. Finally, she concluded, "That such great Examples as these

Queen *Elizabeth* argues the Business with the *French*.

do

1572.

"do always carry with them some kind of Injustice. But she wished, "That the French King would, according as he was bound by the "League, defend the young King of *Scots*, who was lawfully made "King. For this would prove a greater Glory to the French Na- "tion, then did those unfortunate Expeditions which they under- "took in behalf of that infamous *Joan* of *Naples*.

The French King's and the Queen of *England's* Affection groweth cold towards the Queen of *Scots*.

But when it was found that the Queen of *Scots* did at that very time intend to enter into a close Confederacy with the *Spaniard*, by means of the Lord *Seaton*, who, arriving in *Essex*, was returned through *England* into *Scotland* in the Disguise of a Sailour, and had from the Duke of *Alva* promised auxiliary Forces to the *Scots* that were of the Queen's Party, both she was kept in closer Custody, and the Affection of the French King by little and little waxed cold towards her. Certainly the Duke of *Alva* omitted no subtle way of putting in execution the Hatred which he bare in his Heart towards Q. *Elizabeth*: And she with no less Diligence used all means to disappoint the same, and frustrate his Attempts. In the beginning therefore of this Year, he complaining by the Spanish Embassadour in *England*, that the Rebels of the *Netherlands* furnished themselves with warlike Munition out of *England*, and were harboured every-where in the English Port-towns; she presently by strict Proclamation commanded the *Netherlanders* who were any way suspected of Rebellion to depart the Land, and their Ships of War to be stayed in the Havens. Which turned very much to the Dammage of the Duke of *Alva*: For by this means *William Van-der-Marke*, Lord of *Lumey*, and other *Netherlanders*, being either terrified with this Edict, or secretly fore-warned, withdrew themselves out of *England*, in a manner forced by Despair, and seized upon the *Briel* at the Mouth of the *Maes*, and soon after drew *Flushing* and other Towns to revolt, (thrusting out the *Spaniards*, who were now about to build Castles and Forts there, to be as it were the Fetters of their Freedome;) and in short space they excluded the Duke of *Alva* from well-near all Command of the Sea. By this advantage of the Sea they have hampered and troubled the *Spaniard* with so long a War, not without a notable Over-sight in the Duke, (as Martial men have thought,) and unbeseeming so great a Captain, who had grossly neglected the Sea-coasts of the *Netherlands* for the space of full four years.

The Confederate *Netherlanders* excluded out of *England*.

They take the *Briel*.

The Duke of *Alva's* Over-sight.

Now after a gallant Muster of the *Londoners*, and a Skirmishing before the Queen at *Greenwich*, Martial men, who spent their time at home in Idleness, began to flock into the *Low-Countries* out of *England*, some (according as they affected the Parties) to the Duke of *Alva*, and some (which were indeed the far greater Number) to the Prince of *Orange*, who for Religion and Liberties sake opposed the Duke of *Alva*.

English-men goe to the Wars in the *Netherlands*.

The first of all that went was *Thomas Morgan*, who carried over three hundred men to *Flushing*: the Report of whose coming is thought to have kept off the Duke of *Alva* when he was ready to attempt

tempt the Recovery of *Flushing*. Afterwards, through the Procurement of *Morgan*, arrived there nine Companies of *English* under Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, who, joyning with the *French*, first attempted *Sluis* and *Bruges*, and then gave an Assault to *Ter-goes* in *South-Beverlandt*. But their Ladders being too short, and the *French* and *English* not agreeing well together, and *Mondragon* coming to the Relief of the besieged, they retired to *Flushing*, not without Loss of men; which place both the *French* and the *English* cunningly endeavoured to possess themselves of, but, being divided by Grudges and Heart-burnings one against the other, kindled between them by the cunning Artifice of the Prince of *Orange*, they could not effect their Design. 1572.

In *France* at this time the Protestants had flattering fair Weather, and King *Charles* his mind was wholly bent (as he pretended) upon the Low-Country War, as the onely Remedy to prevent Civil War at home; and under this Colour he pretended that he would enter into a Confederacy with the Princes of *Germany* and the Queen of *England*, as a Testimony of his kind Inclination towards the Protestants, whom notwithstanding he had privily appointed to the Slaughter. The French King's Dissimulation.

This Confederacy was concluded at *Bloys* the eleventh day of *April*, between him (who stood in doubt both of the Protestants of *France*, and the *Spaniard*,) and Queen *Elizabeth*, (who feared privy Conspiracies at home, and the cunning Plots of the Duke of *Alva*,) by the Management of *Francis* Duke of *Montmorency*, *Renat Birague*, *Sebastian L' Aubespine*, the Bishop of *Limoges*, and *Paul Foix*, on the behalf of the French King; and Sir *Thomas Smith* and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Commissioners for the Queen of *England*. The Confederacy of *Bloys*.

The Articles of this Treaty follow, briefly set down, and almost in the very words of the Original.

The Articles in this Treaty shall not recede from the former Treaties made betwixt the said Princes and their Predecessours, so far forth as they are consistent with this present League. The Articles agreed upon.

This League shall be a Confederacy, Band and Union betwixt the said Princes for mutual Defence against all men, of what degree soever they be, who under any Pretence or for any Cause whatsoever, none excepted, shall invade, or goe about to invade, their Persons, or the Territories by them possessed.

This League shall continue in full force, not onely betwixt the said Princes while they live, but also betwixt their Successours, if the Successours do signifie to the Prince that surviveth, within a year, by Embassadours and Letters, that he accepteth the same Conditions: otherwise the Survivour shall be accounted to be free from all Observance of this League.

This League shall be of force against all men, even those who shall be joyned in Affinity to either of the Kings or Princes, as also against all Leagues already contracted, or to be contracted.

The Queen of England *shall be obliged, upon Request made by Letters signed*

1572. *ſigned with the Hand of the French King demanding Aid, to ſend over into* France *within two moneths ſix thouſand Foot armed, or elſe* 500 *Horſe, at the ſaid King's Choice, which ſhall be entred into his Pay from the time they ſhall firſt arrive in* France.

As for Defence by Sea and Aſſiſtence of Shipping: the Queen of England *ſhall ſend eight Ships of reaſonable Burthen, whereon ſhe ſhall embark twelve hundred Souldiers, with all Neceſſaries.*

The Sea-men and Souldiers ſhall be Engliſh-men onely: but he ſhall give them their Pay, and find them all Neceſſaries, and ſhall provide them Victuals from the time that they enter into his Service: nevertheleſs they ſhall obey the Admirall of France. *The Queen of* England *ſhall victuall her Ships for two moneths; for which the French King ſhall pay her within two moneths.*

The French King, after Letters received and ſigned by the Queen of England's *Hand, when ſhe ſhall be aſſailed by War, ſhall be bound to ſend over into* England *or* Ireland *within two moneths ſix thouſand Foot; or, if ſhe had rather, five hundred Lances, which with others ſhall make up the number of* 1500 *Horſe, and about* 3000 *Foot, with ſerviceable Horſes, and Arms after the French Faſhion: which ſhall be entred into her Pay from the time that they firſt arrive in her Dominions.*

For Sea-Service, he ſhall furniſh eight Ships, manned with twelve hundred Souldiers, in manner as is aforeſaid.

They ſhall ſerve as long as the Prince that is invaded ſhall be pleaſed to retain them.

The manner of the Succours and Pay ſhall be annexed in a Schedule under-written.

The one ſhall be bound to ſell the other (if invaded) both Arms and other Neceſſaries.

They ſhall make no Innovations in Scotland, *but ſhall defend it againſt Forreiners, and not ſuffer Strangers to enter; nor ſhall they cheriſh the Factions in* Scotland: *however it ſhall be lawfull for the Queen of* England *to proſecute by Arms thoſe* Scots *who ſhall cheriſh or harbour the Engliſh Rebels now in* Scotland.

This League ſhall have that Conſtruction onely which the bare force and propriety of the Words beareth.

Both Princes ſhall ratifie every particular Article by their Letters Patents; and ſhall bonâ fide, *really and effectually deliver them interchanged to the Embaſſadours on both ſides within three moneths.*

The Ratification of the League.

For the Ratifying of this League by the French King, *Edward Clinton*, Earl of *Lincolne*, Lord Admirall of the Sea, was ſent into *France* with a great Train of Noblemen, amongſt whom were the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Rich*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Sands*, and others. The French King in like manner ſent into *England* the Duke of *Montmorency* and *Paul Foix*, in gallant Equippage, that before them, and *Bertrand Salignac Mota-Fenellon*, his Ordinary Embaſſadour, the Queen ſhould likewiſe confirm it by Oath. Which was done at *Weſtminiſter* the 15. day of *May*. The next day after Queen

Elizabeth

Elizabeth, with the French King's Leave, choſe *Montmorency* into the Society of the Order of *Saint George*, in thankfull Teſtimony of the Kindneſs which his Father *Annas*, Conſtable of *France*, had ſhewed her. Which Honour King *Henry* the Eighth had alſo vouchſafed to the ſaid *Annas*, in token of his Love to that Family, which beareth the Title of *firſt Chriſtian of France*, and is accounted the moſt Noble Family in all *France*. 1572.

Montmorency choſen into the Order of *Saint George*.

Montmorency, whileſt he ſtayed in *England*, propounded briefly in the French King's name, *That as much Favour as could be without Danger might be ſhewed to the Queen of* Scots. *That there might be a Ceſſation of Arms in* Scotland, *and an Agreement confirmed there by Parliament: And if a Parliament could not conveniently be holden, that certain men choſen on both ſides by the* Scots *might meet at* London *for compoſing of matters, together with the French King's and the Queen of* England's *Commiſſioners.* But it was anſwered, *That greater Favour had been ſhewed already, and for the French King's ſake ſhould be farther ſhewed, to the Queen of* Scots *then ſhe had deſerved; although the Eſtates of the Realm, who were then aſſembled, were of opinion, that the Queen could have no Security without ſome Severity ſhewed towards her. As for an Agreement and Ceſſation of Arms, the Queen had earneſtly endeavoured it already, and to that purpoſe had very lately ſent* Drury, *Marſhall of* Berwick, *into* Scotland, *with* Croc *the French Embaſſadour; but they could by no means draw* Grange *and the Garriſon in the Caſtle of* Edenborough *to hearken to Peace, they being fed with Hopes of Succours out of* France *and the* Netherlands; *though* Huntly *and* Hamilton *of* Arbroth *had for the Duke his Father bound themſelves in a Writing under their Hands to Queen* Elizabeth, *to entertain Peace, and thoſe of the Queen's Party had likewiſe given their Faith ſo to doe.*

He mediateth for compounding of *Scottiſh* matters.

The Anſwer.

Then *Montmorency* earneſtly ſolicited again the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*: but becauſe they could not agree about the Exerciſe of Religion, he returned into *France*, leaving the matter deſperate; whileſt in the mean time a Marriage was preparing with great Solemnity between *Henry* of *Navarre* and Madam *Margaret* the French King's Siſter. To this Marriage were allured by flattering Promiſes and credulous Hope of a perpetuall Peace and renewing of Love, but with notable Diſſimulation, the Queen of *Navarre*, and all the choiceſt of the Proteſtants. There were alſo invited out of *England*, under pretence of doing them Honour, *Leiceſter* and *Burghley*, and out of *Germany* the Electour *Palatine*'s Sons; that being thus brought into the Net, both they, and with them the Evangelicall Religion, might with one Stroak, if not have their Throats cut, yet at leaſtwiſe receive a mortall Wound. For no ſooner was the Marriage ſolemnized, but a black Tempeſt preſently diſperſed the fair Weather that was hoped for, even that Maſſacre of *Paris*, and the bloudy Butcherings of the Proteſtants, which with execrable hand were committed throughout the Cities of *France* upon men of all qualities. Yet was there ſome Pretence of Juſtice, yea of Piety, made uſe of, and by

He ſolicited alſo the Marriage with *Anjou*.

The King of *Navarre* marrieth the French King's Siſter.

The Maſſacre of *Paris*.

1572. Edicts a ſpecious Cloak ſought to cover that impious Fraud, as if there had been ſome wicked Conſpiracy plotted by the Proteſtants againſt the King, the Queen-mother, the King's Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and the Princes of the Bloud. For there were Medals ſtamped in memory of the matter, in the fore-part whereof, together with the King's Picture, was this Inſcription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, that is, *Virtue againſt Rebels*; and on the other ſide, *Pietas excitavit Juſtitiam*, that is, *Piety hath excited Juſtice*.

A Marriage propounded to Queen *Elizabeth* with the Duke of *Alenzon*.

A little before the Queen-mother of *France* (who egregiouſly diſſembled a ſhew of great Kindneſs towards the Proteſtants, a Woman ſomewhat curious to inquire into the time to come, and prone to believe the Predictions of Aſtrologers, who, by the Poſition of the *fixed regall Stars* in the Hours of their Nativities, had foretold Kingdoms to every one of her Sons,) had commanded *Mota-Fenellon* to propound to Queen *Elizabeth* a Marriage with her youngeſt Son *Francis* Duke of *Alenzon*, that if ſhe could poſſibly ſhe might procure him the Title of King; or at leaſt wiſe, by this Office of Kindneſs, keep her from aſſiſting the Proteſtants of *France*. This Marriage *Mota-Fenellon* propounded at *Kenelworth* two days before the Maſſacre at *Paris*. But Queen *Elizabeth* modeſtly excuſed herſelf *by their difference of Religion, and inequality of Age:* for he was ſcarce arrived at the ſeventeenth year of his age, and ſhe was now above thirty eight. Yet ſhe promiſed to conſider of it. Neither did *Alenzon* ceaſe to proſecute the matter ſeriouſly by the Mediation of *Flerie*.

The Earl of *Northumberland* beheaded.

The ſame moneth *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had rebelled, and fled into *Scotland*, was, for a Summe of money agreed upon, delivered into the Hands of the Lord *Hunſdon* Governour of *Berwick*, by *Morton*, who had been very much beholden to him while he lived an Exile in *England*. (But who hath ever been found gratefull to men in Calamity?) He was ſhortly after beheaded at *York*.

The death of the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*.

As *Norfolk* and *Northumberland* were cut off this Year by the Stroak of the fatall Axe in the prime of their Days: ſo a naturall and timely Death took away two others of the chief of the Nobility, both of them of the Privy Council, in their Old age; namely, *William Powlet*, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Baron *Saint-John* of *Baſing*, (one that had paſſed through very great Honours,) after he had lived 97 years, and had ſeen Iſſue of his Body to the number of one hundred and three perſons; (after whom was ſubſtituted in the Office of Lord High-Treaſurer *William Cecyll* Lord *Burghley*;) and *Edward* Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Stanley*, and *Strange* of *Knocking*, with whom the Glory of Hoſpitality hath in a manner fallen aſleep.

Cecyl made High-Treaſurer.

The death of the Earl of *Derby*.

And of Sir *William Peter*.

This Year alſo departed this Life Sir *William Peter* Knight, one of the Privy Council, Secretary to *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, and Chancellour of the Order of the Garter, having performed many Embaſſies with great Commendations:

dations: who, being born of honeſt Parentage at *Exceſter*, after he had by his Wiſedom and Learning gathered great Wealth, did, for the Encouragement of Learning, by the Favour of Queen *Mary*, very bountifully enlarge the Revenues of *Exceſter* Colledge in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, wherein he had been educated and brought up. 1572.

The Queen alſo herſelf, who hitherto had enjoyed her Health very perfectly, (for ſhe never did eat Meat but when her Appetite ſerved her, nor drink Wine without ſome allaying,) fell ſick of the Small pox at *Hampton-Court*. But ſhe recovered again before it was known abroad that ſhe was ſick; and falling to the Care of the Realm, commanded *Portſmouth* to be ſtrengthened with new Works, her Navy to be increaſed with more Ships of War, Muſters to be obſerved in every County at ſet times, and the Youth to be trained and exerciſed in the uſe of their Weapons; and this even whilſt ſhe enjoyed perfect Peace with all men. The Money alſo which ſhe had borrowed of her Subjects ſhe paid again thankfully and willingly. And by thus doing ſhe got herſelf no leſs Love amongſt her People, then ſhe had by two ſeaſonable Proclamations publiſhed in the beginning of the Year. By one of which ſhe commanded thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen to be proceeded againſt according to the ancient Laws who had more Followers or Retainers then they ought. For this ſort of men being thus entertained exempted themſelves from the publick Offices of the Commonwealth, maintained Factions, and offended many ways againſt the Laws, preſuming upon the Power of the Noblemen to whom they retained. By the other ſhe reſtrained a moſt ravenous ſort of men, whom they call *Concealers*, by revoking their Commiſſion, and forcing them to reſtore the things they had taken. For theſe Concealers, being appointed to inquire whether any Lands belonging to the Crown were concealed by private men, had begun, with ſacrilegious Avarice, to ſeize upon Lands given in times paſt by our devout Fore-fathers to Pariſh-Churches and Hoſpitals; as alſo upon Bells and the leaden Roofs of Churches. But theſe Maladies, though they have been now and then ſuppreſſed, yet have they now and then ſprung up again.

The Queen ſick of the Small pox.

She taketh care for the Commonwealth.

She reſtraineth the number of Retainers,

and Concealers.

In *Ireland* ſome Commotions brake forth through the rigorous Government of Sir *Edward Fitton* Governour of *Connaught*: which when the Sons of *Richard* Earl of *Clan-Richard* (whom he had by divers Wives, taking Liberty to doe what they liſted,) could not brook, they preſently raiſed a Rebellion, and paſſing over the River of *Sene*, or *Shannon*, committed inſolent Robberies and Cruelties upon the Inhabitants all over *Weſt Meth*. Their Father, who was deſcended from an ancient Engliſh Stock named *De Burgo*, a man with a reverend gray Head and of a moderate Diſpoſition, went unto the Lord Deputy, purged himſelf of the Crime of Rebellion, and asked the Advice of the Council of *Ireland* by what means he might reſtrain his diſſolute Children. But the Queen, the better to provide for the publick Tranquillity, thought meet that *Fitton* ſhould be removed

Rebellions in *Connaught*,

1572.

by degrees out of *Connaught*, and made him Treaſurer of *Ireland*. And not long after the Earl's Sons, being purſued by the Souldiers there in Garriſon, humbly ſubmitted themſelves to the Lord Deputy.

and of the *O-Moors* in *Leimſter*.

In *Leimſter* alſo the *O-Moors*, a ſeditious kind of People, raiſed an Inſurrection; who being preſently proclaimed Rebells, they returned to their Duty by the Perſwaſion of the Earl of *Kildare*. At this time Sir *Thomas Smith*, Secretary to the Queen, a wiſe and learned man, taking Pity of *Ireland*, that had been neglected, obtained of the Queen that a Colony might be tranſported into a *Peninſula* of *Ireland*, which they call *Ardes*, on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Ulſter*, under the Conduct of his baſe Son, the onely Son he had, that ſo thoſe half-barbarous People might be taught ſome Civility. His Hope was, that the place might eaſily be defended by Garriſons placed in the ſtreight Neck of Land by which it is joyned to the reſt of the Iſland. To every Footman he granted an hundred and twenty Acres, and to every Horſeman two hundred and forty, which are as much as five hundred Engliſh Acres: for which they were to pay yearly a Penny for every Acre. But it failed of the wiſhed Succeſs: For his Son *Thomas*, when he had carried over the Colony, was intercepted and ſlain by the Treachery of *Neal Brian Artho*. But *Malbey* an Engliſhman, who was Governour of *Lecale* hard by, ſuppoſing that no unjuſt Death could be inflicted upon a treacherous Villain, ſoon after ſlew him, leaving him to be devoured of Wolves.

A Colony tranſported into *Ireland*.

A new Star in *Caſſiopeia*.

I know not whether it be worth the while to mention that which all Hiſtoriographers of our time have recorded, to wit, that in the month of *November* a new Star, or, if you will, a *Phænomenon*, appeared in the Conſtellation of *Caſſiopeia*, which (as I my ſelf obſerved) in Brightneſs excelled *Jupiter* in his *Perigee* or neareſt Point of the *Eccentric* and *Epicycle*: and in the ſame place it continued full ſixteen months, being carried about with the daily Motion of the Heaven. *Thomas Digſey* and *John Dey*, Gentlemen and Mathematicians amongſt us, have learnedly proved by Parallactic Doctrine, that it was in the Celeſtiall, not in the Elementary, Region: and they were of opinion that it vaniſhed by little and little in aſcending. Certainly after the eighth moneth all men perceived it to grow leſs and leſs. *Theodore Beza* wittily applied it to that Star which ſhone at the Birth of *Chriſt*, and to the murthering of the Infants under *Herod*, and admoniſhed *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, who had confeſſed himſelf the Authour of the Maſſacre of *Paris*, to beware, in this Verſe;

Theodore Beza his Propheſie.

Tu verò, Herodes ſanguinolente, time. i. e.
And look thou, bloudy *Herod*, to thyſelf.

And verily he was not altogether deceived in his Conjecture: for the fifth month after the vaniſhing of this Star the ſaid *Charles*, after long and horrible Pains, died of exceſſive Bleeding.

The

1573.

The Sixteenth Year of Her Reign. Ann. Domini 1573.

The Spaniſh Fleet overthrown.

WHenas now the Spaniſh Affairs in the *Netherlands* were very much encumbred and perplexed, *Fluſhing* being loſt, the Towns of *Holland* revolting, and the Spaniſh Fleet, (wherewith the Duke of *Medina-Cœli* was commanded together with *Vitelli Chapini* to aid the Papiſts in *England*) overthrown by the *Zelanders*; the Duke of *Alva* began, even againſt his will, to bear a more favourable mind towards the *Engliſh*. Therefore in the month of *January* the Traffick which had been prohibited between the *Netherlanders* and the *Engliſh* in the ſame month of the Year 1568. was now at length permitted again for two years, and the Articles agreed upon at *Briſtow* in that behalf were ratified by the *Spaniard* in the month of *June*. Amongſt which was this Clauſe: *And if that this mutual Good underſtanding and ſtrict Amity happen for a time to be darkened and overſhadowed, yet ſhall it in no wiſe be conſtrued to be broken and diſſolved. And if the matter cannot be compounded by Commiſſioners within a time preſcribed, the ſaid Entercourſe after the end of the ſaid two years ſhall ceaſe.* And ceaſe it did indeed by little and little before the two years were expired, by means of the Troubles encreaſing all over the *Netherlands*; and a new Entercourſe was begun with the Confederate Eſtates.

Traffick betwixt the *Netherlanders* and the *Engliſh* reſtored.

The Queen recompenſeth the Dammages of the *Engliſh*.

But Queen *Elizabeth* (which turned to her exceeding great Honour) ſatisfied to the full the Dammages which the Engliſh Merchants had ſuſtained out of the *Netherlanders* Goods that were here ſtayed; the reſt ſhe reſtored to the Duke of *Alva*, and made a full Agreement with the Merchants of *Genua* for the Money that was intercepted, which had given the firſt occaſion of the Breach: whereas the Duke of *Alva* reſtored not a Farthing to the *Netherlanders* out of the Engliſh mens Goods. And (which was yet more glorious, and to her Subjects far more pleaſing,) ſhe diſcharged *England* at this time of the Debts which her Father and her Brother had contracted with Forreiners, which had been much increaſed by the Intereſt; reſtoring alſo now the Charters of the City of *London*, (which had been ſo often renewed) to the great Rejoycing of the Citizens.

She payeth her Father's and her Brother's Debts.

Innovatours trouble the Church.

Yet was both the Queen and the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate very much moleſted with ſome of their own Profeſſion, who, being inflamed with a religious Zeal, and breathing nothing but the Purity of the Goſpel, not onely defamed the Eccleſiaſtical Policy (as corrupted with Romiſh Dregs) both by publick and private Preaching, (as alſo by ſetting forth Books, which they intituled *An Admonition to the Parliament*, and *An Apology for the Admonition*,) but alſo refuſed to frequent the Divine Service received, and framed and uſurped to them-

1573. themſelves other Rites and Ceremonies in God's Service: Inſomuch as the Queen, miſliking them as men of an unquiet Spirit, greedy of Novelties, and too forward to root up things that were well eſtabliſhed, that ſhe might prevent a Schiſm, commanded the Rigour of the Law concerning Uniformity of Publick Prayers to be every-where put in execution; and the aforeſaid Books to be delivered into the Biſhops Hands, or to ſome of her Council, upon pain of Impriſonment, notwithſtanding that *John Whitgift*, who was afterward Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had ſolidly confuted them.

And the Papiſts the Commonwealth by a ſcandalous Libell.

There came forth alſo from the Engliſh Rebels and Fugitives a ſcandalous Book intituled *A Treatiſe of Treaſon*, wherein they accuſed *Bacon* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and *Cecyl* Lord *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer of *England*, of Treaſon againſt their Country, thereby to bring them into Hatred with the Prince and People; who by their Wiſedomes and diligent Care had prevented or broken their Deſigns and wicked Hopes. But ſo far was the Queen from giving Credit to theſe Accuſations, that by publick Proclamation ſhe declared them to be improbable, falſe, and meer Slanders, and maliciouſly forged by the profeſſed Enemies of the true Religion and their Country, and that to no other intent, but that by their wicked and ſecret Practices they might deprive the Realm of its moſt faithfull Counſellours. Wherefore ſhe charged all men to give no Credit to the ſaid Libells, but to ſlight them and burn them, unleſs they would undergoe the Penalty to be inflicted upon the Encouragers of Sedition. Nevertheleſs theſe Books, (ſuch is the natural Curioſity of men,) becauſe they were prohibited, were much read, untill (as many times it cometh to paſs) being at laſt contemned they grew out of Requeſt.

The laſt Year, in the moneth of *November*, was born to *Charles* King of *France* a Daughter, whom the King requeſted Q. *Elizabeth* to be God-mother to, both to retain her the more firmly unto him by all Offices of Kindneſs, and alſo to cut off from the Proteſtants in *France* all hope of Aſſiſtence out of *England*. For theſe Ends, and withall to borrow Money, he ſent into *England Albert Gondy*, (commonly called Count *de Rhetz*,) an eloquent Courtier. He in a ſet Speech endeavoured to perſwade the Queen, that the Maſſacre of *Paris*, (which ſome called a notorious Villany, but he termed a Remedy,) was executed, not out of Hatred of the Proteſtant Religion, but to break the Neck of a Conſpiracy plotted by the Admiral *Coligny* and others; which notwithſtanding, the King would moſt religiouſly obſerve the Edicts of Religion. He beſought her that ſhe would not lend an ear to ſuch men as were clamorous and timorous without cauſe, but religiouſly obſerve the League lately entred into, and exhort them to be obedient to their King, whom they ſhould find moſt gracious to them.

Monſieur *de Gondy's* Embaſſie.

The Queen promiſed to be mindfull of the League, and that the King ſhould find nothing wanting on her part which might beſeem a moſt

The Queen's Anſwer to it.

moſt loving Confederate. As for the Money demanded to be borrowed, ſhe excuſed herſelf. Neither did he mention the Money but onely in Policy, to wit, that the Money which ſhe denied to lend the King, ſhe ſhould not ſupply to the Proteſtants if they ſhould deſire it. And indeed ſhe took this occaſion to deny them Money, being not unmindfull how treacherouſly they had dealt with her about Money-matters in the firſt Civill War. In this Embaſſie *Rhetz* prevailed ſo far, that the Proteſtants from that time found leſs Favour and Help at her hands for ſome time. 1573.

Not long after *William Somerſet*, Earl of *Worceſter*, was ſent into *France*, with a Font of pure Gold, to be preſent as Surety or Godfather in the Queen's Name, with the Deputies of *Mary* the Empreſs and of the Duke of *Savoy*, at the Baptizing of the French King's Daughter. Which when the Proteſtant Pirates, *French* and *Netherlanders*, underſtood, (who ſuſpected him to be one devoted to the Catholick Religion,) it miſſed but little but they had intercepted him in his Paſſage over. The Earl of *Worceſter* ſent into *France*.

Certainly they rifled one or two Ships of his Company, killing ſome of the Paſſengers. Whereat the Queen being ſore diſpleaſed, ſent out *William Holſtock*, Controller of her Navy, with ſome few Men of war; who ſcoured the Seas, either taking or ſcattering the Pirates, and reſcuing ſome Merchants Ships out of their Hands. But whereas many of them had promiſed their Service to *Montgomery* (who then abode in *England*) for Relieving of *Rochelle*, it came to paſs that he ſet ſail from *England* ſomewhat too late, and with ſo ſmall a Fleet, that he did them no good at all. The ſea cleared of Pirates.

Hereupon ſome French Proteſtants that fled into *England*, being very much incenſed, in Hatred to the contrary Religion offered Injuries and Affronts to ſome other French-men that were come over, drawing their Swords upon them, and amongſt the reſt upon the Servants of *Flerie*, who was come privately into *England* from *Alenzon* about the Marriage: yea, the Vidam of *Chartres*, ignorant of *Flerie*'s Negotiation, accuſed him to the Queen's Council, as if he had come over with deſign to take away *Montgomerie*'s Life. French-men miſuſe French-men.

On the other ſide the French Embaſſadour complained to the Queen, that *Montgomerie*, with Aſſiſtence of the *Engliſh*, which was contrary to the League, intended a Voiage to *Rochelle*, and that the Engliſh Merchants had furniſhed the beſieged *Rochellers* with Victuals. To whom ſhe anſwered, "That ſhe did and would religiouſly "obſerve her Faith given in the League: and as for thoſe Auxilia- "ries, they were Pirates, and being outlawed, they had put to Sea "without her Command, and carried counterfeit Flags; and ſhe "heartily wiſhed they might be puniſhed. Moreover that the En- "gliſh Merchants, having been hardly uſed at *Bourdeaux*, had traded "to *Rochelle* without her Leave: that that kind of men do ſtill mind "their own Gain. And withall ſhe deſired, that ſome more commo- "dious Port in *France* might be aſſigned them for their Traffick in "ſtead of *Rochelle*. The French Embaſſadour complaineth of Succours ſent into *France*. The Queen excuſeth herſelf.

These

1573.

She is ſolicited to marrie with *Alenzon*.

She hearkeneth to it willingly,

out of a double Fear.

The Courtiers argue to the contrary.

These Anſwers were moſt welcome to the *French* King; that the Queen of *England* would keep her Promiſe, and that now her Mind was alienated from the Proteſtants of *France*, ſo that they could look for no Help from her. Hereupon the French King and his Mother were better and better affected towards her, when they perceived her ſincere in obſerving the Peace, and many Love-letters were ſent her by *Alenzon* from the Camp before *Rochelle*; and all this year the Marriage was earneſtly ſolicited, the French King and his Mother making great Suit in it by *Mota-Fenellon* the Ordinary Embaſſadour, and by *Chaſteau-Neuf* ſent extraordinarily for that purpoſe. Certainly Queen *Elizabeth* was driven to ſerious Thoughts of Marriage by a double Fear ſhe was in for lack of Children; on the one ſide for fear of Contempt at home, and on the other for fear of Attempts abroad. Againſt both which ſhe perſwaded herſelf, and often ſaid as much to others, that an Husband and Children would be ſure and ſtrong Bulwarks. On the contrary it was argued by ſome Courtiers that were mindfull of their own Intereſts, *That Religion and Equity are the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks of a Crown againſt all Attempts: Neither was there any Reaſon ſhe ſhould fear the Contempt of her own People, whoſe Eſtates and Hopes depended upon her alone, whoſe Hearts were knit unto her as they had been to her Anceſtours for ſome Ages, and whoſe Eyes were every day more and more rejoyced with the Luſtre of her Vertues*; with other ſuch like Expreſſions familiar amongſt Courtiers. And when ſhe often uſed this Saying, *That moſt men neglected the ſetting Sun*, theſe flattering Claw-backs ceaſed not to beat into her Ears, *Who will neglect the wholſome Beams of the clear Sun-ſhine, to behold the pitifull and confuſed Sparkling of the ſmaller Stars riſing together?* For ſo they called the Competitours.

Leave granted to *Alenzon* to come into *England*.

He is yet admoniſhed not to come; and for what Reaſons.

Meanwhile the Queen-mother intreated her again and again, that her Son the Duke of *Alenzon* might have Leave to come into *England* to ſee her: who, being wearied with ſo many Letters, at length gave her Aſſent, conditionally that he would take it to be neither Prejudice nor Diſgrace unto him, if he returned without ſpeeding in his Suit. But as ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* underſtood that *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, his Brother, was choſen King of *Poland*, and that the French King was ſick, ſhe admoniſhed *Alenzon* by Sir *Edward Horſey*, Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, not to make over-much Haſte to come into *England*: and ſhe gave theſe Reaſons. *That by reaſon of the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants, ſo cruelly murthered throughout* France *for their Religion, and that in the midſt of Nuptiall Solemnities, at ſuch time as he firſt ſued unto her for Marriage, there had grown a Suſpicion among the Proteſtants in* England, *that this Marriage would prove unfortunate. And the rather, becauſe that* Alenzon *himſelf, going preſently thereupon to the Siege of* Rochelle, *with an hoſtile mind againſt the Proteſtants, had wrote in certain Letters from thence, that he would viſit the Queen after he ſhould ſee* Rochelle *wone: ſo as his Rage againſt the Proteſtant Religion ſeemed hotter then his Love towards her. And therefore very*

1573.

very many in England *ſuſpected that he meant to come into* England *to proſecute his Suit with a Sword died in the Blood of thoſe who profeſſed the ſame Religion which the* Engliſh *did.* Wherefore ſhe friendly and lovingly perſwaded him, *to be the means of a Peace in* France, *and firſt to ſhew ſome notable Teſtimony of his Affection to the Proteſtants, that ſo he might be the more welcome Gueſt and Suitour when he came into* England.

Peace in *France.*

A Peace being afterwards concluded in *France*, and the Proteſtants having their Religion allowed them in certain places, the French King and the Queen-mother again earneſtly endeavoured that the Marriage might be concluded: (for they would willingly have had *Alenzon* removed out of *France*, being a man of a crabbed Diſpoſition, and prone to raiſe Commotions:) and withall they requeſted Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould reſolve to take his Journy by Sea into *Poland*, he might have her Promiſe for his ſafe Paſſage through the *Britiſh* Seas. Which ſhe not onely willingly granted, but alſo offered her Fleet to convoy him. In the mean time *Alenzon* fell ſick of the Meaſles, which the Queen-mother ſignified to Queen *Elizabeth* by *Gondy* Count *de Rhetz*, and excuſed him by reaſon of his Sickneſs that he came not into *England*. *Gondy* found Queen *Elizabeth* at *Canterbury*, who entertained him honourably. At this time *Matthew Parker*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, celebrated the Queen's Birth-day, viz. the 7th. of *September*, in a large Palace of the Archbiſhops, which himſelf had repaired; and invited to the Solemnity the Queen, *Gondy*, and *Mota-Fenellon*, with as great a number of Noblemen-Gueſts, as the Emperour *Charles* the 5. and King *Henry* the 8. had in the ſame Palace been feaſted with in the year 1519.

The Marriage again ſolicited.

Gondy returneth into *England.*

He is nobly entertained.

In *Scotland James Douglaſs*, Earl of *Morton*, was by the ſpeciall Procurement of Queen *Elizabeth* made Regent of *Scotland* in the room of the Earl of *Marre*: who, having his Authority eſtabliſhed by an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, made wholſome Laws in the King's Name for Maintenance of Religion againſt Papiſts and Hereticks. But the Charge of the King's Perſon (in regard the Earl of *Marre*, to whom by peculiar Right the Cuſtody of the Kings of *Scotland* in their Minority belongeth, was under age,) he confirmed to *Alexander Areskyn* upon theſe Conditions; "That all Papiſts and Factious perſons "ſhould be debarred of all Acceſs unto him: That an Earl ſhould "be admitted with two Servants, a Baron with one onely, all others "ſingle, and every one of them without Weapons.

Morton made Regent of *Scotland.*

Mean-time the French King, ſending thither Monſieur *Viriac*, left no way unattempted for ſupplanting the Regent before his Authority were firmly ſettled, and oppoſing *Athol*, *Huntley* and others againſt him, whom to that end he promiſed good Rewards. Queen *Elizabeth*, labouring all ſhe could to the contrary, informed the *Scots* by Sir *Henry Killegrew*, that the bloudy Maſſacre of *Paris* was acted by the joynt Contrivance of the Biſhop of *Rome*, the *French* King,

The French King laboureth to ſupplant him,

Queen *Elizabeth* to defend him,

1573. and the *Spaniard*, for the Deſtruction of the Proteſtants. She warned them therefore neither to be corrupted with French Penſions, nor diſunited by Factions, ſo as to open a way for thoſe forrein Forces which *Strozzi* was ſuſpected to be bringing over, but manfully and unanimouſly to ſet themſelves for the Defence of Religion, which was the onely ſure Band of Concord between the *Scots* and the *Engliſh*, and for the carefull Preſervation of the King, or ſending him into *England*, to the end he might not be conveyed into *France*. Nevertheleſs ſome of the Nobility, being ſworn to the captive Queen's Party, flatly refuſed to own the Authority either of the King or the Regent, till ſuch time as Queen *Elizabeth*, interpoſing her Authority, drew *James Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſtel-herault*, and *George Gourdon* Earl of *Huntley*, (who were the chief amongſt them,) to accept theſe reaſonable Conditions, by *Killegrew*'s means. viz. "That they ſhould allow the Religion eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, ſubmit themſelves to the "King, as alſo to the Government of *Morton*, and his Succeſſours in "the Regency: That they ſhould abjure the Authority of all others "whoſoever: That thoſe that ſhould attempt any thing againſt Re"ligion, the King, or the Regent, ſhould by act of Parliament be de"clared Traitours: That the Sentence pronounced againſt the *Hamil*"*tons* and the *Gourdons* ſhould be repealed, excepting what concer"ned the Murther of *Murray* and *Lenox*, late Regents, which ſhould "be left to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Pleaſure. (But this ſhe referred to the King, and thought beſt to have it deferred till the King ſhould come to Age to take upon him the Government according to the Laws of the Land:) and "That all Offences committed ſince the "15. day of *June* 1567. (the Murther of *Lenox* excepted) ſhould "be remitted to thoſe that ſhould ſue out their Pardon. Nevertheleſs it was thought fit, for the Security as well of the King as of the Regent, leſt the Regent ſhould be expoſed to the Danger of being murthered, or the King ſhould be conveyed into *France*, that the Q. of *England* ſhould by ſome publick Inſtrument paſs her Royall word, that neither the *Hamiltons* nor any other ſhould be called in Queſtion, or puniſhed in their Eſtates, for the Murther of the Regents, but with her Conſent. Which alſo was Enacted in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates for ſettling of the publick Quiet in ſo turbulent a time. But theſe Conditions *William Kircald* of *Grange*, (whom *Murray* the Regent had made Governour of *Edenborough* Caſtle, taking an Oath of Fidelity of him in the King's Name,) the Lord *Humes*, *Lidington*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and others who thought the Queen of *Scots* was hardly dealt withall, would by no means accept, but with obſtinate Reſolution, contemning the Authority of the King and the Regent, held and fortified that Caſtle in the Queen's Name, led by *Lidington*'s Counſell, and preſuming upon the unapproachable Strength of the Place, the Munition and Proviſion for War in it, (for there the King's Magazine was kept,) and the Succours promiſed by the Duke of *Alva* and the French King; which latter had already ſent them ſome

and to compoſe matters in *Scotland*,

upon theſe Conditions.

Grange and others reject the Conditions.

Grange defendeth *Edenborough* Caſtle.

1573.

ſome Money, (whereof the greateſt part was intercepted at *Blackneſs*,) and would have done more, had he not been hindered by the tedious Siege of *Rochelle*. When theſe men could neither by Rewards offered by the Regent, nor by the Perſwaſions or Threats of Queen *Elizabeth*, be drawn to any Terms of Peace, but needs they would maintain the Caſtle againſt the Regent, daily infeſt the City of *Edenborough*, the Seat of Juſtice, with their Ordnance and Sallies forth, and ſend for Supplies of men out of *France*; Queen *Elizabeth*, who could by no means endure the *French* ſhould be in *Scotland*, being at length prevailed with by the Regent, promiſed Forces, Ordnance and Munition for the ſubduing of the Caſtle, upon theſe Conditions.

Queen *Elizabeth* promiſeth Help for taking it.

Upon what Conditions.

The Regent ſhall come to no Compoſition with the Beſieged without acquainting the General of the Engliſh Forces, nor he without acquainting the Regent and the King's Council. If the Caſtle fall into the Engliſhmens hands, it ſhall be delivered up to the King within ten days, with all the Munition, Vtenſils, Rolls and Records of the King and Realm: the reſt ſhall goe for a Prey to the Victours. The Engliſh *ſhall fortifie no place in* Scotland *without the Conſent of the Regent and the Nobility. The Regent ſhall yield all the Help he can to the* Engliſh, *and furniſh them with Proviſions. The Beſieged, after the Caſtle is taken, ſhall be reſerved to be proceeded againſt by Law; but therein the Queen of* England *ſhall firſt be adviſed with. If any Engliſh-men ſhall be ſlain, their Wives and Children ſhall have Stipends payed them for two years out of the Rebels Eſtates: if any be hurt, they ſhall have Stipends likewiſe till they be cured. The Engliſh Ordnance, if any of them be ſpoiled, the Powder and Shot that ſhall be ſpent, ſhall be made good out of the King's Store in the Caſtle, or out of the Rebels Eſtates. Ten Hoſtages ſhall be ſent into* England *as Security for ſending back the Forces and Ordnance, unleſs any ordinary Miſchances of War befall them.*

Edenborough Caſtle beſieged by the Engliſh Forces.

Upon theſe Conditions Sir *William Drury*, Marſhall of the Garriſon of *Berwick*, entred *Scotland* with ſome great Pieces, and 1500 men, (amongſt whom were theſe Voluntier-Gentlemen, *George Cary*, *Henry Cary*, *Thomas Cecyl*, *Henry Leigh*, *William Knolles*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *William Killegrew*, and others,) and, joyning with the Scottiſh auxiliary Forces, begirt the Caſtle, after he had once or twice ſummoned the ſame in the King's Name, but in vain. Firſt, they played with their Ordnance upon the Caſtle four days together from five Batteries which they had raiſed, and eſpecially upon *David's Tower*, which after a few days fell flat down. Afterwards giving an Aſſault, the Bulwark called the *Spurre* was taken; while thoſe which ſtormed the Caſtle on the other ſide at the ſame inſtant were beaten off not without Loſs of men. The next day by a Sign given the Beſieged deſired a Parley with *Drury*. There were let down out of the Caſtle by a Rope *Kircald* himſelf and *Robert Melvin*; *Henry Leigh* and *Fleck* a *Scot* being in like ſort received into the Caſtle as Hoſtages. They demanded "That they might freely enjoy Life and Goods; that

The Caſtle parleys.

1573. "*Humes* and *Lidington* might, in regard of the private Enmities of "ſome perſons towards them, retire into *England*; that *Kircald* "might remain in *Scotland*, or, if not, that he might have free Leave "to be gone. When theſe things would not be granted, but onely that the Souldiers ſhould be permitted to depart with Bag and Baggage, without Arms; on the third day after, by reaſon of the ſmall number of the Garriſon, (not well agreeing amongſt themſelves,) being either wounded or ſpent with Watching and Toil, and without any Hope of Succour, as alſo for lack of Water, (for one of their Wells was ſtopped up with the Ruines of a Stone-wall, and the other lay open to the Enemies great Ordnance,) they yielded themſelves and all they had, the 33. day of the Siege, to Queen *Elizabeth* and *Drury*, who, upon receit of Letters out of *England*, delivered the Caſtle with all the Priſoners up to the Regent for the King's Uſe. Of whom *Kircald*, *James* his Brother, *Moſman* and *Coky* Goldſmiths, who had coined baſe Money in the Caſtle, were hanged; though, to ſave *Kircald*'s Life, an hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* profered themſelves to be for ever Vaſſals to the Regent, to pay a yearly Penſion of 3000 Marks, and twenty thouſand Pound of Scottiſh Money in hand, and to give Security, that he ſhould for the future continue faithfully in the King's Obedience. *Humes*; and others who were diſperſed into divers Caſtles, were ſpared at the Interceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*, not without Commendations of her Clemency. *Lidington* was ſent to *Leith*, where he died by Sickneſs, yet not without Suſpicion of Poiſon: a man amongſt the *Scots* of greateſt Experience, and of an excellent Wit, had it been leſs wavering. In which regard *George Buchanan*, his Emulatour, in a Paper of his which he entituled *The Chameleon*, ſets him forth in his life-time as one more mutable then the *Chameleon*, and ſharply taxeth him as a fickle colour-changing Enemy to the King's Grandmother, his Mother, *Murray*, the King himſelf, and to his Countrey. From this time *Scotland* took ſome Breath after the Civil War, and as well the Heads of the Parties as the Souldiers, going over into *Swethland*, *France* and the *Netherlands*, gained great Commendations for their martial Valour.

It is yielded.

Kircald and others hanged.

Lidington's death.

Peace in *Scotland*.

And to the end that *England* alſo might be the more ſecure from Practices at Home in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſs*, who had ſerved the Queen his Miſtreſs with ſingular Faithfulneſs, but to the Undoing of ſome, and Endangering of more, was delivered out of Priſon, and commanded to depart *England*: who withdrew himſelf into *France*, being in deadly Fear of the Earl of *Southampton*, whom he had by his Impeachment brought into danger of his Life; and of *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, to appeaſe whoſe Diſpleaſure he wrote an Apology for himſelf. Scarce was he departed the Land, but *H. Cokin*, who uſed privately to convey his Letters for him, was apprehended, and by his Confeſſion *Morgan* diſcovered, who, being a forward man to farther any ſecret Deſigns in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, and very eager to put them in

The Biſhop of *Roſſe* expelled out of *England*.

Others detected.

in Execution, presently fled. *Atslo*, a Principal Physician amongst the Papists, and *Good*, both of them Doctours of Physick, and *Francis Berty*, were kept in Prison some months, for holding secret Correspondence with her by Letters: and for the same cause *Henry Goodyer* and *Richard Lowder* were had in Suspicion. 1573.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Rosse* omitted no Duty of a most faithfull Subject towards the Queen of *Scots*, both with the Emperour, the Bishop of *Rome*, the *French* King, and the Popish Princes of *Germany*, who all of them held him in Hope, but performed just nothing. But herein he complained that it fell out most unhappily, that the Duke of *Alva* (in whom he had put his greatest Confidence) was now to depart out of the *Low-Countries*, having obtained a fair Dismission from his Government under Pretence of recovering his Health. But in very truth the *Spaniard* called him Home as he was with great Cruelty proceeding on to a full Conquest, (having already reduced almost all *Holland* under his Power,) being perswaded by Cardinal *Granvell* and *Roderigo Gomez de Sylva*, that his Power grew too great, and his Name began to sound higher then his Prince's; and that through the Rigour of his violent Government the *Netherlanders* were driven to a Revolt, yea to Desperation. Although some bloudy-minded persons were of opinion, that there could not in all *Spain* be a fitter man found to make an end of that War, and reduce the *Netherlands* into the form of a Province. These violent-spirited men seemed to pity the King, if he ever hoped that the Prince of *Orange* and the Confederates, being obstinately bent and resolved to retain their Freedom, withall rich, and strongly secured by the natural Situation of the Places they possessed, would be reduced into Order by fair means and kind Usage. To the Duke of *Alva* was appointed Successour *Don Lewis Zuniga de Requesens*, great Commendator of *Castile*, a man of a more mild Spirit, who, being desirous to oblige Queen *Elizabeth* to him by all good Offices, and minding his own Affairs, would not intermeddle either with Scottish or English matters.

Being absent he attempteth new Stirs.

The Duke of *Alva* called home out of the *Netherlands*.

Requesens succeedeth him.

Whether I should here make mention of the frantick Opinion of *Peter Burchet*, I know not, who perswaded himself that it was lawfull to kill such as opposed the Truth of the Gospel. So far had the Errour of this Opinion transported him, that he drew his Dagger upon *Hawkins* that famous Sea-Captain in the open Street, and wounded him, supposing him to be *Hatton*, who was then in great Favour with the Queen, and of her Privy Council, whom he had heard to be an Enemy to the * Innovators. The Queen was so extraordinarily incensed with this Fact, that she commanded the man to be presently executed by Martial or Camp-law; untill she was informed by discreet Persons, that Martial Law was not to be used but in Camps or in turbulent Times; but that at home, and in time of Peace, the Proceeding must be by form of Judiciary Process. Being therefore indicted, he affirmed that what he had done was consonant to the Holy Scriptures,

Burchet's Fanatick Opinion.

* Puritans.

Martial Law.

1573. Scriptures, and therefore lawfull. Whereupon being to be condemned of Heresie, he promised to renounce his Opinion; but yet he shifted it off, and would not. Then being thrown into the Tower of *London*, he slew one of his Keepers with a Billet which he snatched up out of the Chimney, knocking him on the Head: for which he was condemned of Murther, had his Right hand cut off, and nailed to the Gallows, and then was hanged, discovering a silent Reluctancy.

The death of *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*.

In the beginning of this year died *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Privy-Seal, Son of *Thomas Howard* that martial Duke of *Norfolk* by his second Wife *Agnes Tilney*; a man of most approved Fidelity and invincible Courage: who, being first Governour of *Calice*, was by Queen *Mary* called into the number of Barons, and made High Admiral of *England*. To her he was afterward Lord Chamberlain, as he was also to Queen *Elizabeth*, till, being broken with Age, he resigned it a few months before his Death to *Sussex*, being made Lord Privy-Seal, which (as I formerly said) is the fourth Degree of Honour in *England*. In the Honour of the Barony succeeded his Son *Charles*, who was afterward Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and in like manner Lord High Admiral of *England*.

And of *Reginald* Earl of *Kent*.

Not long after died also *Reginald Grey* Earl of *Kent*, whom the Queen a year before had raised from a private man to the Dignity of Earl of *Kent*, after that this Title had lien asleep for the space of fifty years from the Death of *Richard Grey* Earl of *Kent*, who wasted his Patrimony, and was elder Brother to this man's Grandfather. *Henry* his Brother succeeded him in his Honour.

And Doctour *Caius*.

Neither must I pass over in Silence *John Caius*, or *Kayes*, a famous Physician, born at *Norwich*, and brought up in the Universities of *Cambridge* and *Padua*, who deceased at this time, having spent his whole time in Physick, translated much of *Galen* and *Celsus* into Latine, and commented upon more, and in the end gave all his Wealth to the Advancing of Learning, joyning a new Colledge to old *Gonvill-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and giving a perpetual Maintenance for 23 Students. Whereupon they grew into one name of *Gonvill* and *Caius* Colledge, wherein he lieth intombed with this Inscription, FUI CAIUS, that is, *I was Caius*.

Gonvill and *Caius* Colledge.

Commotions in *Ireland*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Conors* and *O-Moors*, Families impatient of Quiet, gathered together certain roving Companies, and making outrageous Spoil, sacked and burnt *Athlon* upon the River *Sineus* or *Shannon*. But Sir *John Perott*, President of *Munster*, kept them from joyning their Forces with the Rebels in *Munster*; for with continual Chargings he so hunted and prosecuted the Rebels, *James Fitz-Moris*, and *Fitz-Edmunds* Steward of *Imokelly*, putting many of them to the Sword, and forcing the Castle of *Mayn* with the French Garrison therein, that he made them glad to crave Pardon with all Submission in the Church of *Kilmalock*, that is Saint *Malachie's Cell*. And at the same time the Earl of *Desmond* with *John* his Brother, who were the Authours of that Rebellion, were brought back by Sir *Edward Fit-*

Perott suppresseth the Rebels.

The Earl of *Desmond* escapeth out of Prison.

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ton out of *England* into *Ireland*, and caſt into Priſon at *Dublin*; from whence notwithſtanding they ſhortly after brake out. 1573.

In *Ulſter Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had ſeized upon a great part of the Countrey of *Clandeboy*, burnt the Town of *Knock-fergus*, that is, *Fergus his Rock*: and others in that Tract began to raiſe Tumults. Againſt theſe *Walter D' Evereux* (whom Queen *Elizabeth* had lately created Earl of *Eſſex*) craved leave to undertake an Expedition, following therein the Counſell of thoſe who deſired above all things to have him farther off, and to plunge him into Dangers under pretence of procuring him Honour. Which he knew well enough: but being a ſtirring man, and one not unacquainted with warlike Diſcipline from his very Youth, he held on his Reſolution, and made an Agreement with the Queen, that upon certain Conditions the one half of *Clandeboy*, if he drove out the Rebels, ſhould be granted to him and his Souldiers: for the Defence whereof he ſhould maintain at his own Charge two hundred Horſemen, and four hundred Foot. And to furniſh himſelf for the War, he borrowed of the Queen ten thouſand Pound of *Engliſh* Money, morgaging his Lands in *Eſſex* for the ſame.

An Expedition of the Earl of *Eſſex* into *Ireland*.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, fearing leſt the Name of ſo great an Earl ſhould eclipſe his Glory in *Ireland*, adviſed the Queen that he might not be ſent, feigning I know not what general Revolt of all *Ulſter*. But *Eſſex* for all that was ſent, and, that the Lord Deputie's Honour and Authority might ſtand uneclipſed, he was commanded to receive his Patent from him, whereby to be made Governour of *Ulſter*: which long it was ere he could get, and that not without very importunate Suing.

After he had been toſſed with a ſad Tempeſt at Sea, he arrived towards the end of *Auguſt* at *Knock-fergus*, with the Lord *Darcy* and the Lord *Rich*, *Henry Knolles*, and four of his Brethren, *Michael* and *John Cary*, *Henry*, *William* and *John Norris*, and a Band of Souldiers which had been haſtily collected. Before his Arrival *Brian Mac-Phelim* had driven away his Cattel, which were all his Wealth, into the inner parts of the Countrey, (for beſides Sheep and Hogs, he had thirty thouſand Cows.) After his Arrival he congratulated him, and moſt frankly profered him all Kindneſs; as alſo did *Mac-Gileſpic*, *Mac-Guillie*, *Hugh* Baron of *Dunganon*, and other great Lords round about. The Earl promiſed to pardon *Mac-Phelim*'s Rebellion, and endeavoured to oblige him to him by his Civility. But he ſhortly after revolted, and withdrew himſelf with all his Friends to *Turlogh Leinigh*; upon which followed daily Skirmiſhes with the *Engliſh*. The Lord *Rich*, being called away by his private Occaſions, returned after a month into *England*; *Henry Knolles* alſo by reaſon of Sickneſs, and many others, alleaging ſome one Cauſe and ſome another, withdrew themſelves daily by degrees out of that rude and barbarous Countrey. *Eſſex* made grievous Complaints to the Queen and his Friends by Letters, that his nobler Comerades began to flag and languiſh;

He is forſaken of his Companions.

1573. guiſh; that the Expedition was undertaken ſomewhat too late; Victuals too long ere they came to them, and thoſe tainted; that the common Souldiers were inconſiderately choſen at firſt, and many of them had miſcarried; that *Mac-Phelim* was revolted, and that by the Cunning, or rather Treachery, of *Pierſe* an Engliſh Captain, who had formerly born ſome Sway amongſt the *Iriſh* in thoſe parts. For his part, he was unable to bear the Charges of the War: neither had the Lord Deputy as yet ſent him his Patent, ſo as he could exerciſe no Authority over the bordering people. He therefore prayeth the Queen to carry on the Service in her own Name and by her own Command, though he bare the one half of the Charge. Afterwards he beſought *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter* and *Burghley*, to perſwade the Queen to allow Pay for 100 Horſe and 600 Foot, and to grant him *Mayo*, a *Peninſula*, or almoſt Iſland. And when the Queen had now determined to call home *Eſſex* out of *Ulſter*, Tumults ariſing in *Munſter*, *Leiceſter* and others overcame her ſo by their Perſwaſions that he was not ſent for. And the Lord Deputy commanded, that whilſt he himſelf marched againſt *Deſmond*, who was eſcaped out of Priſon contrary to his Word given, *Eſſex* ſhould march to the Borders of *Ulſter*. Which though it ſomewhat troubled him, who was now wholly buſied in making Fortifications in *Clandeboy*, yet he obeyed; yea, marching on into *Munſter* with *Kildare*, he perſwaded *Deſmond* to lay down Arms, who not long after ſubmitted himſelf.

He is beſet with Difficulties.

He perſwadeth *Deſmond* to ſubmit.

Now *Eſſex*, having received his Patent, undertook a long March againſt *Turlogh Leinigh*, *O-Donell* joyning with him. But from *Con O-Donell*, *Turlogh*'s Son-in-law, who would not ſerve under him, he took the Caſtle of *Liffer*, and gave it to *Hugh O-Donell*; *Turlogh* in the mean time ſpinning out the time with Parlies, till that *Eſſex* was of neceſſity to return: who as he had tired out his Body with Labours and Cares all the Summer, ſo now, Winter approaching, he conſidered ſeriouſly with himſelf by what means *Ulſter*, which had been ſo long neglected, that it was grown wild and ſavage, might be reduced to Civility. And upon mature Deliberation of the matter, he ſhewed, that if three Towns were built at the Queen's Charge, and ten Sconces by a common Purſe of the Souldiers, in ſuch convenient places as he had deſigned, above ſeven thouſand Pound of Engliſh Money might be gathered yearly from thoſe People, and after 2 years the Queen ſhould not need to maintain any more Garriſons there.

His Project for ſecuring *Ulſter*.

Whilſt he was wholly taken up about theſe Projects, and other commendable Endeavours for providing of Victualls, he eſcaped narrowly from being ſlain by the *Iriſh*. For *Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had of late treacherouſly ſlain one *Moore* an Engliſh Captain, had conſpired with *Turlogh* and the *Hebridian Scots* to cut him off. Which as ſoon as he underſtood, he thought it beſt not to expect their coming, but to ſet upon them: and ſet upon them he did ſo reſolutely, that, with the Slaughter of two hundred *Iriſh*, he took *Brian*, and

He is in danger by *Mac-Phelim*.

Mac-Phelim taken priſoner.

and *Rory Oge* his Half-brother, and *Brian*'s Wife. With theſe Actions was the year well-nigh ſpent in *Ireland*, to no man's Advantage, but to *Eſſex* his great Dammage; and alſo to the great Loſs of *Chaterton*, an Engliſh Gentleman, who upon certain Conditions with the Queen had unfortunately undertaken to carry over Engliſh Colonies into *Fues* and the Territory of *O-Hanlan* adjoyning. 1573. *Chaterton's* Enterpriſe overthrown.

The Seventeenth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1574.

IN the firſt Moneth of the Year *Francis* Duke of *Alenzon* did by Letters full fraught with Love, and by *Maveiſier* the French Embaſſadour, endeavour more earneſtly then before that he might come into *England* upon Safe conduct, and ſalute Queen *Elizabeth* in perſon, for whom being abſent he had ſo ſingular a Love and Reſpect. She, being overcome with his Importunities, yielded to it, (though ſhe under-hand adviſed him otherwiſe,) and gave him her Royall word, that he might come when he pleaſed before the 20. of *May*, liberally promiſing that he ſhould fail of no Kindneſs which might be expected at the hands of a moſt loving Princeſs. Certainly ſhe now loved and reſpected him more heartily, after ſhe underſtood for certain that he bare a mortall Hatred to the *Guiſes*, her ſworn Enemies. But before this Anſwer was brought to *Alenzon*, *Valentine Dale*, Doctour of Law, Embaſſadour in *France*, (in the room of *Walſingham* now made Secretary,) gave Queen *Elizabeth* notice that *Alenzon* and *Navarre* were ſuſpected to endeavour a Change of Affairs. For the Queen-mother, being a Woman of an high Spirit, began to ſuſpect that he practiſed ſecretly with *Navarre*, *Montmorency* and others, to remove her from the Government, if any thing ſhould befall the King other then well: and this her Suſpicion the *Guiſes* increaſed, ſuggeſting to her that her Son *Alenzon* had not long before held intimate Familiarity with *Coligny*, the Ring-leader of the Proteſtants in *France*. *Alenzon*, being queſtioned for it, amongſt other things voluntarily confeſſed, that he had for a good while been a Suitour for Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, wherein believing that *Coligny*'s Friendſhip would be of good uſe unto him, he had now and then had diſcourſe with him thereof, and of the Low-Countrey War. Notwithſtanding, both he and *Navarre* had Keepers ſet over them. But *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dale*'s Secretary, came privily to them both, and comforted them in the Queen of *England*'s name, promiſing that ſhe would omit no Opportunity to help and relieve them. Whereof that ſubtil old Woman ſoon got Knowledge, and ſo proſecuted *Wilkes* that he was fain to withdraw himſelf into *England*, where ſhe alſo followed him with Letters of Complaint, inſo-

Alenzon maketh means to ſee the Queen.

She granteth it.

He is ſuſpected at home.

Committed to Cuſtody.

1574.

much that he was sent back into *France*, and there humbly craved Pardon. *Navarre* not unmindfull of the Consolation he gave him, when he came to be King of *France*, and saw him in *Normandy* 25 years after, Knighted him. Afterwards Queen *Elizabeth* sent *Thomas Randolph* into *France* to the Queen-mother, if it were possible, to restore *Alenzon* and *Navarre* to their former Grace and Favour. But before he arrived in *France*, King *Charles* was dead: for whom a solemn funerall Obsequie was kept with great Magnificence in Saint *Paul's* Church in *London*.

The Death of *Charles* the Ninth.

As soon as *Henry* the Third of that Name King of *France* was returned out of *Poland* into *France* to take the Crown, *Roger* Lord *North* was sent over into *France*, to congratulate the new King both about the Kingdome and his Return, to condole the rending of *France* in pieces by Civill Wars, to perswade him to Peace and the Observation of the late Edicts, to restore *Alenzon* into Favour, to pacify the Displeasure conceived against *Montmorency* and the Marshall of *Cosse*, and to procure Favour towards the Lady *Charlota* of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Monpensier's* Daughter, who had withdrawn herself into *Germany* for Religion. But he effected nothing: for now *France*, as it were thrust forward by Destiny, ran desperately headlong into a cruell War. Nevertheless the King and his Mother sent *La Garde* into *England*, with Letters from them both, to prosecute the Business of Marriage for her Son *Alenzon*. For he now stomacking it very much, that he was so unworthily led about by his Mother like a Prisoner, and holding secret Correspondence with the Politicians in *France*, they purposed to rid him away into *England* in hopes of Marriage, thereby to divert the young man's mind from War and Faction at home.

The Lord *North* his Embassy to *Henry* the Third.

The King and the Queen-mother commend *Alenzon* to the Queen of *England*.

Nevertheless in the mean time they left no Stone unturned in *Scotland*, by secret Contrivances to procure that the young King might be sent over into *France*, and *Morton* the Regent laid aside; sending privily to this purpose certain *Scots* of the French Guard into *Scotland*. And this the Queen of *Scots* much desired, being perswaded that if her Son were once in *France* out of Danger, she and the Catholicks in *England* should be more mildly dealt withall. For hereby she thought it would come to pass, that the English Faction in *Scotland*, which was hitherto supported by the Authority of the King's Name, would presently fall to the Ground; and the *English*, as he grew more and more riper in years, would stand in Fear of him, both from *France* and from *Scotland*. And no less did the *French* wish the same, fearing lest the Regent of *Scotland*, being most devoted to the *English*, would dissolve that ancient League betwixt the *French* and the *Scots*. Notwithstanding when the Regent earnestly intreated that there might be a League of mutuall Defence concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland* against Forreiners, he was not heard or minded; perhaps because at the same time he sued that a yearly Pension might be assigned him and some other *Scots*. But those were hearkned

They favour the Queen of *Scots* against the Regent.

Q. *Elizabeth* neglecteth the Regent.

ned unto, who, upon a light Suſpicion, charged the Queen of *Scots*, the Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* alſo himſelf, as if they had made up a Match between *Charles* the King of *Scots* Uncle, (to whom the King had lately in a Parliament confirmed the Earldome of *Lenox*,) and *Elizabeth Candiſh*, the Counteſs of *Shrewsbury*'s Daughter by a former Husband, without acquainting the Queen. For which cauſe the Mothers of them both, and ſome others, were detained a while in Cuſtody; and all the Blame was laid upon the Queen of *Scots*. 1574.

She believeth Talebearers againſt the Q. of *Scots*.

Whenas now there aroſe ſundry Suſpicions whither this Marriage ſhould tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntingdon* was made Preſident of the Council in the North, and furniſhed with new and ſecret Inſtructions in this matter. This Preſidentſhip, which is now a place of great Honour, did from a mean Beginning grow up in a ſhort time to this high Eſtimation. For (to relate to Poſterity what I have heard by a free and brief Digreſſion) when in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth the Rebellion of the Northern people about the ſuppreſſing of Abbies was quelled, and the Duke of *Norfolk* ſtaying in thoſe Parts, many Complaints were brought unto him of ſeveral Wrongs done in the Rebellion, ſome of them he made up himſelf, and others he committed to men of Diſcretion, under his Seal, to be by them compounded and accorded. Which when the King underſtood, he ſent him a peculiar Seal to uſe in theſe caſes: And the ſame Seal he committed, after the Duke was recalled, to *Tunſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and appointed him Aſſiſtents, with Authority *to hear and determine the Complaints of the Poor*. He was then firſt named *Preſident*, and the Authority of his Succeſſours hath ever ſince increaſed very much.

The Earl of *Huntingdon* made Preſident of the Council in the North.

The Original of this Council.

In theſe days a wondrous Exceſs in Apparel had ſpred itſelf all over *England*, and the Habit of our own Countrey, through a peculiar Vice incident to our Apiſh Nation, grew into ſuch Contempt, that men by their new-faſhioned Garments, and too gaudy Apparel, diſcovered a certain Deformity and Arrogancy of Mind, whileſt they jetted up and down in their Silks glittering with Gold and Silver, either imbroidered or laced. The Queen obſerving that, to maintain this Exceſs, a great quantity of Money was carried yearly out of the Land, to buy Silks and other outlandiſh Wares, to the impoveriſhing of the Commonwealth; and that many of the Nobility which might be of great Service to the Commonwealth, and others that they might ſeem of noble Extraction, did, to their own undoing, not onely waſt their Eſtates, but alſo run ſo far in Debt, that of neceſſity they came within the danger of the Law thereby, and attempted to raiſe Troubles and Commotions when they had waſted their own Patrimonies; although ſhe might have proceeded againſt them by the Laws of King *Henry* the 8. and Queen *Mary*, and thereby have fined them in great Summs of Money, yet ſhe choſe rather to deal with them by way of Command. She commanded therefore by Pro-

Exceſs of Apparel reſtrained.

1574. Proclamation, that every man ſhould within fourteen days conform himſelf for Apparel to a certain preſcribed Faſhion, leſt they otherwiſe incurred the Severity of the Laws: and ſhe began the Conformity herſelf in her own Court. But, through the Untowardneſs of the Times, both this Proclamation and the Laws alſo gave way by little and little to this exceſs of Pride, which grew daily more and more unreaſonable: And with it crept in riotous Banquetting, and prodigal Bravery in Building. For now there began more Noblemens and private mens Houſes to be builded here and there through *England*, and thoſe neat, large and ſumptuous Edifices, then in any other Age before; and verily to the great Ornament of the Kingdome, but to as great Decay of the glorious Hoſpitality of the Nation.

England beautified with Buildings.

The Cowardiſe of ſome *Engliſh* in the *Netherlands*.

Of the Engliſh-men who ſerved in *Holland* under *Edward Cheſter* and *Gainsford*, ſome this year wanted Valour, and ſome good Succeſs. For thoſe that lay in Garriſon at *Valkenbourg* quitted their Poſt, and after yielded themſelves to the Enemy: who notwithſtanding were pardoned, leſt Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould deny Harbour and Victuals to the Spaniſh Fleet that was now paſſing through the Britiſh Sea to the *Low Countries*. Others of them at the Scluſe of *Gouda*, after they had endured a ſmart Skirmiſh with the *Spaniards*, and had beaten them back, were ſurprized at unawares by the Enemy ſwimming the River, and forced from their Hold, 200 of them being ſlain, and three Enſigns taken.

Others defeated.

Miniſters deluded.

I know not whether it be worth the while to mention ſuch ſmall matters as theſe; to wit, the devout Credulity of certain *London* Miniſters, deluded this year by a Maid which counterfeited herſelf to be poſſeſſed by the Devil: a monſtrous Whale left on the dry Shoar upon the Coaſt of the Iſle of *Thanet*, whoſe Length was meaſured to be twenty of our Ells, the Breadth from the Belly to the Back-bone thirteen Foot, and the ſpace between the Eyes eleven Foot: that the *Thames* ebbed and flowed twice in an hour: that the Clouds flamed with Fire in the Moneth of *November*, ſtreaming from the North towards the South; and the next night the Heaven ſeemed to burn, the Flames ariſing from the Horizon round about, and meeting in the Vertical Point. Blame me not for mentioning theſe things in a ſhort Digreſſion, conſidering that the graveſt Hiſtorians have recorded ſuch like matters more at large.

A great Whale.

An unuſual flowing of the *Thames*.

The Sky ſeemeth to burn.

The

1575.

The Eighteenth Year of Her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1575.

The League with *France* renewed.

HENRY the Third, King of *France*, being returned out of *Poland*, and inaugurated at *Rheims*, made it his first and chiefest Care to confirm by his Oath and Subscription the Confederacy of *Blois*, entred into in the year 1572. betwixt his Brother *Charles* and Q. *Elizabeth*, and to deliver the same to *Valentine Dale*, her Ordinary Embassadour: which she in like manner ratified at *Saint Jamese's* near *Westminster*. Howbeit within a while after he moved this Question by a Letter, whether or no the *mutual Defence against all men*, mentioned in the said League, did comprehend the Cause of Religion. Whereunto when she had answered plainly, that it did, and that she would be ready for a mutual Defence against all men, even in the Cause of Religion, if it were required, according to the Condition of the League; he prepared himself to war against the Protestants: and *Alenzon* being engaged to the adverse Party, there followed thereupon a deep and long Silence concerning his Marriage. Nevertheless, for *Alenzon*'s sake, Queen *Elizabeth* furnished a great Summe of Money to *Casimir*, for the bringing of certain *German* Horsemen into *France* against the Disturbers of the publick Peace.

War begun in *France*.

While her Mind was taken up with these *French* matters, in the mean time the Netherlandish Affairs stood thus. Don *Lewis Zuniga de Requesens*, who succeeded the Duke of *Alva*, bent himself wholly to recover (if it were possible) the Sea-coasts, which the Duke of *Alva* had, by a notable Over-sight in so great a Captain, neglected, whereby the Low-Countrey War was so many years prolonged. But in regard he was unprovided of Shipping, (for the Spanish Ships which by Help of the *English* were brought into *Flanders* a little before for that purpose had miscarried, being miserably torn and weather-beaten,) he sent *Boischot* into *England* to leavy, with the Queen's Consent, Ships and Sea-men against the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*. But he prevailed not: for the Queen would not hazard her Ships and Seamen in another man's Quarrel; and she publickly commanded, that no man should set out Ships of War without Licence first obtained from her, and that no English Sea-men should serve under other Princes. *Boischot* therefore desired, that she would not be offended if the English Exiles in the *Netherlands* served at Sea under the *Spaniard* against the *Hollanders*, and that they might have free Access to the Ports of *England*, and buy Victuals for their Money. She in no wise allowed that those English Rebels (for so she called those whom he termed *Exiles*) should serve under the *Spaniard*; nay, she hoped *Requesens* would not shew them any Countenance, and prayed him not

Requesens craveth Shipping out of *England*, but in vain.

Other Requests denied him.

1575. not to doe it, principally and by name *Thomas Copley*, (whom the *Spaniards* purposed to set out to Sea to make Prize both of the *English* and the *Netherlanders*, having loaden him with the Titles of *Great Master of the Maes, Lord of Gatten and Roughty.*) And to give liberty of her Ports to Rebels and sworn Enemies, were nothing else but the height of Madness. *Boischot*, that he might obtain something reasonable of her, required in the King of *Spain's* name, that the *Netherland* Rebels against the *Spaniard* might be expelled out of *England*. She denied it, forasmuch as those whom he called Rebels were men of no note, poor and silly Wretches, who had attempted no Disturbances, but had fled into *England* for fear of the War, despoiled of their Countrey and Inheritance, whom to deliver into the Tormentour's Hands were a piece of Inhumanity, and against the Laws of Hospitality. And she put him in mind how prejudicial it had been to the Spanish Affairs in the *Netherlands*, when at the Duke of *Alva's* Request she commanded the *Netherlanders* to depart out of *England* in the year 1572. For the Count *Van-der-Mark* and others, being commanded to be gone out of *England*, thereupon took the *Briel*, and gave Beginning to that War. But yet, that she might not seem to forget or neglect the ancient League with the House of *Burgundy*, (which notwithstanding the *Spaniard* had refused to confirm with her,) she commanded by publick Proclamation, that the *Netherlanders* Ships of War should not stir out of the Havens of *England*, and that those *Netherlanders* who had taken up Arms against the *Spaniard* should not be admitted into the Havens of *England*, and by name the Prince of *Orange* and those of his House, the Earls of *Culenbourg*, *Berg*, *Van-der-Mark*, and 50 others, the most remarkable men of that Faction. And this she did the more willingly, because *Requesens* had, at the Intercession of *Wilson* the English Embassadour, removed the Earl of *Westmorland* and other English-men out of the *Netherland* Provinces of the *Spaniard*, and had dissolved the English Seminary at *Doway*. In stead whereof the *Guises*, by the Procurement of *Gregory* the Thirteenth, Bishop of *Rome*, erected another at *Rheims*.

She forbiddeth the Confederate *Netherlanders* entrance into her Havens.

Requesens removeth the English Rebels out of the *Netherlands*.

He dissolveth their Seminary at *Doway*.

The Prince of *Orange* purposeth to fly to the Protection of the *French*.

Queen *Eli.* dissuadeth him.

The Prince of *Orange*, finding himself too weak to withstand the Force of the *Spaniard*, and hoping for no good out of *England*, entred into Consultation with his Friends, to whose Protection they might best betake themselves. And when Queen *Elizabeth* understood that he cast his Eyes and Mind upon the French King, she first sent *Daniel Rogers* to dissuade him: which when *Rogers* could not doe, (for he had dealt before concerning the matter with *Coligny* Admiral of *France* and the French King,) she sent *Henry Cobham*, the Lord *Cobham's* Brother, to the *Spaniard*, to inform him of how dangerous Consequence it would be, if *Holland* and *Zeland* should revolt from him to the French King, and to perswade him by the best reasons he could to change War for Peace: who seemed to listen to the Motion. And withall she signified the same things to *Requesens* by *Robert Corbet*. Neither ceased she to divert the Prince of *Orange* from his purpose by

by *John Haſtings*: but by means of the oppoſition of *Vilers* a French Preacher, he effected nothing. This *Vilers* (I ſpeak it upon mine own Knowledge) came formerly into *England* a poor needy fellow in a thrid-bare Cloak, and grew rich by a common Collection made him for reading a Divinity Lecture. He, fearing leſt the Prince of *Orange* ſhould look towards the *Engliſh*, amongſt other things affirmed, that Queen *Elizabeth* had never a Martiall man to whoſe Valour and Fidelity ſhe could intruſt an Army but *Suſſex*, and he not much favouring the Proteſtant Religion. He alſo buzzed abroad, what he had heard of *Coligny*, that the *Engliſh*, if they once ſet footing in the *Netherlands*, would reſume their ancient Hatred againſt the *French*. 1575. *Vilers* perſwadeth him.

But the Civill Wars amongſt the *French* cut off from the Prince of *Orange* and the *Netherlanders* all hope of Aid out of *France*. Whereupon they entred into a new Conſultation, whom they ſhould fly to for Succour and Protection. The Princes of *Germany* they knew were already averſe enough in their Hearts from the *Spaniards*, but they did not unite their Counſells together for the common Good, they were ſparing of laying out Money, they agreed not in all Points with the *Netherlanders* in Religion, and the Emperour, being allied in Bloud to the *Spaniard*, would caſt Rubs in their way. The *French* (they ſaw) were embroiled with Civill War at home, in ſuch ſort as they could not tell when it would have an end. Beſides, there were inveterate Grudges and Heart-burnings betwixt the *Netherlanders* and the *French*; and thoſe of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the people bordering upon the *French*, would oppoſe them all they could. The Government of the *French* was no leſs rigid then that of the *Spaniards*: the Ports of *France* not very commodious for the *Netherlanders* Navigation. But as for the *Engliſh*, they were (as being under the ſame Parallel) of the ſame Temper and Diſpoſition with them, their Religion the very ſame, their Language not much differing, their Country near at hand, full of Havens commodious for Navigation, and abounding with Merchandize: the Queen was very powerfull both by Sea and Land, courteous, bountifull, one that would maintain their Priviledges; her Government would be gentle, and not burthenous by Exactions. Thus they argued. The Confederates conſult about a Protectour.

Into *England* therefore are ſent *Philip* of *Marnix*, Sieur of *Saint Aldegond*, *Janus Douza* of *Nordwick*, *William* of *Nivelle*, *Paul Buys*, [*Advocate for the Eſtates of Holland*,] and Doctor *Melſen*, [*a Lawyer*;] who by an honourable Embaſſie and in an eloquent Oration offer to the Queen either the Poſſeſſion or Protection of *Holland* and *Zeland*, ſhe being a Princeſs deſcended from the Princes of *Holland* by *Philippa* Wife to *Edward* the Third, and Daughter to *William* the Third of *Bavaria*, Earl of *Heynault* and *Holland*, by whoſe other Siſter the hereditary Title of thoſe Provinces was deſcended to the *Spaniard*. They fly to the Queen of *England*, either to be their Prince, or Protectour.

Theſe things the Queen gave a ready and attentive Ear to. And firſt

1575.

She ſeriouſly deliberateth of the matter.

firſt ſhe weighed in her Mind ſeriouſly the Cauſe which they maintained againſt their King and Lord, the Enmity of the *Spaniard* againſt her, the Jealouſies of the *French* King, and the great Expenſes and doubtful Chances of War; and alſo how great Offence the Novelty of ſuch an Example might give. Then ſhe queſtioned whether ſhe had any juſt Title to *Holland* and *Zeland* by the Houſe of *Bavaria*, and whether ſhe might lawfully enter into Covenant with another Prince's Subjects to protect them, as alſo whether they might lawfully doe it without the Emperour's Conſent, who was *ſupreme Lord of the Fee*. Next, ſhe gave no Credit to what ſome would make her believe, that thoſe Countries came to the *Spaniard*'s Anceſtours by Election of the Subjects, not by right of Inheritance. Finally, upon mature Deliberation of the matter, after ſhe had thanked the Prince of *Orange* and them for their apparent Good will towards her, ſhe anſwered "That ſhe eſteemed nothing more glorious then to "deal with Faith and Honour, and as beſeemed a Prince: That ſhe "was not yet ſatisfied how ſhe might with her Honour and a ſafe "Conſcience take thoſe Provinces upon their Profer into her Pro-"tection, much leſs Poſſeſſion. But ſhe would deal ſeriouſly with "the *Spaniard* to procure them an happy Peace.

She rejecteth them.

Champigny his Embaſſy from *Flanders*.

At the ſame time came *John Perenott*, Lord of *Champigny*, the Cardinal of *Granvell*'s Brother, from *Requeſens* to Queen *Elizabeth*; who modeſtly put her in mind of obſerving the League betwixt *England* and *Burgundy*, and beſought her that ſhe would not intermeddle in the Affairs of the *Netherlands*. She, though the *Spaniard* had refuſed to confirm the ſaid League, yet promiſed to obſerve it. Nevertheleſs ſhe would provide (ſhe ſaid) for her own Honour and Safety, in caſe the ancient Form of the *Burgundian* Government were changed, and forrein Souldiers received daily in ſo great numbers into the neighbouring Province to her.

The death of *Requeſens*.

Before ſuch time as *Champigny* was returned Home *Requeſens* was dead, and preſently the Affairs of the *Netherlands* were in a confuſed Condition, the Souldiers harraſing all places with Fire and ſword, and the Eſtates of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, &c. re-aſſuming their former Authority in governing the State: which the *Spaniard* alſo was forced to confirm unto them till the coming of Don *John* of *Auſtria*, whom he had appointed to be their Governour. To theſe Eſtates Queen *Elizabeth* ſent *William Daviſon*, to exhort them effectually to bend their Minds to Peace, being very careful that the *Spaniard* might receive no Dammage, and to preſerve unto him, as far as in her power lay, the *Netherland* Provinces whole and ſafe. But the Spaniſh Souldiers mutining and growing outrageous, nothing was effected.

The Queen laboureth to compoſe the Netherland Differences.

A Tumult on the Borders of *Scotland* between the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

In *England* there was all this Year a quiet Calm, ſaving that in the *Middle March* towards *Scotland* there happned a ſudden Bickering in the moneth of *July* betwixt the Borderers, upon this Occaſion. Sir *John Forſter* Knight, Warden of the *Middle March*, and at this time Governour alſo of *Berwick*, had condeſcended beneath his Quality

Quality to a Parley at *Redſquire* Hill with *J. Carmichell*, Warden of *Liddiſdale* in *Scotland*. For Governours were not wont to meet but with Governours, and Wardens with Wardens, as Equals in Dignity. Both of them, beſides certain Gentlemen attending them, were accompanied with an armed Rabble of Thieves and Malefactours belonging to both Borders, moſt of them bearing an inveterate and deadly Fewd one againſt the other. Theſe, after their wonted manner, turning their Horſes to grazing in the next Fields, encompaſſed the Governour and the Warden on all ſides: whom when they heard fall to hot words about delivering up of Rank-riders, and miſtruſted that themſelves (who had no Livelihood but by their Weapons) were the men that ſhould be delivered up, every one of them having a guilty Conſcience, they began to quarrel about a Spur which was taken up, and preſently betook themſelves to their Weapons, every man falling upon his particular Enemy whom he hated, or elſe to the taking of Horſes as Booty. Whether the *Scots* or the *Engliſh* began firſt is uncertain. At the firſt Shock the *Engliſh* beat back the *Scots*, and took *Carmichell* Priſoner: but when they fell careleſly to pillaging, and to rifling of certain Pedlars, a Company of *Scots* came upon them from *Jedburgh*, by means whereof *Carmichell* eſcaped, the *Engliſh* were put to Flight, Sir *George Heron* Knight, Warden of *Tindale* and *Rhedeſdale*, and others, were ſlain. *Forſter* himſelf the Governour, *Francis Ruſſell* the Earl of *Bedford*'s Son, and Son-in-law to *Forſter*, *Cuthbert Collinwood*, *James Ogle*, *Henry Fenwick*, and many others were taken Priſoners, and carried into *Scotland* as far as *Dalkeith*, where the Regent lay; who entertained them with all Civility, but detained them a little while, fearing leſt, if they were preſently diſmiſſed, while their Bloud was hot for the loſs of their Friends, they might attempt a Revenge, and raiſe Combuſtions and War betwixt the two Kingdoms. Neither did he at laſt let them goe, but upon Faith given under their Hands to appear in *Scotland* at a ſet day.

1575.

Sir *George Heron* ſlain.

Engliſh-men carried Priſoners.

As ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had Intelligence hereof, now if ever was ſhe filled with Anger and Indignation, taking it in high Scorn, that the *Scots*, who (as ſhe ſaid) did owe their Liberty and Tranquillity to her and the *Engliſh*, had broken the Peace, invaded the *Engliſh* in *England*, ſlain ſome of them, taken Priſoner the Warden of the *Middle March*, who was alſo Governour of *Berwick*, with divers others, carried them away captive into *Scotland*, and not diſmiſſed them till they had given Aſſurance under their Hands for their Return. All theſe things ſhe took as done wrongfully and injuriouſly in Diſgrace of the Engliſh Nation and of her own Honour. And the rather, becauſe the Regent had appointed the Hearing of this matter to be within the Limits of *Scotland*, and had alſo propounded whether or no the Commiſſioners ſhould meet armed. For this latter ſeemed a point of Hoſtility, that other of Ambition, namely, that the Regent of *Scotland* ſhould now preſcribe a place of Meeting to the Queen of *Eng-*

Queen *Elizabeth* taketh it in great diſdain.

1575.

The matter is compounded.

land, whereas she not long before had appointed *Murray* the Regent his place of Meeting at *York*. Neither could the Regent now terrified at her Threats satisfie her, till such time as he came unarmed to *Bondenrod* on the very Borders of both Kingdoms, and there met the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the English Commissioner, and with complementall words promised to close this Wound by the best Offices he could, and (to repair the Honour of the English Nation) sent *Carmichell* his intimate Friend into *England*, who was kept a while at *York* a Prisoner at large, and afterwards sent home with Honour and certain Presents. For it was found that the Fault lay in *Forster*, whilest he too obstinately took the part of a notorious Malefactour. Thus was Amity renewed betwixt the Queen and the Regent: and after that time he never failed to shew himself her constant Friend, restraining the Rank-riders of the Borders, to his own great Commendations, and to the generall Good of both Kingdoms.

The death of the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*.

There died this Year no man of any great Note in *England*, but in *Scotland* a most noble person, namely *James Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, and Earl of *Arran*; who, being great Grand-son to *James* the Second King of *Scots* by his Daughter, was appointed Tutour to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and Governour and Heir apparent of the Kingdome during her Minority. After, when he had delivered her to the *French*, he was made Duke of *Chastel-Herault* in *France*; and was after that constituted by Queen *Mary* (being then a Prisoner) the first of the three Lieutenats of *Scotland*. Whose Cause whilest he most constantly maintained, being an open-hearted man and of a mild Disposition, he was perpetually tossed and turmoiled by the vexations Contrivances of turbulent persons.

Essex in distress in *Ireland*.

In *Ireland* the Earl of *Essex*, being laid in wait for by *Turlogh* and the Baron of *Dungannon*, and wrestling with many Difficulties out of *England*, hearing now that there was a Consultation about his calling Home, bewailed himself for the Miseries into which he was wrongfully fallen, complained of the undoing of himself and his Friends, lamented the Condition of *Ireland*, which he perswaded himself might be brought into Order with two thousand men, and very earnestly intreated that he might compound matters with *Turlogh* to his Honour. And when he had now resigned up his Command in *Ulster* to the Lord Deputie, because he was not able with that small Power of men which the Lord Deputie had assigned him to prosecute his Enterprise, he was commanded to take it again. But scarce had he taken it, and marched against *Turlogh*, when Letters came that he should absolutely desist from War, and make as honourable a Peace as he could. Which being soon made, he marched against the *Hebridian Scots*, who had seized upon *Clandeboy*, drove them into their Lurking-places, and by the Conduct of *Norris* attempted the Ile of *Rathlin*, put four hundred of the Islanders to the Sword, forced the Castle, and put a Garrison therein. And now, in the midst of his course of Victory, he was again, beyond his expectation, commanded

to

to reſign his Authority; and as an ordinary Captain had the Command of three hundred men given him: and through *Leiceſter*'s cunning Dealing nothing was omitted whereby to break his mild Spirit with continuall Croſſes one in the neck of another. 1575.

Sidney the third time made Deputy of *Ireland*. Divers Rebells ſubmit themſelves.

Now was Sir *Henry Sidney* ſent the third time Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, whenas the Peſtilence conſumed the people of the Iſle far and near. He notwithſtanding goeth into *Ulſter*, and many came in to him, falling upon their Knees, and craving his Protection, namely *Mac-Mahon*, *Mac-Guire*, *Turlogh Leinigh*, and others. In *Leimſter* in like manner did the *O-Coners* and *O-Moors*, two rebellious Families, who by Force and arms had ſeized upon their ancient Inheritances in *Leiſe* and *Ophalie*, out of which they had been thrown by the Law. Being come into *Munſter*, he aſſiſted as a cloſe Mourner to honour the Funerall of Sir *Peter Carew*, a very noble Knight, and of approved Valour, who, being Heir to *Fitz-Stephen* and *Raymund* the *Groſs*, the firſt Conquerours of *Ireland*, and to the Barony of *Ydrone*, had recovered a part of his Inheritaince which had been loſt a long time. The Earl of *Deſmond* coming to ſee him at *Cork*, offered him his beſt Service, and Obedience with all Submiſſion. From thence going into *Connaught*, he received into his Protection the Earl of *Clan-Richard*'s Sons, who had rebelled, but now moſt ſubmiſſively craved Pardon in the Church of *Galway*: and he governed the Country with great Commendation.

The death of Sir *Peter Carew*.

The Nineteenth Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1576.

The *French* propound a Marriage to Queen *Elizabeth*.

IN the beginning of the new Year thoſe two Marriage-brokers, *Mota-Fenellon* and *Porte*, began again to tickle Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ears with Love-Stories about her Marriage with *Alenzon*. To whom Anſwer was made, "That that Buſineſs was now out of ſea-"ſon, for *Alenzon* could not come over, *France* being embroiled "with Civill wars, and *Alenzon* deeply engaged therein. Yet were there one or two Meſſengers ſent into *France*, to renew brotherly Love betwixt the King and *Alenzon*, and to diſſwade them from meddling with the Affairs of the *Netherlands*, leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould endeavour to raiſe new Combuſtions in *France*. And the more to deterr the French King from it, ſhe put him in mind how eaſie a matter it would be for the *Spaniard*, who was now throughly furniſhed with all Proviſion for War in *Italy*, either to ſeize upon *Saluzes*, or to land his Forces in *Province*, and make himſelf Maſter of the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* Sea, *France* being ſo exhauſted of its Wealth: and other like matters ſhe put him in mind of.

She perſwadeth them to Peace.

She labours to divert the *French* from meddling in the *Netherlands*.

For the Prince of *Orange*, for his own private Ends, and in hopes

1576.

The *Zelanders* infeſt the *Engliſh*.

to retain the Principality of *Orange*, which is ſituate in *France*, ceaſed not to invite the *French* into the *Netherlands*, and permitted the *Zelanders* and *Hollanders* (who infeſted the Seas round about with their Piraticall Veſſels, being men as it were born in the Sea,) to rob the Engliſh Merchants Ships, whom they accuſed to carry Victuals to their Enemies the *Dunkirkers*, and to tranſport the Merchandize of the *Antwerpers* and others into *Spain* under counterfeit Names, which they were wont themſelves to export formerly to their own Advantage, but now durſt not, as being conſcious to themſelves of their Revolt. For reſtraining of theſe, *Holſtock*, being ſent forth again with Men of War, took above 200 Pirates, and put them in Priſons all along the Sea-coaſt. But to demand Reſtitution of the Goods they had taken, there were ſent into *Zeland* Sir *William Winter* Knight, and *Robert Beale* Clark of the Council, to conſider of the Value of the things in controverſie, and agree about Reſtitution upon certain Conditions. But by reaſon of the Avarice of the Engliſh Merchants, and the Inſolency of the *Zelanders*, the Quarrel broke out again, which was ſhortly after compounded with Loſs to both Nations.

They are reſtrained by the Queen.

Confuſion in the *Netherlands*.

All things were now moſt confuſed in the *Netherlands*, whileſt the *Spaniards* without any Authority thruſt certain Counſellours of the Eſtates into Priſon, and committed ſuch Outrages in the Country, rifling their Goods, and doing them all kinds of Injuries, that the Eſtates were driven of neceſſity to take up Arms. And forthwith they diſpatched their Meſſengers into all Countries, and by *Obigny* ſignified to Queen *Elizabeth* how they were abuſed, and the Cauſes of their taking up Arms. The Queen by Doctour *Wilſon* earneſtly exhorteth both the Eſtates and the *Spaniards* to lay down Arms, and inquireth diligently for what Reaſons the Eſtates Counſellours were committed. In the mean time the moſt beautifull Citie of *Antwerp*, which hardly yielded to any the moſt flouriſhing Mart-towns of all *Europe*, was miſerably ſacked by the *Spaniards*, the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Merchants plundered and rifled, and they themſelves (though free from all Blame) conſtrained to pay the Souldiers a great Summe of Gold for their Ranſome. *Obigny*, laying hold on this Opportunity, importunately deſired to borrow a great Summe of money of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the name of the Eſtates, to reſtrain this Inſolency of the *Spaniards*. The Queen, having received certain Intelligence that they had before deſired Money of the French King, denied him, but promiſed to make earneſt Interceſſion with the *Spaniard* for a Peace. And to that purpoſe ſhe ſent into *Spain* Sir *John Smith*, Couſin-german to King *Edward* the Sixth, a man of Spaniſh Comportment, and very well known to the *Spaniards*, who was moſt graciouſly entertained by the King, and retorted with ſuch Diſcretion the diſgracefull Injuries of *Gaſpar Quiroga* Archbiſhop of *Toledo* againſt the Queen in Hatred of her Religion, and of the Inquiſitors of *Sevil*, who would not allow the Attribute of *Defender of the Faith* in the Queen's Title, that the King gave him Thanks for

Antwerp ſacked.

Q. *Elizabeth* laboureth to compound the Netherland Troubles.

1576.

for it, and was diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop, deſiring the Embaſſadour to conceal the matter from the Queen, and expreſly commanding the ſaid Attribute to be allowed her. For he knew the Queen's Advice was expedient for his Affairs, though he followed it not, the Fate of the *Netherlands* (if I may ſo ſay) inforcing him to take another Courſe.

Don *John* of *Auſtria* cometh into the *Netherlands*.

At this time Don *John* of *Auſtria* came into the *Netherlands* with ſupreme Power to govern the ſame, who was the baſe or naturall Son of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth: To whom the Queen likewiſe ſent Sir *Edward Horſey*, Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, to congratulate his Entrance, and to offer him Aſſiſtence in caſe the Eſtates ſhould call in the *French* to the *Netherlands*. But *Swevingham* making moſt importunate Suit in behalf of the Eſtates, ſhe ſent them over twenty thouſand Pounds of Engliſh Money, upon condition they ſhould neither change their Religion nor their Prince, nor receive the *French* into the *Netherlands*, nor refuſe a Peace, if Don *John* of *Auſtria* would condeſcend to reaſonable Conditions: and that if he did come to a Peace, the Spaniſh Souldiers ſhould be ſatisfied with the ſaid Money, who now mutined for lack of Pay. So carefull was ſhe to retain the wavering Provinces in their Fidelity and Obedience to the *Spaniard*, that ſhe omitted no Opportunity of deſerving well of him, and preſerving Peace.

She relieveth the Eſtates with Money,

to keep the *Netherlanders* in Obedience to their King.

Commerce reſtored betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Portugals*.

In *England* there was at this time a pleaſant Calm and Quiet, and the Trade betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Portugals* was opened again, which by the private Avarice of certain perſons had of late been obſtructed: for the *Engliſh* were now permitted to trade in *Portugall*, *Algarbia*, the Iſles of *Madera* and the *Azores*, and the *Portugals* in *England* and *Ireland*, for the ſpace of three years; in which time the Differences about detaining of Merchandizes was to be debated. And this was publiſhed by Proclamation.

A paſſage ſought to *Cathay* by the Weſtern Ocean.

At this time ſome ſtudious Heads, moved with a commendable Deſire to diſcover the more remote Regions of the world and the Secrets of the Ocean, put forward ſome well-monied men, no leſs deſirous to reap Profit by it, to diſcover whether there were any Streight in the North part of *America* through which men might ſail to the rich Country of *Cathay*, and ſo the Wealth of the Eaſt and Weſt might be conjoyned by a mutuall Commerce. Theſe learned men argued that probably there was ſome Streight opened a way in that part; taking it for granted, that the nearer the Shoar a man cometh, the ſhallower the Waters are. But they who ſail from the Weſtern Coaſt of *Iſeland* find by experience the Sea to be deeper: ſo as it may probably ſeem to joyn with that Sea which the Mariners call *Mare del Sur*, on the other ſide of *America*. Then they argued, That whereas the Ocean is carried with the daily Motion of the *Primum Mobile*, or the uppermoſt Heaven, being beaten back by the Oppoſition of *America*, it runneth Northward to *Cabo Fredo*, that is, the Cold Cape or Promontory, about which place it ſhould be emptied

With what probability.

1576. tied through ſome Streight into the Sea *del Sur*; otherwiſe it would be beaten back with the like Violence upon *Lapland* and *Finmarck*, as it is in the South part of the World beaten back from the Streight of *Magellan* (a Streight full of Iſles, and, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the Streight, being ſo full of Iſles, uncapable of ſo great a quantity of Waters,) along the Eaſtern Coaſt of *America* to *Cabo Fredo*. For Teſtimony they bring *Anthony Jenkinſon* an Engliſh-man, then whom no man had more perfect Knowledge of the North part of the world; who hath demonſtrated that an huge quantity of Waters muſt needs be poured forth out of the *Cronian* or Frozen Sea into the Sea *del Sur*; alſo *Bernard le Torr* a *Spaniard*, who affirmeth, that returning from the Iſles of the *Molucca's* into *America*, he was driven back again to the *Molucca's* by force of Waters ruſhing againſt his Ship from the North, when he was above the *Æquator* Northwards: and other things they alleaged for Proof hereof. Herewith theſe monied men being perſwaded, they ſent *Martin Frobiſher* with three Pinnaces to diſcover this Streight, who, ſetting out from *Harwich* the 18. of *June*, entred on the ninth of *Auguſt* into a Bay or Streight under the Latitude of 63 Degrees, where he found Men with black Hair, broad Faces, flat Noſes, ſwarthy-coloured, apparelled in Sea-calves Skins; the Women painted about the Eyes and Balls of the Cheek with a blew Colour, like the ancient *Britans*. But all being ſo frozen up with Ice in the moneth of *Auguſt* that he could not hold on his Voiage, he returned, and arrived in *England* the 24. of *September*, having loſt five Sea-men, whom the *Barbarians* had intercepted. Nevertheleſs the two years next following he ſailed to the ſame Coaſts, to perfect his Enterprize: but being incountred every-where with Heaps of Ice like Mountains, he was kept from entring any farther into the Bay. Being therefore toſſed up and down with foul Weather, Snows, and unconſtant Winds, he gathered a great quantity of Stones, which he thought to be Minerals, and ſo returned homewards: which Stones, when neither Gold nor Silver nor any other Metall could be extracted from them, we have ſeen caſt forth to mend the High-ways. But theſe matters are publiſhed at large, and every-where to be ſold.

Frobiſher's Voiage to diſcover the Streight.

The death of *Maximilian* the Emperour.

In theſe days died *Maximilian* the Emperour, a Prince both prudent, juſt, profitable and advantageous to the Empire, and one that had well deſerved of Queen *Elizabeth* and the *Engliſh*. As ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* heard the certainty of his Death, ſhe was very much troubled at it, and ſent Sir *Philip Sidney* as her Embaſſadour to *Rodolph* King of the *Romans*, officiouſly to ſignifie both her Grief for his Father's Death, and her Joy for his Succeſſion: and alſo in his way to condole with the Elector *Palatine*'s Sons the Death of their Father *Frederick* the Third; as likewiſe to put Count *Caſimire* in mind by the bye of the Money ſhe had diſburſed in the French War. For by that War was Peace reſtored to *France*, *Alenzon* had ſettled upon him in *Apennage*, as they term it, the Dukedomes of *Anjou*, *Tours* and *Berry*,

And of the Elector *Palatine*.

Caſimire

1576.

Caſimire was promiſed eleven millions of Franks for Pay for his German Horſemen, and ſome of the French Queen's Jewels were pawned for three hundred thouſand Crowns. But nothing at all was payed back again to Queen *Elizabeth*, who notwithſtanding held herſelf fully ſatisfied, that it was well beſtowed in a good Cauſe. *Caſimire* anſwered ingenuouſly and in his German Sincerity, that the French King had not kept his word, and that it was not long of him that the Money was not repayed.

The death of *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*,

As in *Germany* the Emperour *Maximilian* and the Electour *Palatine*, Princes of Chriſtian Vertue, left a great Miſs of them in regard of their ſingular Moderation: ſo in *England* and *Ireland Walter D'Evereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, left no leſs, though he were in Degree far inferiour unto them. A very excellent man certainly he was, in whom Honeſty of Carriage vied with the Nobility of Birth: both which notwithſtanding could not prevail againſt Envy. For after he was conſtrained to give over his laudable Enterprize in *Ireland*, he returned into *England*, having much waſted his Eſtate, where openly threatning *Leiceſter*, whom he ſuſpected to have done him Injuries, he was by his cunning Court-tricks, who ſtood in Fear of him, and by a peculiar Court-myſtery, of wounding and overthrowing men by Honours, ſent back again into *Ireland* with the inſignificant Title of *Earl Marſhall of Ireland*. Where pining away with Grief and Sorrow, he piouſly rendred his Soul to *Chriſt*, dying of a Bloudy-flux in the midſt of grievous Torments, after he had deſired the Standers by, to admoniſh his Son, who was then ſcarce ten years old, to have always before his Eyes the ſix and thirtieth year of his Age, as the uttermoſt Term of his Life, which neither he nor his Father had paſſed: and which this Son never attained unto, as we will ſhew in its proper place. This Death of this Nobleman carried with it a Suſpicion of Poiſon amongſt the vulgar ſort, (who always ſuſpect them to be poiſoned whom they eſteem and love:) although *Sidney* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, after diligent Inquiſition made, wrote to the Council in *England*, that the Earl, upon his firſt taking his Bed, ſaid many times, that this was a thing uſual and ordinary with him, that whenſoever he was troubled and perplexed in mind he fell into the Bloudy-flux; and that he ſuſpected nothing at all of Poiſon; and that his Body retained the ſame Colour in his Sickneſs which it had in his perfect Health, no Spot, no Infection, no Shedding of the Hair or the Nails, and being bowelled no ſign at all of Poiſon appeared; that though the Phyſicians differed in their Judgements, yet they applied nothing againſt the force of Poiſon; that his Cup-bearer was falſly accuſed of infuſing ..... in Water, and mingling it with his Wine. Yet have we ſeen the ſame man openly pointed at for a Poiſoner. The Suſpicion was increaſed by *Leiceſter*'s preſently putting away *Douglaſs Sheffield* with Money and fair Promiſes, (whether his Paramour or his Wife I cannot ſay,) on whom he had begotten a Son, and now more openly making Love to *Lettice*, *Eſſex* his Widow, to whom afterwards he joyned

not without Suſpicion of Poiſon.

Leiceſter ſuſpected about it.

1576. joyned himself in a double Matrimony. For though it were reported that he had already privately married her; yet Sir *Francis Knolles*, Father to *Lettice*, who was acquainted with *Leicester*'s Rambling and Inconstancy in his Love, would not believe it, (fearing lest he should put a Trick upon his Daughter,) unless he might see the Marriage performed in his own presence, with some Witnesses by, and a publick Notary. But these things were done a year or two after.

The death of Sir *Anthony Cook*.

At this time ended his Life in *England* Sir *Anthony Cook* Knight, a man of seventy years of Age, of severe Gravity and great Learning, having been School-master to King *Edward* the Sixth in his Childhood: a man happy in his Daughters, whom having brought up in Learning, both Greek and Latine, above their Sex, he married to men of good Account; namely, to Sir *William Cecyl*, who was Treasurer of *England*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper, and Sir *Thomas Hobey*, who died Embassadour in *France*, Sir *Ralph Roulet*, and Sir *Henry Killegrew*.

A Tumult in *Ireland*.

Before *Essex* his death (to return a little back) the Earl of *Clan-Richard*'s Sons, who scarce two months before had obtained of the Lord Deputy a Pardon for their Rebellion, gathered together again a Rabble of lewd Fellows, and outrageously practised their Robberies and Depredations all over *Connaught*. The Town of *Athenry*, which the Inhabitants were now about repairing, they burnt, and put the Work-men to the Sword, out of a barbarous Hatred against the Inhabitants, because they begun to conform themselves to the Laws, and live civilly. But upon the Lord Deputie's coming, their thieving Troups were dispersed, and fled, after their wonted manner, into their Lurking-holes; and the Earl of *Clan-Richard* himself, their Father, was cast into Prison at *Dublin* as accessary to their Crimes. The Lord Deputy being returned back, they crept out of their Holes again, and in vain besieged *Balla-Reogh*-Castle with Loss of men, being their Father's chief Seat, wherein a Garrison had been put under the Command of *Thomas Strange*. The lands of *Mac-William Eughter*, that is, the younger, they wasted, joyning to them the Island *Scots*. But at the coming of the Lord Deputy they vanished again, hiding themselves in their Holes as before.

Sir *William Drury* President of *Munster*.

Sir *William Drury*, who was lately Marshall of *Berwick*, being now newly made President of *Munster*, by his Wisedome and Valour brought the whole Countrey into Subjection and Obedience to the Laws, excepting the *Peninsula* and County Palatine of *Kerry*, whither, as into a Sink, many Malefactours, Thieves, men in Debt, and suspected of capitall Crimes, had resorted, and grew insolent, as presuming upon a kind of Impunity by reason of the Priviledge of the place. For King *Edward* the Third had granted to the Earl of *Desmond all the Royalties which the Kings of* England *had in that County, except Firing, Rapes, Forestalling, and Treasure-trove.* The President notwithstanding, judging that those Royalties were granted for the Preservation of Justice, and not for Impunity to Offenders,

He cleareth *Kerry* of Rogues.

1576.

ders, entred into it, valiantly put to Flight the choiſeſt Companies of thoſe Rogues, whom *Deſmond* had laid in Ambuſh, hunted out the Malefactours all over *Kerry*, and ſeverely puniſhed many of them; while *Deſmond* fretted, and made a moſt heavy Complaint to the Lord Deputy againſt *Drury*, both of this, and about the Payment which they call *Ceaſs*. This Payment is an Exaction of Victuals at a certain Rate or Price (ſuch as *Canon Glebæ* was amongſt the Ancients, that is, a Cuſtome of paying Corn yearly,) for the Maintenance of the Lord Deputie's Houſhold and the Garriſon ſouldiers. Hereof not onely he, but alſo in *Leinſter*, the more civilized part of *Ireland*, the Lord Viſcount *Baltinglaſs*, the Barons *Delvin*, *Hoth*, and *Trimleſton*, and all the better ſort of the Nobility and Gentry, complained, refuſing to pay it, as not to be demanded but by Authority of Parliament. Thoſe which were ſent in this behalf by them into *England* were firſt heard by the Council, and then committed to Priſon; as in like manner were thoſe in *Ireland* which ſent them, till they ſubmitted themſelves: foraſmuch as it appeared by the Records of the Kingdome that it had been an ancient Inſtitution, and that it was a Priviledge of the Crown, (otherwiſe called a *Royall Prerogative*,) which is not ſubjected to the Laws, and yet is not repugnant to the Laws, as the learned in the Laws have judged. But the Queen commanded the Lord Deputy to uſe a Moderation in ſuch Exactions, ſaying, according to the old Proverb, that ſhe would have her Subjects, *while they were polled, not to be flayed.* And it is reported that ſhe ſhould ſay, *Ah! how do I fear leſt it be objected to us concerning the* Iriſh *which was objected in old time to* Tiberius *by* Cato *concerning the Dalmatian Commotions; You, you it is that are in Fault, who have committed your Flocks not to Shepherds, but to Wolves.*

A *Ceaſs* what it is.

The *Iriſh* complain of Exactions.

The Queen moderateth them.

The Twentieth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1577.

DON *John* of *Auſtria*, when he found himſelf too weak for the Eſtates of the *Netherlands*, who were very ſtrong of themſelves, and backed alſo with the Amity of their neighbouring Princes, ſent *Gaſtelle* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to thank her for the Aſſiſtence offered him againſt the *French*, and to profeſs to her his ready Inclination to Peace. She, by Sir *Edward Horſey*, who was now ſent thither the ſecond time, commendeth his Inclination to Peace, and withall treateth with him about Reſtoring the Engliſhmens Goods which were ſeiſed at *Antwerp*.

Don *John* of *Auſtria* inclineth to Peace.

Queen *Elizabeth* perſwadeth him to it.

A ſlow Anſwer was returned hereunto, in regard he was much hindred (as he pretended) by other Cares, being wholly taken up about *A perpetuall Edict of Peace*, (as he called it) which notwithſtanding

1577.

ſtanding ſcarce laſted a Year. Queen *Elizabeth* being ſeriouſly deſirous of a Peace, ſent Sir *Thomas Leighton* to the Prince of *Orange*, to perſwade him to attempt nothing in an hoſtile way, till Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Return, who was ſent to the *Spaniard* to procure a Peace. The Prince of *Orange*, condemning from his Heart that Perpetuall Edict, had opportunely learned that Don *John* was projecting to marry with the Queen of *Scots:* which he gladly laid hold on, and by *Famier* preſently acquainted Queen *Elizabeth* therewith, to divert her mind from the Peace. Yet ſhe, as if ſhe underſtood nothing of it, congratulated Don *John* by *Daniel Rogers* about the Perpetuall Edict of Peace, though ſhe were now aſcertained that Don *John*, through the Perſwaſion of the Earl of *Weſtmorland* and the Engliſh Fugitives, and being much forwarded and favoured therein by the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Guiſes*, had already ſwallowed the ſaid Marriage in Hope, and withall the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and had now determined to ſeize upon the Iſle of *Man* in the Iriſh Sea, as commodious for invading *England* from *Ireland* and the Weſtern Coaſt of *Scotland*, where the Queen of *Scots* had very many devoted unto her, as alſo in the oppoſite part of *England*, namely *North-Wales*, and the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, where the greateſt part of the Inhabitants were very much addicted to the Popiſh Religion.

The Prince of *Orange* diverteth her.

Don *John* projecteth to marry with the Queen of *Scots*.

And by her to get the Kingdome of *England*.

And certainly Don *John*, (as we have learned from *Perez*, who was Secretary to the *Spaniard*,) having been formerly tranſported with Ambition, when he found himſelf diſappointed of his Hope of the Kingdome of *Tunis*, had privily dealt with the Biſhop of *Rome* about Depoſing of Queen *Elizabeth*, Marrying the Queen of *Scots*, and Conquering of *England*; and had ſo far prevailed, without once acquainting of King *Philip*, that the Pope, as it were out of a deſire of the publick Good, excited King *Philip* to war againſt *England:* and Don *John* himſelf, being ready to depart for the *Netherlands*, proſecuted the ſame himſelf in *Spain*; and afterwards made Suit by *Eſcovedo*, whom he ſent out of the *Netherlands*, that ſome Port-town might be granted him in *Biſcay*, from whence he might invade *England* with a Fleet. But King *Philip*, miſliking theſe Projects, began to neglect the man as too ambitious. And theſe things Queen *Elizabeth* never perfectly underſtood, untill (as I ſaid) the Prince of *Orange* informed her thereof.

His dealing with the Pope about it.

There aroſe alſo a new Suſpicion from *Thomas Copley* (one of the prime men amongſt the Engliſh Fugitives) his being recommended to the French King by *Vaux*, Don *John*'s Secretary, and receiving from him the Dignity of Knighthood, and Title of Baron. Yet *Copley* laboured to clear himſelf of all Suſpicion, proteſting his Obedience towards his Princeſs, and that he had accepted that Title with no other intent, but that the greater Honour might come to his Wife, the Companion of his Exile, and the larger Penſion to himſelf from the *Spaniard*, forasmuch as Noblemen that are dignified with Titles are

Copley made a Baron by the French King.

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in better Eſteem amongſt the *Spaniards*: and the Title of *Baron* he thought did belong to him of right, whoſe Grandmother was eldeſt Daughter to the Lord *Hoo*, and his great Grandmother eldeſt of the Heirs of the Lord *Wells*. 1577.

Don *John* in the mean time ſecretly proſecuted the ſaid Marriage, and withall, to blind the Queen's Eyes, ſent the Viſcount of *Gaunt* on an Embaſſage to Queen *Elizabeth*, to acquaint her with the Conditions of the Peace, and to requeſt a longer time for the Payment of the Money which the Eſtates had borrowed. To this latter ſhe willingly agreed, and dealt with him again by *Wilſon* about Recompence for the Dammages done to the Engliſh Merchants at the Sacking of *Antwerp*. But he onely deluded her, and while he ſeemed to be intent upon the *Perpetual Edict of Peace*, brake forth into War, ſurprized Towns and Caſtles by Craft, and wrote to the *Spaniard*, that the beſt Courſe was to fall upon the Iſlands of *Zeland* before he ſet upon the inner Provinces: and feeding his own Hopes, he endeavoured to perſwade him by *Eſcovedo* his Secretary, that *England* might eaſilier be wone then *Zeland*.

Don *John*'s Diſſimulation.

He reneweth the War.

Hereupon, when all things in the *Netherlands* now tended to War, the Eſtates ſent the Marqueſs of *Hauree* and *Adolph Metherk* Embaſſadours to Queen *Elizabeth*, to borrow of her a hundred thouſand Pound ſterling for eight Months. To which ſhe anſwered, "That if they could borrow it any-where elſe, ſhe and the City of "*London* would very willingly give Security for it, upon Condition "that certain Towns of the *Netherlands*, which ſhe ſhould name, "would become bound to repay the Money within a Year. A League alſo was contracted with the Eſtates of mutual Aid by Sea and Land, upon theſe conditions.

The Eſtates deſire to borrow Money of the Queen.

"The Queen ſhall aſſiſt the Eſtates with one thouſand Horſe and "five thouſand Foot, whoſe Pay and Charges the Eſtates ſhall defray "at *London* the third month after they take Shipping: and after "the War ended, they ſhall ſend them back at their Charges into "*England*. The General or Commander of this Army, being by "Nation an Engliſh-man, ſhall be admitted into the Council of the "Eſtates. Nothing ſhall be determined concerning War or Peace "without acquainting the Queen or him therewith. They ſhall enter into no League with any whoſoever without her Approbation: and in the ſame, if ſhe will, ſhe ſhall be comprehended. If any "Prince do attempt Hoſtility againſt the Queen or Kingdome of "*England* under any Pretence whatſoever, the Eſtates ſhall to their "power oppoſe him, and ſhall ſend the Queen the ſame number of "Succours, and upon the ſame Conditions. If any Diſcord ariſe amongſt the Eſtates, it ſhall be referred to the Queen's Arbitration. If any Fleet be to be rigged and prepared by the Queen "againſt her Enemies, the Eſtates ſhall furniſh out forty Ships of "reaſonable Burthen, with Sea-men and all Neceſſaries, which ſhall "be under the Command of the Admiral of *England*, and ſhall ſerve

Queen *Elizabeth*'s League with the Eſtates.

1577.

"under the Queen's Pay. The Estates shall by no means receive "into the *Netherlands* such English-men as the Queen shall proclaim "Rebels. If they make Peace with the *Spaniard*, they shall pro- "cure the Confirmation of these Articles either joyntly, or apart "by themselves, at the Queen's Choice.

She informeth the *Spaniard* of the Reasons thereof.

Presently after this League was made, the Queen, lest she should be slandered as a Maintainer of the Rebellion in the *Netherlands*, sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the *Spaniard*, to inform him as followeth. *That forasmuch as there were not lacking some ill-disposed persons, who sought by cunning Artifices to break off Amities between Princes, and by their unjust Backbitings to stain her Reputation, as if she blew the Fire of the Netherlandish Combustions: First, she prayeth the King, and the Governours of the* Netherlands, *to call to mind how often and how earnestly she had long since friendly fore-warned them of the Mischiefs hanging over the* Netherlands: *And then when they first designed to revolt, how carefully she endeavoured by frequent Messages to the Prince of* Orange *and the Estates, to keep them within their Duty and Obedience to the King; yea, when those rich and wealthy Provinces were offered her for Possession, how sincerely she would not so much as take them into her Protection: And lastly, when all things were in a most desperate and deplorable state, how largely she supplied Money, that the Estates might not be for want thereof necessitated to subject themselves under another Prince, and break the Design for Peace lately set on foot. And when she heard that the Prince of* Orange *refused to imbrace the Peace that was made, she not onely advised him to imbrace it, but also (as she most religiously protesteth) did by Threats in a manner command him. Whether these be things unbeseeming a Christian Princess, that is affected to Peace, and most desirous to deserve well of her Confederate the* Spaniard, *let the* Spaniard *himself and all Christian Princes judge. And now, that the Wars may cease, and he may have the* Netherlanders *at his Devotion, she adviseth him to receive his afflicted People into former Grace and Favour, to restore their Priviledges, to observe the Conditions of the last Peace, and appoint them another Governour of his own Family. Which things could not (as she signified) be effected, unless Don* John *were removed, whom the Estates distrusted, and hated with a deadly and implacable Hatred, and whom she herself knew for certain, by his secret Practices with the Queen of* Scots, *to be her most mortal Enemy, insomuch as she could expect nothing from the* Netherlands *but assured Danger as long as he was Governour there. But now, when she saw what great Forces Don* John *had raised, and how many auxiliary Companies of* French *were in a readiness, she professeth that, to preserve the* Netherlands *to the* Spaniard, *and to divert the Danger from* England, *she had promised Assistence to the Estates; who had reciprocally promised, that they would continue in the King's Obedience, and alter nothing in Religion. But if she perceived that the King would not accept of these Proposals, but resolved to break asunder the Bars of their Priviledges and Rights, and to bring these miserable Provinces into Slavery,*

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as taken by right of War; she could not neglect both to defend her Neighbours, and provide for her own Security. But if the Estates should shake off their Allegeance towards their King, and attempt any thing contrary to what they have promised, she would forthwith turn her Forces against them.

1577.

The *Spaniard* heareth them patiently.

These things he was not very willing to hear. But yet, because he knew that Queen *Elizabeth* was able to doe much, either to compound or disturb the Affairs of the *Netherlands*; and understood also for certain, that there was a Plot laid by Don *John* against her, he dissembled the matter, and withall prayed her to continue her Endeavours for making a Peace, and not rashly to credit every false Rumour spred abroad, or believe that he attempted any thing unbecoming a Prince in Amity with her.

Don *John* complaineth of the Estates to Queen *Elizabeth.*

Whilst *Wilkes* layeth open these things in *Spain*, Don *John* of *Austria* sends *Gastelle* to Queen *Elizabeth*, (whom he both feared, and wished her Confusion,) heavily accusing the Estates, laying foul Crimes and Accusations to their Charge; and withall declaring the Causes at large why he armed his men again. Thus sate she as an heroical Princess and Umpire betwixt the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the Estates; so as she might well have used that Saying of her Father, *Cui adhæreo, præest*, that is, *The Party to which I adhere getteth the upper hand.* And true it was which one hath written, *that* France *and* Spain *are as it were the Scales in the Balance of* Europe, *and* England *the Tongue or the Holder of the Balance.*

England the Balance-holder in *Europe.*

A pestilent sickness arising from a Stink at an Assizes.

In these days, while the Judges of Assizes sate at *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenkes*, a saucy foul-mouth'd Bookseller, was indicted for scandalous words against his Princess, the greatest part of those who were there present, whether through a poisonous and pestilent Vapour, or the Stink of the Prisoners, or Damp of the Ground, were taken in such a manner that they died almost every one of them within forty days or thereabouts, except the Women and Children; and none else were touched with the Contagion. Amongst those that died were *Robert Bell*, Lord chief Baron of the Exchequer, a sage and grave man, and famous for his Knowledge in the Law, Sir *Robert D'Oiley* and Sir *William Babington* Knights, *D'Oiley* Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Weneman*, *Fettiplace*, men of great note in those Parts, *Barham* an excellent Lawyer, almost all the Jury, (as they call them) and others to the number of 300 or thereabouts.

Hitherto fair and calm Weather shone upon the Papists in *England*, who by a mercifull Connivence enjoyed their own Service of God in their private Houses in a manner without any Punishment, although it were prohibited by the Law, by which a pecuniary Mulct was to be inflicted on them: neither did the Queen think fit that Violence should be offered to their Consciences. But after that Thunderbolt of Excommunication was shot from *Rome* against the Queen, this fair Weather turned by little and little into Clouds and Tempests, and caused a Law in the year 1571. against those who should bring

1577. bring into the Realm any ſuch Bulls, *Agnus Dei's*, or conſecrated Grains, as private Tokens of Papal Obedience, or ſhould reconcile any man to the Church of *Rome*. Yet was there no man in ſix years time proceeded againſt upon that Law, though ſome were apprehended who had offended againſt it. The firſt that was convicted by this Law was one *Cuthbert Maine* a Prieſt, who, being an obſtinate Maintainer of the Pope's Power againſt his Prince, was put to death at *Saint Stephen's Fane* (commonly called *Launſton*) in *Cornwall*; and *Trugion*, a Gentleman that had harboured him, was turned out of his Eſtate, and condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. But theſe and ſuch like Eccleſiaſtical matters I will touch but lightly, becauſe others are in hand with the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of theſe Times, and, I hope, with ſincere Faithfulneſs; a thing ſcarce to be hoped for whilſt mens Minds are ſo full of Rancour and Prejudice upon the account of Difference in Religion.

Maine a Prieſt put to death.

The death of the Lord *Latimer*.

This year the Title of Lord *Latimer*, after it had flouriſhed with great Honour and Wealth in the Family of the *Nevils* from the days of King *Henry* the Sixth, was extinct in *John Nevil*, who, having no Heir male, left a large Inheritance to four Daughters: whereof the firſt was married to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*; the ſecond to *Thomas Cecyl*, who was afterward Earl of *Exceſter*; the third to Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth to Sir *John Davers*: from which Daughters hath iſſued a numerous Progeny.

The death of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Secretary.

Sir *Thomas Smith* alſo, one of the Queen's Secretaries, died this year (being his Climacterical year) of a Conſumption, a man worthy to be remembred for his great Learning, and his Wiſedome ſhewed in many Embaſſages. Born he was of honeſt Parentage at *Saffron-Walden* in *Eſſex*, brought up in Queen *Margaret*'s Colledge in *Cambridge*, and at riper years made choice of to be ſent into *Italy* at the Queen's Charges. (For even until our days certain young men of promiſing Hopes out of both Univerſities have been maintained in forrein Countries at the King's Charge, for the more complete poliſhing of their Parts and Studies.) From thence he returned with the Title of Doctour of the Civil Law, and found ſuch Favour with the Duke of *Somerſet*, Protectour to King *Edward* the Sixth, that he was made one of the King's Secretaries, (*Cecyl* being the other,) Steward of the Stannaries, Dean of *Carliſle*, and Provoſt of *Eaton* Colledge, whereof he had very well merited. Queen *Mary* deprived him of theſe Dignities, aſſigning him a hundred pounds a year Penſion for life, howbeit on Condition that he ſhould not depart the Realm. As ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, he was called again to the Service of the Commonwealth, and was preſent with the Divines at the correcting of the Engliſh Liturgie, and afterward with great Commendations performed thoſe Embaſſies which I have mentioned in their proper places. In the year 1571. being made one of the Queen's Secretaries, he ſent his baſe Son, which was all the Sons he had, to carry over a Colony into *Ardes*,

Ardes, a *Peninſula* in *Ireland*, who died there unfortunately, as I have before ſaid. He was very beneficiall to the Commonwealth of Learning in *England*, by procuring the Law concerning Corn for the Colledges of Students: and indeed more beneficiall then by his Writings, although he left behind him a Work unfiniſhed concerning the Commonwealth of *England*, a ſpecial Book of the Orthography of the Engliſh Tongue, another of the Pronunciation of the Greek, and an exact Commentary concerning Money, (or *De re Nummaria*) very well worth the publiſhing. In the Place of Secretary to the Queen ſucceeded him *Thomas Wilſon* Doctour of Law, Maſter of *Saint Katharine's* near *London*, who departed this life within four years. 1577.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moors* and *O-Conors*, and others whoſe Anceſtours *Suſſex* Lord Deputy had in the Reign of Queen *Mary* deprived of their Patrimonies in *Leiſe* and *Ophalie* for their Miſdemeanours, and had aſſigned them no other place to live in, brake forth into Rebellion, *Rory Oge*, that is, *Roderic* the younger, being their Ring-leader: the Town of *Naas* they fired; *Lachlin* they aſſaulted, but being repulſed by the Valour of *George Carew* the Governour, they treacherouſly intercepted *Henry Harrington* and *Alexander Cosbey* at a Parley: whom when *Harpoole*, a Captain of a Company, undertook to reſcue, and to that end aſſaulted the Cottage in the night wherein *Rory* was, and thoſe Gentlemen bound to a Poſt, *Rory*, awakening with the Uproar, wounded *Harrington* and *Cosbey* with ſeverall Blows in the dark, and made a deſperate Eſcape by the favour of the Night through the midſt of the Souldiers which had beſet him. But within a few days after, laying a Trap for the Baron of the upper *Oſſory*, he was intercepted himſelf and cut in pieces, freeing thereby the neighbour people from farther Fears. A Rebellion in *Ireland*. *Rory Oge*.

The One and twentieth Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1578.

Although the *Spaniard* were not very well pleaſed to hear thoſe things which *Wilkes* propounded, and diſſembled the matter, (as I ſaid a little before:) yet Queen *Elizabeth* ſeriouſly pitying the *Netherlanders*, whoſe Provinces by the great Commodiouſneſs of their Situation and mutuall Friendſhip had adhered unto *England* for many Ages, as if they had been conjoyned with it in a Matrimonial Knot; and therefore not enduring that the *French*, by undertaking their Protection, ſhould get them into his Poſſeſſion; ſent the ſame *Wilkes*, at his Return out of *Spain*, to Don *John* of *Auſtria*, to give him ſecret Notice that the Duke of *Anjou*, (for ſo he was now called, who before was Duke of *Alenzon*) was invited by the Q. *Elizabeth's* Care for the *Netherlanders*.

1578. the Eſtates with an Army of *French*, and therefore it was his ſafeſt courſe to yield to a Truce, leſt he expoſed the Provinces to preſent Hazzard. But he, being a man of a fiery and martial Spirit, and puffed up with Pride at his Succeſſe in a Battell fought againſt the Eſtates at *Gemblours*, anſwered in one word, *That he neither intended a Truce, nor feared the* French. Nevertheleſs Queen *Elizabeth*, reſpecting her own Good and the Good of the *Netherlands*, ſent Sir *Edw. Stafford* into *France*, to learn whether there were any Preparations on the Frontiers of *France* toward the *Netherlands*, and what Leavies of men they were making.

Severall *Engliſh* goe over into the *Netherlands*.

Out of *England* had now tranſported themſelves *John North*, the Lord *North*'s eldeſt Son, *John Norris*, the Lord *Norris* his ſecond Son, *Hen. Cavendiſh* and *Thom. Morgan*, Colonels, with many Voluntiers, to learn the Rudiments of military Diſcipline. *Caſimire* alſo, the Elector Palatine's Son, brought down an Army of German Horſe and Foot into the *Netherlands*, at the great Charge of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Don *John* repulſed.

Don *John*, having a great Deſire to aſſault the Eſtates Camp at *Rimenant*, or to provoke them to Battell, before all their Succours were come together out of *France* and *Germany*, poſted thither ſooner then was expected, and the Horſemen that ſtood Centinell preſently retreating, he purſued them with an hot and furious Charge as if he were ſure of the Victory. But they taking freſh Courage ſoon repulſed Don *John*'s men. Who wheeling off endeavoured to break through certain Hedges and Coverts where the Engliſh and Scotiſh Voluntiers were diſpoſed, but could not, being courageouſly received by the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*, who, throwing off their Cloaths by reaſon of the hot Weather, fought in their Shirts tied up between their Thighs. *Norris*, the Generall of the *Engliſh*, fighting ſtoutly, had 3 Horſes ſlain under him, and got great Commendations in this Battell for his martial Valour; as did alſo *Stuart* a Scotiſhman, *Bingham* Lieutenant to *Cavendiſh*, and *William Markham*.

The *Engliſh* fight manfully.

A fruitleſs Embaſſie to the *Netherlands* for Peace.

To comfort and relieve theſe *Netherland* Provinces embroiled with Civill War, there came from the Emperour the Count of *Swartzenberg*, from the French King Monſieur *Pompon de Bellieure*, and from Q. *Elizabeth* the L. *Cobham* and Sir *Fran. Walſingham*, to find out ſome way for making a Peace. But they all returned without effecting any thing, ſince Don *John* would by no means admit of the Reformed Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* flatly refuſed to return into *Holland*.

Egremond Ratcliffe and his Companion put to death by Don *John*.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Suſſex* by his ſecond Wife, a man of a turbulent Spirit, and one of the chief in the Northern Rebellion, who ſerved under Don *John*, was accuſed by the Engliſh Fugitives, as if he had been ſent over under-hand to murther Don *John*, and was taken in the Camp at *Namur*, with one *Grey* an Engliſh-man, as acceſſary to the Plot, and they were both of them executed. The *Spaniards* give out, that *Ratcliffe* at his death confeſſed voluntarily, that he was ſet at Liberty out of the Tower of *London*

London purpoſely, and encouraged by *Walſingham* with great Promiſes to commit the Fact. The *Engliſh* that were there preſent deny that he made any ſuch Confeſſion, though its true the Fugitives did what they could to extort ſuch a Confeſſion from him. But perſons whoſe Minds differ in Religion do too-too-much obſcure the light of Honeſty and Truth on both ſides: and who knoweth not that Fugitives do deviſe many things out of mere Hatred, and a deſire to ſlander and backbite others? 1578.

At that very inſtant Don *John*, in the Flower of his age, laid aſide his fond Ambition together with his Life by the Peſtilence, or, as ſome ſay, out of very Grief, becauſe he found himſelf neglected by the King his Brother, after he had gaped firſt after the Kingdome of *Tunis*, whereby *Guleta* or *Goletta* in *Africa* was loſt, and then after the Kingdome of *England*; and had ſecretly entred into a Confederacy with the *Guiſes*, without the Privity of the French King and the *Spaniard*, for the Defenſe of both Crowns. The death of Don *John* of *Auſtria*.

The Duke of *Anjou* in the mean time, though his Mind were ſet upon the Netherland War, yet, to ſhew that he could attend both Military and Love matters at once, proſecuteth his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, which he had begun to ſue for whileſt he was Duke of *Alenzon*. And firſt *Bacherville*, being ſent for this purpoſe, came to the Queen (in her Progreſs) at *Melford*, *Cordall*'s Houſe, in *Suffolk*: ſhortly after came *Rambolette* from the French King: and laſtly, after a moneth more, came *Simier*, from *Anjou*, a choiſe Courtier, a man throughly verſed in Love-fancies, pleaſant Conceits, and Court-dalliances, accompanied with many of the Nobility of *France*: whom the Queen entertained at *Richmond* ſo kindly, that *Leiceſter* chafed, being now quite fruſtrate of his long hoped-for Marriage. And indeed a little before, when *Aſtley*, one of the Queen's Bedchamber, covertly commended *Leiceſter* unto her for an Husband, ſhe anſwered in a Chafe, *Doſt thou think me ſo unlike myſelf, and ſo unmindfull of my Royall Majeſty, that I would prefer my Servant, whom I myſelf have raiſed, before the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendome, in my chuſing of an Husband?* The Duke of *Anjou* proſecuteth his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*. *Leiceſter* frets at the kind Reception of the French Embaſſadours.

Much about this time *Margaret Douglaſs*, Counteſs of *Lenox*, Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth by his eldeſt Siſter, Widow of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and Grandmother to *James* King of Great *Britain*, having ſurvived eight Children which ſhe had been Mother of, paſſed to her Heavenly Countrey in her Climacterical year, and was buried at *Weſtminſter* with a ſtately Funerall at the Queen's Charges. She was a Matron of ſingular Piety, Patience, and Modeſty; who was thrice caſt into the Tower, (as I have heard her ſay herſelf) not for any Crime of Treaſon, but for Love-matters. Firſt, when *Thomas Howard*, Son of *Thomas Howard* the firſt Duke of *Norfolk* of that name, falling in Love with her, died in the Tower of *London*: then for the Love of *Henry* Lord *Darly*, her Son, to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*: and laſtly, for the Love of *Charles* her younger The death of the Counteſs of *Lenox*.

1578.

Son to *Elizabeth Candiſh*, Mother to the Lady *Arbella*, with whom the Queen of *Scots* was accuſed to have made up the Match, as I have ſaid before.

Scotiſh matters.

Now to give a touch of Scotiſh Matters. About the beginning of this year *Thomas Randolph* was ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* into *Scotland*, to learn in what condition the Affairs of *Scotland* ſtood; to congratulate the King concerning his Proficiency in Learning, (which, by reaſon of his ſingular Towardneſs and moſt excellent Memory, was certainly very great, even above his Age,) and to knit his Mind firmly unto the *Engliſh*, by recounting the Queen's Kindneſſes towards him, and the motherly Affection ſhe bare him; to deal with *Argyle*, that the *Hebridian* or wild *Scots* might not aſſiſt the Rebels in *Ireland*; as alſo to perſwade *Morton* the Regent to lay aſide with all ſpeed his Enmity to *Argyle*, *Athol*, and others, leſt he got himſelf the Hatred of the Nobility, and quite alienated the Queen's Mind from him. He was now privately accuſed to have ſtained the Reputation of his former Wiſedome and Proweſs by his Covetouſneſs and Avarice; and in ſhort time grew into ſuch a generall Hatred, that by joynt Conſent of the Eſtates the Government was tranſlated from him to the King, though in reſpect of his Age not ſo capable thereof, (for he was then ſcarce twelve yers old,) and twelve of the chief of the Nobility named to be aſſiſtent to the King with their Counſell, every three moneths three of them by turns: amongſt which was *Morton* himſelf, that they might ſeem to lead him down, not to throw him down, from his former Dignity.

Randolph ſent into *Scotland* with ſundry Inſtructions.

Morton the Regent removed from his place, and the King takes the Government.

The King ſendeth an Embaſſadour into *England*.

The King having taken upon him the Government, forthwith by *Dunfermelin* made a gratefull Acknowledgement of the Civilities of Queen *Elizabeth* towards him, as proceeding not ſo much from Nearneſs of Bloud, as from their common Profeſſion of the true Religion. The Confederacy of *Edenborough* made between both Kingdoms in the year 1559. he deſired might be ratified, the better to reſtrain the Robberies of the Borderers, and prevent the Deſigns of the Adverſaries of the true Religion; that Juſtice might be adminiſtred indifferently between the people of both Kingdoms; that full Reſtitution might be made of all Goods taken by Piracy; and that his ancient Patrimony in *England* (that is, the Lands and Poſſeſſions granted to *Matthew* and *Margaret* his Grandfather and Grandmother,) might be put into his hands as next Heir, for now (the Revenues of the Kingdome of *Scotland* being much diminiſhed) he wanted Money to provide for his Houſhold, and to maintain a Guard anſwerable to his Royall Dignity.

The effect of his Embaſſie.

The Queen's Anſwer.

The firſt Requeſts the Queen readily granted: but for that concerning his Patrimony ſhe was not ſo eaſily intreated. And yet ſhe would not give ear to thoſe who affirmed that the Lady *Arbella*, Daughter to *Charles* the King's Uncle, and born in *England*, was next Heir to the Lands in *England*: neither yet would ſhe hear the Embaſſadour, who ſhewed out of former Hiſtories that the Kings of *Scotland*,

Scotland, born in *Scotland*, had in ancient times ſucceeded, without any controverſie, by hereditary Right, to Lands in *England* in the County of *Huntingdon*; and earneſtly beſought her, that ſhe would not deny a Prince, her neareſt Kinſman, the Priviledge of Citizens, which ſhe had often granted to Forreiners and Strangers. But ſhe commanded the Rents of thoſe Lands to be ſequeſtred by the Lord *Burghly*, Maſter of the Wards; and ſignified to the Embaſſadour, that the King ſhould ſatisfie his Grandmother's Creditors out of the Earl of *Lenox* his Lands in *Scotland*. For ſhe took it not well that the King, after the death of *Charles* his Uncle, had revoked the *Infeoffment* of the Earldome of *Lenox* made to his Uncle and his Heirs, and that to the Prejudice (as was ſuggeſted) of the Lady *Arbella*; though, by the Priviledge of the Kings of *Scots*, it was ſtill lawfull for them to revoke all ſuch Grants and Donations as were prejudicial to the Realm, and made in their Minority. 1578.

The Council of *England* were of opinion that the Confederacy of *Edenborough* needed no Confirmation, as that which was already firm and in full force. They required the Embaſſadour to propound ſomewhat which might at leaſt in part recompenſe the Queen's Courteſies towards the King, (who had not ſpared her Engliſh-mens Bloud in his Defence,) and might confirm the Amity betwixt them. Hereupon, according to his Inſtructions, he propounded that a League might be made, not of *Offenſe*, but of *Defenſe and mutual Aſſiſtence* againſt the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Confederates, upon certain Conditions, and againſt the Invaders of both Kingdoms and the Rebels thereof upon account of Religion. Over and above this, the *Engliſh* thought it reaſon that, ſeeing the Queen neither had omitted nor would omit any thing for the King's Preſervation, and for that reaſon had incurred the great Diſpleaſure of many, the Eſtates of the Realm of *Scotland* ſhould give her Security, that the King ſhould not during his Minority make or renew any Confederacy with any other whomſoever, contract Marriage, or be ſent any whither out of *Scotland*, without the Knowledge of the Queen. But theſe things, as being matters of great Importance, were by the *Scots* put off to another time, to be exactly and deliberately conſidered of. The Demands of the Engliſh Council.

In the mean while *Morton*, preſuming upon his own Wit, (which certainly was very quick and ſharp,) and upon his long Experience, and the number of his Adherents, while he thought nothing to be well done which he did not himſelf, and could not endure not to be the man he was, reſumed unto himſelf the Government, neglecting his Collegues, and ſlighting the preſcribed Form of Government: the King he kept in his own power within the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, and at his own pleaſure either excluded or admitted whom he liſted. Whereupon the Nobility being incenſed, choſe the Earl of *Athol* for their Head, and made Proclamation in the King's Name, that all that were above fourteen years of age and under threeſcore ſhould meet toge- *Morton* reſumeth the Government. The Nobility riſe againſt him.

1578. together with Weapons, and Victuals for fifteen days, to ſet the King at Liberty. And meet they did in great numbers, and marched with Banners diſplayed to *Fawkirk*, where *Morton* with his Forces appeared againſt them. But Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Engliſh Embaſſadour, by his Mediation, and propoſing of reaſonable Conditions, ſtayed them from fighting. And *Morton* ſoon after, as if he were weary of publick Employments, withdrew himſelf to his own Houſe: not long after which died the Earl of *Athol*, not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon. Which ſome men incenſed againſt *Morton* laid hold on, amongſt other things, as a means to bring him into Hatred, and ceaſed not to perſecute him (as we ſhall ſhew) till they had quite overthrown him.

The death of the Earl of *Athol*.

A Deſign of the Pope and *Spaniard* to invade *England*.

In *Ireland* there happened this year no memorable matter. But for invading of *Ireland* and *England* both at once, and Depoſing of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of the Reformed Religion, both the *Spaniard* and *Gregory* the Thirteenth Biſhop of *Rome* had their ſecret Conſultations and Deſigns, carrying on their own private Ends under the Pretence of reſtoring Religion. The Pope, that he might get the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Boncompagni*, whom he had made Marqueſs of *Vineola*: the *Spaniard*, that he might privily and under-hand relieve the *Iriſh* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* had ſuccoured the *Netherlanders*; whilſt Amity in words was in the mean while maintained on both ſides: as alſo, that he might (if it were poſſible) by the Pope's Authority poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdome of *England*, and thereby the eaſilier reduce the *Netherland* Confederates into Order; whereof he had no hopes unleſs he were Maſter of the Sea, and this he ſaw could not be unleſs he were firſt Maſter of *England*. And there is no doubt but, as he oweth the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Navarre* to the Bounty of the Popes, ſo would he alſo very gladly have holden *England* of him as an Homager.

Thom. Stukely undertaketh War againſt his own Countrey.

Theſe two, who knew that the greateſt Strength of *England* conſiſted in the Navy Royal and the Merchants Ships, which were both built and furniſhed for Sea-ſervice, thought it good that the Italian and Low-Countrey Merchants ſhould upon ſome Pretence or other hire the greateſt part of theſe Merchants Ships for long Voiages, and while they were abroad the Navy Royal ſhould be ſurprized and over-powered by a greater Fleet; and that at the ſame time *Thomas Stukely*, an Engliſh Fugitive, of whom I have ſpoken before in the year 1570. ſhould with a Body of men joyn with the Rebels in *Ireland*. He, like a ſubtle old Fox, had by his vapouring Brags of himſelf, and by promiſing the Kingdome of *Ireland* to the Pope's baſe Son, wrought himſelf into ſuch Favour with that ambitious Old man, that he honoured him with the Titles of *Marqueſs of Leimſter*, *Earl of Wexford and Caterlaugh*, *Viſcount Morough*, and *Baron of Roſs*, (which are places of good Note in *Ireland*,) and gave him the Command of 800 *Italians*, leavied at the *Spaniard*'s Charge and Pay for

for the Iriſh War. With theſe putting to Sea from *Civita Vecchia*, he arrived at length in *Portugall* at the Mouth of the River *Tagus* or *Teyo*: where by the operation of the Divine Providence theſe Deſigns againſt *England* and *Ireland* were diſappointed. 1578.

The Expedition of *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal* into *Africa*.

For *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugall*, who was to have the principall Command and Managing of this Expedition into *England*, (for, being puffed up with youthly Heat and Ambition, he had not long before promiſed his utmoſt Help and Aſſiſtence to the Biſhop of *Rome* againſt the *Mahometans* and the *Proteſtants*,) was with great Promiſes drawn to the War of *Africa* by *Mahomet* the Son of *Abdalla*, King of *Fez*, and dealt with *Stukely* to accompany him firſt with thoſe *Italians* into *Mauritania*. *Stukely* was eaſily perſwaded, (and the *Spaniard*, diſdaining that the Pope's Son was deſigned King of *Ireland*, was not unwilling to it,) and went with Don *Sebaſtian* into *Mauritania*; and in that memorable Battel, wherein three Kings, *Sebaſtian* aforeſaid, *Mahomet* and *Abdal-Melech*, were ſlain, finiſhed the Interlude of a looſe Life with an honeſt Cataſtrophe or Concluſion.

He, with two other Kings and *Stukely*, ſlain in Battel.

Had not this fatall End of Don *Sebaſtian* diverted the *Spaniard*'s mind, from the Invaſion of *England*, to the Hopes of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, a great Storm of War (if any Credit may be given to the Engliſh Fugitives) had fallen upon *England*. For they write, that thoſe vaſt Forces which the *Spaniard* had begun to leavy in *Italy*, and were to be poured into *England*, were employed for the Conqueſt of *Portugall*. Neither could he be perſwaded (being wholly bent upon the Conqueſt of that Kingdome) ſo much as once to think of *England*, though the Engliſh Fugitives with great Importunity urged him thereunto, and the Biſhop of *Rome* promiſed him a conſecrated Banner or Croſs for this, as for an Holy War. But when certain Intelligence came that *Stukely* and his *Italians* were ſlain in *Mauritania*, and that the *Spaniard* ſet his Mind upon nothing but *Portugall*, the Engliſh Fleet which waited for *Stukely* upon the Coaſt of *Ireland* was called Home: and Sir *Henry Sidney* reſigned his Charge to Sir *William Drury* Preſident of *Munſter*, when he had now at ſeverall times been Lord Deputy about eleven years; and when he was ready to take Ship, he bade *Ireland* farewell with that Verſe out of the *Pſalms*, *When Iſrael departed out of Ægypt, and the Houſe of Jacob from amongſt a barbarous people*. A ſingular good man he was, and one of the moſt commendable Deputies of *Ireland*, to whoſe Wiſedome and Valour *Ireland* cannot but acknowledge itſelf very much indebted, though for the moſt part it uſes to complain of its Deputies.

The *Spaniard*'s Deſign diverted upon *Portugal*.

Sir *William Drury* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Sir *Henry Sidney* biddeth *Ireland* farewell.

The

1579.

The Two and twentieth Year of Her Reign. Ann. Domini 1579.

Casimire cometh into *England.*

JOHN *Casimire*, Son to *Frederick* the Third Elector Palatine, who had the last year (though somewhat too late) brought a strong Army of *Germans* into the *Netherlands* at a vast Charge to the Estates and Queen *Elizabeth*, and had done no Service with them, being now drawn by the mutinous Inhabitants of *Gaunt* to take their part, came into *England* in the month of *January*, in a sharp and snowy Winter, to excuse himself about the Miscarriage of his Expedition, laying the whole Blame upon the *French*. He was most honourably received, and conducted with great Pomp into *London* with Torches lighted by the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Citizens, and to the Court by the chief of the Nobility; where he was entertained with Tilting, Barriers, and costly Banquets, and honoured with the Order of Saint *George*, the Queen herself buckling on the Garter about his Leg: and after the Settling of a yearly Pension on him, and many rich Presents made him, he returned in the midst of *February* into the *Netherlands*, being transported in one of the Queen's Ships; where he found that mercenary Army disbanded.

His Army disbanded.

For when *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, who was by the *Spaniard* made Governour of the *Netherlands*, was ready to fall upon the *Germans*, and they wanted their Pay, after a small Skirmish and Loss of some men they demanded Money of him to depart out of the *Netherlands*. He on the contrary demanding (imperiously, but pleasantly) Money of them that they might depart safely with their Lives, they were content with his Pasport, and made hast Home, not without Dishonour to themselves, and greater Dammage to the Estates.

Queen *Elizabeth* relieveth the Estates with money.

Queen *Elizabeth* notwithstanding failed not the Estates, but furnished them with a great Summe of Money: for which *William Davison* (who was sent a little before to quiet the Distempers of those of *Gaunt*, who were violent against Churches and Churchmen,) brought into *England* the ancient Jewels and rich Plate of the House of *Burgundy*, morgaged by *Matthias* of *Austria* and the Estates.

Simier promoteth the Duke of *Anjou*'s Marriage

In the mean while *Simier* ceased not amorously to wooe Queen *Elizabeth* in *Anjou*'s behalf: and though she stifly excused herself a long time, yet he brought her to that pass, that *Leicester* (who from his Heart was against the Marriage) and others spred Rumours abroad, that by Love-potions and unlawfull Arts he had insinuated into the Queen's Affection, and induced her to the Love of *Anjou*.

Leicester opposeth it.

Simier endeavoureth to bring *Leicester* out of Favour.

Simier on the other side left no means unassayed to remove *Leicester* out of his Place and Favour with the Queen, revealing to her his Marriage with *Essex* his Widow: whereat the Queen grew into such a Chafe,

Chafe, that ſhe commanded *Leiceſter* not to ſtir out of the Caſtle of *Greenwich*, and intended to have committed him to the Tower of *London*, which his Enemies much deſired. But *Suſſex*, though his greateſt and deadlieſt Adverſary, and one that earneſtly endeavoured to promote the Marriage with *Anjou*, diſſwaded her, whileſt out of a ſolid Judgement, and the innate Generoſity of his noble Mind, he was of opinion that no man was to be troubled for lawfull Marriage, which amongſt all men hath ever been had in Honour and Eſteem. Yet glad he was that by this Marriage he was now put beſide all Hope of marrying with the Queen. Nevertheleſs *Leiceſter* was ſo incenſed hereat, that he bent himſelf to revenge the Wrong he had received. And there wanted not ſome who accuſed him, as if he had ſuborned one *Tender* of the Queen's Guard, an Hackſter, to take away *Simier*'s Life. Certainly the Queen commanded by publick Proclamation, that no man ſhould offer any Affront to *Simier*, his Attendants or Servants, either by word or deed. About this time it happened, that while the Queen for her Pleaſure was rowed in her Barge upon the *Thames* near *Greenwich*, attended by *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Hatton* her Vice-chamberlain, a young man diſcharged a Piece out of a Boat, and ſhot one of the Barge-men in the Queen's Barge through both his Arms; who was preſently apprehended, and led to the Gallows for a Terrour to him: but he ſolemnly proteſting that he did it unwittingly, and thought no Harm, was ſoon diſcharged. Neither would the Queen believe what ſome buzzed in her ears, that he was purpoſely ſet on, to miſchief either her or *Simier*. So far was ſhe from giving way to any Suſpicion againſt her People, that ſhe was many times wont to ſay, *That ſhe could believe nothing of her People which Parents would not believe of their Children.*

1579.

A Gun diſcharged at the Queen's Barge.

Some few days after the Duke of *Anjou* himſelf arrived privately in *England* with one or two onely in his Company, and came to the Queen unexpectedly at her Court at *Greenwich*; where they had ſome private Diſcourſe together, all By-ſtanders being removed, which I liſt not to ſearch into, (for the Secrets of Princes are an inextricable Labyrinth:) which done, he returned, having been ſeen but by very few. But after a moneth or two ſhe commanded that *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, *Suſſex*, *Leiceſter*, *Hatton* and *Walſingham*, after ſerious Conſideration of the Dangers and Advantages which might ariſe from her Marriage with him, ſhould conſult with *Simier* about the Writings and Contract of the Marriage. The Dangers ſeemed to be: Leſt he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the received Religion: leſt he ſhould either endeavour to get the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdome for himſelf by the Pope's Donation, or betray it into the hands of the Queen of *Scots*, and marry her after the Queen's Death; or elſe, after his Brother's Death, return into *France*, and appoint a Vice-roy over *England*, which the *Engliſh* would by no means endure: moreover, leſt he ſhould ingage the *Engliſh* in forrein Quarrels: leſt the

Anjou cometh into *England*.

A Conſultation about the Marriage.

The Dangers, if accepted.

Scots,

1579. *Scots*, presuming upon their ancient League with the *French*, should take greater heart and courage against the *English*: lest the *Spaniard* should engage himself against so great and united a Power: and lastly, lest the People, being burthened with Payments for the Maintenance of his Greatness and State, should break out into Rebellion. The Advantages seemed to be these: That a firm Agreement would be established with the *French*: that the Rebellions of the Papists (if any should be) would be the easilier suppressed: that all Hopes would be cut off from the Queen of *Scots*, and from those who sought to her for Marriage, or who any way favoured her: that the *Spaniards* would be brought to compound matters in the *Netherlands*, and confirm the League of *Burgundy*: and that *England* might at length injoy a sound and joyfull Security by means of the Queen's Children, a thing so often wished for. But if this Marriage should be neglected, they feared lest the *French* would be incensed, and the *Scots* alienated: that *Anjou* would contract a Marriage with the *Spaniard*'s Daughter, with whom he might receive the Netherland Provinces in Dowry: that the *French* King and the *Spaniard* would aid the Queen of *Scots*, draw the King of *Scots* to their Party, provide him a Wife for their own turn, and utterly abolish the Reformed Religion: and that the *English*, when they saw no Hopes of Children by the Queen, would adore the rising Sun. Which things could not but be a great Torment and Anguish to her Mind.

The Advantages by it.

The Inconveniences, if neglected.

In these days, as some *English* feared an Alteration of Religion by means of the Duke of *Anjou*; so also did the *Scots* by means of another French-man, viz. *Amate* or *Esme Stuart D' Aubigny*, who came about this time into *Scotland* to visit the King his Cousin. (For he was Son to *John Stuart* Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* the King's Grandfather, and was surnamed *D' Aubigny* of *Aubigny* in *Berry*, which *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* gave in times past to *John Stuart* of the House of *Lenox*, who, being Constable or Generall of an Army of *Scots* in *France*, defeated the *English* at *Beauge*, and was afterward slain by them in the Battel of *Harrans*; and ever since this Title hath belonged to the younger Brothers of that House.) This *D' Aubigny* the King embraced with singular Kindness, gave him very fair Lands and Possessions, admitted him to his inwardest Counsells, made him Chamberlain of *Scotland*, Captain of the Castle of *Dunbriton*, and (having first in an Assembly of the Estates formally revoked the Letters Patents whereby he had in his Minority created *Robert* Bishop of *Cathnesse*, his Grandfather's third Brother, Earl of *Lenox*, and recompensed the said *Robert* with the Earldome of *March*,) created him first Earl, then Duke, of *Lenox*. This extraordinary Favour of his with the King procured him Envy from many, who secretly muttered that he, being a man most devoted to the *Guises* and the Romish Religion, was sent into *Scotland* to subvert the true Religion. This increased the Suspicion, because he applied himself to *Morton*'s Adversaries, and made Intercession for calling home *Thomas Carre* of *Ferni*

Esme Stuart D' Aubigny cometh into *Scotland*,

Aubigny whence so named.

He is raised to Honours.

Suspected of the Protestants.

Fernihurſt, a man of all others moſt addicted to the Queen of *Scots*, while *Morton* in vain oppoſed the ſame, whoſe Power now manifeſtly declined, (though he ſeemed to have highly merited, as having defeated the *Hamiltons*, and taken the Caſtle of *Hamilton*, and *Duſfrane*.) Some there were who at this time wrought the *Hamiltons* into great Diſfavour with the King; making uſe of their Name as a Scarcrow to him, and moleſting them in ſuch ſort, that for their own neceſſary Defenſe they held thoſe Caſtles out againſt the King: but they were forced to ſurrender them, and being convict by Parliament of the Murther of the Regents, as well *Murray* as *Lenox*, they were proſcribed. Of theſe *Hamiltons* ſome fled into *England*, for whom Queen *Elizabeth* earneſtly interceded by *Erington*, as well in point of Honour as of Juſtice, foraſmuch as ſhe in the year 1573. for eſtabliſhing of Peace, had engaged that they ſhould not be called in queſtion for thoſe matters but with her Conſent. 1579.

The *Hamiltons* incurre the King's Diſpleaſure.

Proſcribed.

Interceded for by Queen *Elizabeth*.

About this time alſo through her Interceſſion, in another part of the world, *Amurath Cham*, or the *Turkiſh* Sultan, upon Treaty betwixt *William Harbourn* an Engliſh-man, and *Muſtapha Beg* a Turkiſh Baſſa, granted that the Engliſh Merchants *might freely traffick throughout his whole Empire, in like manner as the* French, *the* Venetians, *the* Polonians, *the King of the* Germans, *and other neighbouring Nations did.* Whereupon they by the Queen's Authority and Priviledge grew into a Society or Company, which, being called the *Turky Company*, have ever ſince found a very gainfull Trade to *Conſtantinople*, *Angori*, *Scio*, *Petrazzo*, *Alexandria*, *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, and elſewhere in *Aſia*, for Spices, Cottons, raw Silk, Tapeſtries, *Indian* Dye, Grapes of *Corinth*, or Currants, Soap, &c.

The original of the Company of Turky Merchants.

The execrable Impiety of *Matthew Hamont*, which about this time he openly at *Norwich* poured out againſt God and his *Chriſt*, and is (I hope) extinct with his burning alive, is rather to be buried in Oblivion, then to be remembred. And for my part, I am not of their mind who think it expedient for the publick Good, that all manner of Villanies, Poiſonings and Impieties ſhould be made known and publiſhed: for he that relateth ſuch things doth as good as teach them.

Hamont's Impiety.

This was the laſt year of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, under which Title he exerciſed and injoyed, by an Ordinance of Parliament, the Honour and Authority of Chancellour of *England*. A man exceeding groſs-bodied, ſharp-witted, of ſingular Wiſedome, rare Eloquence, excellent Memory, and a Pillar as it were of the Privy Council. In whoſe room ſucceeded *Thomas Bromley* with the Title of Lord Chancellour of *England*:

The death of Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper.

Thomas Bromley ſucceedeth him.

After *Bacon* followed Sir *Thomas Greſham* Knight, Citizen of *London*, the Queen's Merchant, Son of Sir *Richard Greſham* Knight; who, for an Ornament to his Country, and the Uſe of Merchants, built a very fair Walking-place in *London*, which Queen *Elizabeth* named *The Royall Exchange*; and gave a large and ſpacious Houſe

Greſham's death.

He buildeth the Exchange, and *Greſham* Colledge in *London*.

1579.

he had in the City to the Profession of Learning, founding therein Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Physick, Astronomy, Geometry, and Rhetorick, with competent Stipends.

James Fitz-Morris his Rebellion in *Ireland.*

In *Munster*, a Province of *Ireland*, *James Fitz-Morris* raised a new Rebellion; the same *James* which a while before, falling upon his Knees before *Perott* President of *Munster*, had with lamentable Howlings and humble Intreaties begged his Pardon, and most religiously vowed his Fidelity and Obedience to the Queen. This man, I say, (who was never well but in Troubles) had withdrawn himself into *France*, promising the King, that if he would assist him, he would unite all *Ireland* to the Scepter of *France*, and restore the *Romish* Religon in that Isle. But being wearied out with Delays, and in the end laughed at, he went from *France* into *Spain*, and made the same Promises to the Catholick King.

Raised by the Pope and the *Spaniard.*

The King sent him over to the Bishop of *Rome*; from whom having (at the earnest Solicitation of *Sanders* an English Priest, and *Allen* an Irish one, both of them Doctours in Divinity,) gotten a little Money, the Authority of a Legate granted to *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Recommendation to the *Spaniard*, he returned into *Spain*, and from thence

He lands a Party in *Kerry.*

arrived about the first day of *July*, with those two Divines, three Ships, and a small Body of men, at *Saint Mary Wick* (which the *Irish* contractedly call *Smerwick*) in *Kerry*, a *Peninsula* of *Ireland*, where, in a place solemnly consecrated by the Priests, he erected a Fort, and drew up his Ships close under it: which Ships

The Rebels Ships taken.

Thomas Courtney an English Gentleman, who lay by chance at Anchour with a Man of war in a Rode hard by, soon after set upon, took and carried away, and deprived the *Spaniards* of the benefit of the Sea.

Desmond favoureth the Rebells.

John and *James*, Brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a few *Irish*, joyn themselves forthwith with their Cousin *Fitz-Morris*: But the Earl himself, who wished well to their Design, gathered his Friends together as if he meant to oppose them, having cunningly shifted off the Earl of *Clancary*, who was coming to him with a select Body of men to assist him against the Enemies and Rebels.

As soon as the Lord Deputie had certain Intelligence that the Enemies were landed, he commanded the Earl of *Desmond* and his Brothers joyntly by *Henry Davill*, an English Gentleman and a stout Souldier, and very familiar with the *Desmonds*, that they should forthwith assault the Fort: Which when they shifted off and refused to doe, as a thing full of Danger, *Davill* departed, and *John Desmond* followed after him.

Davill slain in his bed.

At *Trally*, a small Town, he overtook him at his Inne, and in the dead of the Night, having corrupted his Host, brake into his Chamber with certain Cut-throats having their Swords drawn, where *Davill* slept securely with *Arthur Carter*, Lieutenant to the Marshall of *Munster*, a stout old Souldier: but being awakened with the Noise, when he saw *J. Desmond* in the Chamber with his Sword drawn, he raised himself up, saying, *What is the matter, my Son?* (for so he was wont familiarly to call him.) *I will be no longer thy Son,*

Son, (ſaid he) *nor ſhalt thou be my Father: Thou ſhalt die.* And therewithall they ſlew both him and *Carter* that lay with him, ſtabbing them in many places, after that *Davil*'s Lackey, by interpoſing his naked Body, had done the beſt he could for a while to defend his Maſter, and had received ſome Wounds. Then he ſlew all *Davil*'s Servants one after another, who were lodged here and there in ſeveral Chambers; and ſo returning all begoared with Bloud, he boaſted among the *Spaniards* of the Murther: And *let this* (ſaid he) *be a Pledge to you of my Faithfulneſs towards you and the Cauſe you are ingaged in.* This Fact *Sanders* commended *as a ſweet Sacrifice in the ſight of God.* *James Fitz-Morris* miſliked the manner of the Murther, and wiſhed rather it had been done upon the Way then in his Bed. The Earl, when he heard it, condemned the Fact, deteſting it with all his heart. 1579.

Sanders approveth the Murther.

The *Spaniards*, when they ſaw ſo ſmall a number of *Iriſh* joyn with them, and thoſe unarmed and pitifull Fellows, contrary to what *Fitz-Morris* had promiſed them, began to deſpair of themſelves, and to cry out they were undone, and to bewail their Condition; for they ſaw no way to eſcape either by Sea or Land. *Fitz-Morris* exhorteth them to wait patiently, aſſuring them that there were great Forces coming to their Aid, and feignedly taketh a Journey to *Saint Croſs* in *Tipperary*, under Pretence of performing a Vow he had made in *Spain*, but indeed to gather together Seditious fellows out of *Connaught* and *Ulſter*.

The *Spaniards* in deſpair.

Whileſt he with a few Horſemen and twelve Footmen took his Journey through the Lands of *William a Burgh* his Kinſman, (who in the former Rebellion was engaged with him,) his Horſes tiring, he took ſome out of the Plough near the High-way: the Ploughmen, making an Out-cry, call together the Neighbourhood to recover their Horſes; amongſt whom the Sons of *William a Burgh*, being courageous young men, took horſe, and purſued him ſo hard that they overtook him. *Fitz-Morris* eſpying *Theobald a Burgh* and his Brethren, who not long before had been Rebels with him, ſpake unto them friendly in this manner, *Couſins*, (ſaith he) *let us not ſtrive for a Jade or two. I doubt not but, when ye underſtand the cauſe of my Returning into* Ireland, *ye will joyn your Party with me.* *Theobald* anſwered; *Of our former Rebellion both myſelf, my Father and my Friends do greatly repent us: Our Fidelity and Obedience we have ſworn to our moſt Gracious Princeſs, who hath pardoned us our Lives; and to her will we keep our Allegeance. Therefore reſtore us our Horſes, or I will make you reſtore them.* And withall charging him with his Lance he ran at him. They fought a while, and *Theobald* and one of his Brothers, with ſome of his Party, were ſlain: and withall *Fitz-Morris* himſelf fell down dead, being run through with a Lance, and ſhot in the Head with a leaden Bullet, and moſt of his men were ſlain. His Head was cut from his Body, his Body quartered, his Quarters ſet upon Poles at the Gates of *Kilmalock*, where he had former-

A Conflict betwixt the Rebels and the *a Burgh's*.

Fitz-Morris with moſt of his men ſlain.

1579.

William a Burgh made a Baron.

He dieth for Joy.

ly (as I said before) with solemn Obtestations sworn Allegeance to his Prince in the Church before *Perott*. The Queen, by her Letters mixt with Grief and Love, comforted *William a Burgh* for the loss of his Sons, honoured him with the Title of Baron of *Castle-Connell*, and gave him a yearly Pension: whereat the old man being filled and overcome with sudden Joy, died shortly after.

Desmond's feigned Submission.

Now was *Drury* Lord Deputy come near to *Kilmalock*, and sent for the Earl of *Desmond*, who appeared before him, promised his Fidelity and Obedience to his Princess, and bound himself by Oath that both himself in person and his would serve her against the Rebels. Whereupon he was dismissed to gather his men together, and return to the Lord Deputy. *John Desmond*, the Earl's Brother, who was put in *Fitz-Morris* his room among the Rebels, by an Ambush surprized and slew *Herbert* and *Prise*, two English Captains, with their Companies; and was hurt himself in the Face. But the Companies were made up again with six hundred men out of *Devonshire*: and *Perott* was sent out of *England* with six Men of War to defend the Coast.

John Desmond defeateth the *English*.

Nicholas Malbey President of *Munster*.

At which time the Lord Deputy, being daily more and more afflicted with Sickness, was fain to retire to *Waterford* for Recovery of his Health, and committed both the managing of the War and the Presidentship of *Munster* to *Nicholas Malbey*, Governour of *Connaught*, an experienc'd old Souldier. As he was departing, *Desmond's* Wife fell upon her Knees, and offered him her onely Son and Heir in Hostage for his Father. For after he was departed from *Kilmalock*, he appeared no more: though *Malbey* now and then by Letters put him in mind of his Duty and Promise. *Malbey*, supposing it not good to delay any time, marcheth into *Conilo*, a wild and woody Countrey, against the Rebels; where *John Desmond* encountred him in a pitch'd Field, with the hallowed Banner of the Bishop of *Rome* displayed: and they fought smartly on both sides. At length, Fortune favouring the Valour of the *English*, *John* first betook himself to Flight, and left his men to the Slaughter; amongst whom was found that *Allen* the Divine, who had encouraged them to the Engagement, promising them assured Victory.

He defeateth the Rebels.

That night the Earl of *Desmond*, who had stood a Spectatour from an Hill hard by, dissemblingly by Letters congratulated the President concerning his Victory, and under Pretence of Friendship advised him to remove his Camp from thence. *Malbey* sent back the Messenger, and by his Letter commanded the Earl to come and joyn his Forces with his: whom when he had in vain expected the space of four days, he marched forward to *Rekel*, a small Town of *Desmond*. Now *Desmond*, who had in shew and words so long and so egregiously played the Dissembler, ceaseth longer to act that part, and openly discovereth his rebellious Spirit. The same night the Rebels charged *Malbey's* Camp in the dark, which notwithstanding they found so strongly fortified, that they retired without effecting

Desmond openly rebelleth.

any

any thing. The President, in regard the Place seemed commodious to divide the Rebels Forces, put a Garrison into it, and marched from thence towards *Asketten*, a Castle of the Earl's upon a Rock compassed about with the River *Asketten*, and kept by a party of Souldiers. Yet before he would assault the same, he wrote again to *Desmond*, and exhorted him not to incurre the Stain of Rebellion, but to return to his Duty, laying before him the Queen's Clemency, the ancient Dignity of the House of *Desmond*, the Glory of his Ancestours, and his own Infamy with Posterity. He on the contrary both continued obstinate in his Resolution, and strengthened his Camp all the ways he could, both with the lately-arriv'd *Spaniards* and with *Irish*. At this time, in the beginning of *October*, *Drury* the Lord Deputy died at *Waterford*; a man certainly of approved Vertue, and bred up in the Wars from his very Youth in *France*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. 1579.

The death of *Drury* Lord Deputy.

The Lord Deputy being dead, *Malbey*'s Authority in *Munster* died also; therefore, putting his Souldiers into Garrison-towns, he retired into *Connaught*, his own Government. By the Lord Deputie's Death the Rebels take Courage, and consult how to free themselves from their Subjection to the *English*. The best Course (they thought) was, to block up the Garrisons round on all sides, and so to famish them. *James Desmond* therefore besieged *Adar*, where *William Stanley* and *George Carew* had their Quarters: but the Garrison-souldiers, fearing Hunger, the worst of all Evils, wearied the Besiegers with such frequent Sallies, that they brake up the Siege, and left the Besieged at liberty to fetch in Booty out of the Country adjoyning; which they valorously and stoutly performed, wounding *James* himself.

The Rebels encouraged thereby.

In the mean time the Council of *Ireland* chose Sir *William Pelham* for Justicer of *Ireland*, with the Authority of Lord Deputy, till a Lord Deputy should be created; and the Earl of *Ormond* they made President of *Munster*, who sent the Earl of *Desmond*'s Son, whom he had in Hostage, to *Dublin* to be there kept. *Pelham* Lord Justicer went into *Munster*, and sent for the Earl of *Desmond*: but he by Letters sent by his Wife excused himself. *Ormond* therefore was sent to command him to deliver up *Sanders* the Divine, the forrein Souldiers, and the Castles of *Carigo Foyle* and *Asketten*, into the Lord Justicer's hands, to submit himself absolutely, and use his Forces against his Brothers and the rest of the Rebels: which if he did, he might obtain Pardon of his Rebellion; otherwise he should be proclaimed Traitour and Enemy to his Countrey. When he still shifted and avoided to doe it, he was in the beginning of *November* proclaimed Traitour, and guilty of High treason, for having dealt with forrein Princes for the Conquest and Destruction of his native Countrey, relieved *Sanders* and *James Fitz-Morris* Rebels, harboured the *Spaniards* which escaped out of the Fort at *Smerwick*, hanged up divers faithfull Subjects, displayed the Pope's Banner against the

Sir *William Pelham* made Justicer of *Ireland*.

He admonisheth *Desmond* of his Duty.

He proclaimeth him Traitour.

1579.

Youghall taken by the Rebels.

Ormond purſueth them.

the Queen, and brought Forreiners into the Realm. This being proclaimed, the Lord Juſticer committed the Proſecution of the War to *Ormond*. *Deſmond* turned himſelf againſt another part of *Munſter*, ſurpriſed and ſacked *Youghall*, a Port-town ſtrongly fortified, whilſt no man reſiſted him. *Ormond* layeth all waſt far and near quite through *Conilo*, the Rebels onely Refuge, driveth away their Cattell, and giveth them for Booty to his men. The Mayor of *Youghall* he commanded to be hanged before his own Door, for refuſing to receive in an Engliſh Garriſon, and putteth a Garriſon into the Town. Then he prepareth to beſiege the *Spaniardi* in *Strangicallia:* but they had before withdrawn themſelves out of Danger; yet the *Engliſh* purſuing them put them every man to the Sword, and miſerably vexed the Rebels all over *Munſter*. But *Deſmond* and his Brethren, though lurking and hiding their Heads, ſignified to the Lord Juſticer in a long Letter, that they had undertaken the Protection of the Catholick Faith in *Ireland*, and that by Authority from the Biſhop of *Rome* and direction of the Catholick King: and therefore they do kindly adviſe him to joyn with them in ſo pious and meritorious a Cauſe for the Salvation of his own Soul.

Deſmond's Impudence.

The Three and twentieth Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1580.

The Lord Juſticer and *Ormond* proſecute the Rebels.

THE Lord Juſticer ſmiling and jeaſting hereat returned into *Munſter*, aſſembled the Gentlemen, and wiſely kept them with him, not ſuffering them to depart but upon Hoſtages given, and Promiſe made to doe their beſt Service with him and *Ormond* againſt the Rebels; who ſoon after dividing their Forces hunt after the Rebels. The Baron of *Lixnaw* they force to yield himſelf; then beſiege the Caſtle of *Carigo-Foyle*, which *Julio* an *Italian* with a few *Spaniards* defended: and having made a Breach in the Walls by means of their great Ordnance, they entred it by force, and put the Garriſon either to the Sword or the Gallows, and with them *Julio* himſelf. Then was the Caſtle of *Ballilough* fired and abandoned by the Garriſon, as ſoon as they ſaw the *Engliſh* come on; as was alſo *Asketten*, the Keeping whereof was committed to Sir *Peter Carew* and *George* his Brother with a new Garriſon of Engliſh-men. The Territory of *Mac-Auley* was harraſed: and from thence the Lord Juſticer entred into *Kerry* over the boggy Hill of *Slewlougher*, drove away a great number of Cattel, and ſlew very many of the Rebels. *James Deſmond*, the Earl's Brother, having ſpoiled the little Countrey of *Muskeroy*, belonging to *Cormac Mac-Teg*, (whom the Lord Juſticer had diſmiſſed upon condition he ſhould doe his Countrey good Service againſt the Rebels,) happened upon *Donell*, *Cormac's*

Several places taken, or quitted.

James Deſmond taken and put to death.

mack's Brother, who put many of his men to the Sword, recovered the Booty, took *James*, who was mortally wounded, and delivered him to *Warham Saint-Leiger*, Marſhall of *Munſter*, and to *Walter Raleigh*, (who then firſt had any Command of Forces.) They brought him to his Triall, and, having found him guilty of High treaſon, put him to the uſuall Death of Traitours, ſetting up his Head for a Spectacle upon *Cork* Gate. *Deſmond* himſelf being diſtreſſed with all kind of Miſeries, and no-where ſafe, ſhifted from place to place, ſent his Wife to the Lord Juſticer to beg his Pardon, and by his Friends earneſtly dealt with *Winter*, (who then waited for the *Spaniards* upon that Coaſt with a well-appointed Fleet,) that he might be conveyed over into *England* to beg the Queen's Mercy. 1580.

Deſmond diſtreſſed.

The Lord Juſticer being now advertiſed that *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, appointed to be Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, was arrived in *Ireland*, committed the Care of the Army in *Munſter* to *George Bourchier*, Son to *John* the ſecond Earl of *Bath*, and returned himſelf by eaſy Journies to *Dublin*, to deliver up his Charge to his Succeſſour. No ſooner was the Lord *Grey* arrived, but before he had received the Sword and Enſigns of his Command, hearing that certain Rebels under the Leading of *Fitz Euſtace*, and *Pheog Mac-Hugh* the Head of the powerfull Family of the *O-Brines*, did commit Theſts and Robberies, and had their Refuge in *Glandilough*, 25 miles from *Dublin* Southward, that he might follow the Report of his coming at the Heels, and by a ſevere Beginning ſtrike a Terrour into them, he ordered the Captains and Commanders, which came from all places to ſalute him, to gather their Forces together, and to march with him againſt the Rebels, who preſently retired into *Glandilough*. This *Glandilough* is a graſſie Valley, fit for fattening of Cattell, and a great part of it ſomewhat wet, beſet round about with craggy Rocks and a ſteep Downfall, and with Trees and Thickets of Wood, the Paths and Croſs-ways whereof are ſcarce known to the Dwellers thereabouts. When they were come to the place, *Cosbey*, Captain of the Iriſh light Footmen, (whom they call *Kerns*,) who knew the places perfectly well, acquainted the reſt how dangerous it was to enter into that Valley, being ſo commodious for Ambuſhes: yet he perſwaded them to venture courageouſly, and himſelf, being above threeſcore years of age, led the way before them, and the reſt followed after. As ſoon as they were deſcended into the Valley, they were overlaid with ſmall Shot, as it were with a Storm of Hail, from the Rebels from all parts round about, whom yet they could not ſee. The greateſt part of them by far were ſlain; the reſt with much adoe climbing up the Rocks through cumberſome and difficult ways eſcaped to the Lord Deputie, who upon an Hill attended the Succeſs with the Earl of *Kildare*, and *James Wingfield* Maſter of the Munition, who, not ignorant of the Danger, ſtayed *George Carew* (one of his Nephews) with him againſt his will, being reſerved for greater Honour. There were ſlain *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audley*, and *Cosbey* himſelf, men of great Repute for Martiall affairs.

Arthur Lord *Grey* Deputy of *Ireland*.

He marcheth againſt the Rebells.

The *Engliſh* overthrown and ſlain.

Within

1580.

Some *Italians* and *Spaniards* arrive in *Ireland*.

Within a ſhort time after arrived at *Smerwick* in *Kerry* about ſeven hundred *Italians* and *Spaniards*, under the Command of *San-Joſepho* an *Italian*, ſent from the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, under Pretence of reſtoring the Romiſh Religion, but indeed to diſtract Queen *Elizabeth*'s Forces, and to divert her Mind from the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*. They landed without Reſiſtence: for *Winter*, who had waited for them a good while upon that Coaſt with ſeverall Men of war, was returned into *England*, the Autumnall Equinoctinall being now paſt.

They raiſe a Fort.

The Enemie ſtrengthened the Place with Fortifications, and named it the Fort *del Or*. But as ſoon as news was brought them that *Ormond*, Preſident of *Munſter*, approached, they abandoned the Fort by the Perſwaſion of the *Iriſh*, and withdrew themſelves into the Valley of *Glaningellie*, invironed with ſteep Hills and Woods. Some of them the Preſident took, who being examined of their Number and Intent, confeſſed "That they "came but 700 ſtrong, but brought Arms ſufficient for five thou- "ſand, and that they expected more men daily out of *Spain*. That "the Pope and the *Spaniard* had reſolved to drive the *Engliſh* out of "*Ireland*, and had ſent a great Summe of Money to that Purpoſe, "which they had delivered into the hands of *Sanders* the Pope's "Nuncio, the Earl of *Deſmond*, and *John* his Brother. The ſame night the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, not knowing which ways to turn them, (for they were not uſed to lurking in Holes,) returned in the dark to the Fort; and hard by them encamped the Earl of *Ormond*.

They are beſieged.

But being unprovided of Ordnance and other Neceſſaries for an Aſſault, he ſtayed for the Lord Deputie's coming; who came ſhortly after, accompanied by *Zouch*, *Raleigh*, *Deny*, *Mackworth*, *Achin*, and other Commanders. At the ſame time alſo was *Winter* returned out of *England* with the Men of War, not without a Check for his departing.

Summoned by the Deputy.

The Lord Deputy ſent a Trumpet to the Fort, to demand who they were, what they had to doe in *Ireland*, who ſent them, and why they had built a Fort in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Kingdome, and withall, to command them to depart with all ſpeed. They anſwered, they were ſent, ſome from the moſt Holy Father the Pope, and ſome from the Catholick King of *Spain*, to whom the Pope had given *Ireland*, ſince Queen *Elizabeth* had juſtly forfeited her Title to it for Hereſie. They would therefore hold what they had gotten, and get more alſo if they could. When the Lord Deputie and *Winter* had conſulted together about the managing of the Siege, the Sea-men in the dead of the Night brought certain Culverins out of the Ships, and having raiſed a Battery near the Shoar, drew them up the next way, and planted them. The Souldiers in like manner on the other ſide levelled their great Pieces for Battery, and both of them at once thundered for four days together againſt the Fort.

A Salley or two.

The *Spaniards* made one or two Sallies, but to their own Loſs. Of the *Engliſh* not one man was ſlain, but *John Cheek*, a comely and courageous young

young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek*, a very learned Knight. 1580.

San-Joſepho, who had the Command of the Fort, being a faint-hearted man, and terrified with the continuall playing of the Ordnance, began preſently to think of yielding the Place: and when *Hercules Piſanus* and other Commanders earneſtly diſſwaded him from it, as a thing diſhonourable to a Souldier, and urged him to prepare for a vigorous Defenſe, leſt they did by their Cowardice diſcourage the *Iriſh* who were now ready to relieve them; he by his Agents, ſuch was his cowardly Spirit, tampered with the common Souldiers, and wrought them to conſent to a Surrender, ſeditiouſly offering Violence to their Leaders. Hereupon, when they ſaw no Relief come, either out of *Spain* or from *Deſmond*, they hung out a white Flag the fifth day, and craved a Parley. Which was denied them, becauſe they had joyned themſelves with the Rebels, with whom it was not lawfull to have any Parley. Then they craved that they might depart with Bag and baggage: but neither was this granted. Afterwards it was deſired that this might be granted to their Generall and certain principall men amongſt them: neither would this be allowed them, though they ſued very earneſtly for it. And the Lord Deputy (inveighing very bitterly againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*) commanded them to yield themſelves upon diſcretion. When they could obtain no other Terms, they ſet up their white Flag again, and cried *Miſericordia*, *Miſericordia*, and abſolutely ſubmitted themſelves to the Lord Deputie's Mercy: who preſently adviſed with his Officers what ſhould be done with them. But in regard thoſe who yielded equalled the *Engliſh* in number, and ſome Danger threatned from the Rebells, who were above fifteen hundred ſtrong at hand, and the *Engliſh* were ſo deſtitute of Victuals and Apparell, that they were like to mutiny, unleſs they were relieved out of the Fort by the Spoil of the Enemy, and Shipping was wanting to carry the Enemies away; it was concluded (againſt the mind of the Lord Deputy, who ſhed Tears thereat,) that the Commanders ſhould be ſaved, and the reſt promiſcuouſly put to the Sword for a Terrour, and that the *Iriſh* ſhould be hanged up: which was preſently put in execution. Yet the Queen wiſhed it had not been done, deteſting from her Heart ſuch Cruelty, though neceſſary, againſt perſons who had yielded themſelves; and hardly did ſhe allow of the Reaſons for the Slaughter committed. Thus much of matters in *Ireland*, which I have mentioned all together, that the Series of the Story might not be interrupted, though other things fell out in the mean while, which in reſpect of their time ſhould have been mentioned firſt.

The Cowardice of the Governour.

They parley.

They yield.

They are cruelly dealt withall.

In *England*, in the beginning of this Year, the Neck-attire, which we call Ruffs, being unreaſonably large, and with huge wide Setts, and Cloaks reaching down almoſt to the Ancles, no leſs uncomely then expenſive, were reſtrained by Proclamation. Swords alſo were reduced to the length of three Foot, Daggers to twelve inches beſides the Handle, and the Pikes in the Boſſes of Bucklers to two in-

Exceſs of Apparell reſtrained.

1580.

and new Buildings in the Suburbs of *London*.

ches. In like manner, in regard that great Multitudes of people reſorted from all parts to *London*, whereby the City and Suburbs were now ſo much inlarged with Buildings, (while the reſt of the Cities and Towns of *England* ran to Decay) that unleſs it were timely prevented, neither the ordinary Magiſtrates would ſuffice to govern the Multitude, nor the Countries round about to feed them, and the Contagion of Peſtilence, if any ſhould happen, would ſpread itſelf farther and more dangerouſly by means of the Houſes ſtanding ſo thick together, and being peſtered with numbers of Inhabitants; the Queen by Proclamation prohibited any new Dwelling-houſes to be built within three miles of the Gates of the City, upon pain of Impriſonment, and loſs of the Stuff provided for the Building; and ordered that no more but one Family ſhould dwell in one Houſe.

Mechlin taken.

In the *Netherlands*, Sir *John Norris*, Generall of the Engliſh Forces, and *Oliver Temple*, with ſome Companies of *Netherlanders*, ſcaled the Walls of *Mechlin*, a rich City of *Brabant*, early in a morning, and with great Slaughter of the Towns-men and Religious people took it; with ſome Commendation indeed for their Valour, had not they ſtained it with the odious Blur of their Rapine and Sacrilege: for they not onely plundered the Citizens Goods with all Inſolency imaginable, but exerciſed their Rage alſo againſt the very Churches, Sacred things, and Monuments, offering Violence to the dead. For we ſaw (which I am aſhamed to ſpeak) ſeverall Tombe-ſtones ſent over from thence into *England*, and openly ſet to ſale, that there might not want Proofs of their Impiety.

Sacrilege of the *Engliſh*.

Earthquakes in *England*.

Let it not ſeem beſide the purpoſe to mention the Earthquakes which happened in theſe days, ſeeing they are things that happen very rarely in *England*, and thoſe that do, are rather to be called Tremblings of the Earth then violent Shakings. The ſixth day of *Aprill*, at 6. of the clock in the evening, the Air being clear and calm, *England* on this ſide *York*, and the *Netherlands* almoſt as high as *Cologne*, in a moment as it were fell a trembling in ſuch a manner, that in ſome places Stones fell down from Buildings, the Bels in Steeples ſtruck againſt the Clappers, and the very Sea, which as then was very calm, was vehemently toſt and moved to and fro. The Night following the Ground in *Kent* trembled two or three times; and the like again on the firſt of *May*, in the dead-time of the Night. Whether this happened by means of Winds gotten into the hollow places of the earth, or of Waters flowing under the Earth, or from what other Cauſe, let the natural Philoſophers determine. But immediately upon it there enſued ſome Trouble to the Papiſts in *England*: yet none but what was cauſed by themſelves upon the following Occaſions.

The beginning of the Papiſts Troubles.

The Original of the Engliſh Seminaries, at *Doway*,

The Engliſh Prieſts which had fled into the *Netherlands* aſſembled themſelves at *Doway* in the year 1568. by the Procurement of *William Allen* an *Oxford*-man, the moſt learned amongſt them, and framed themſelves a common Diſcipline after the manner of a Colledge; to whom the Biſhop of *Rome* aſſigned a yearly Penſion. Afterwards, the

Nether-

Netherlands running into Confuſion, and the Engliſh Fugitives being baniſhed thence by Command of Don *Lewis de Requeſens*, another Seminary was erected at *Rheims* by the *Guiſes*, the Queen of *Scots* Kinſmen, and another at *Rome* by *Gregory* the Thirteenth, which, as time conſumed the Popiſh Prieſts in *England*, might ſtill ſupply new, to ſow the Seeds of the Romiſh Religion in *England*. Whereupon they were called *Seminaries*; and thoſe that were there bred up in them were commonly called *Seminary-Prieſts*. 1580. at *Rheims*, and *Rome*.

In theſe Colledges, or Seminaries, whileſt, among other things. Diſputations were held concerning the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Power, Zeal to the Pope their Founder, Hatred againſt the Queen, and Hope of Reſtoring the Romiſh Religion by the Queen of *Scots*, carried ſome of them ſo far, that they really perſwaded themſelves, and ſo maintained, that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath by Divine Right full Power over the whole World, as well in Eccleſiaſticall as Temporal Cauſes; and that he, according to that abſolute Power, may excommunicate Kings, and, having ſo done, dethrone them, and abſolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegeance. Hereupon was that Bull declaratory of *Pius Quintus* publiſhed in the year 1569. and upon that Bull brake forth the Rebellion in the North parts of *England*, and this alſo in *Ireland* whereof I ſpake a little before; and many withdrew themſelves from the received Service of God, which before they had frequented without any Scruple. *Hanſe*, *Nelſon* and *Maine*, Prieſts, and *Sherwood*, peremptorily taught that the Queen was a Schiſmatick and an Heretick, and therefore to be depoſed: for which they were put to Death. The treaſonable Tenents of Seminary-Prieſts. Popiſh Prieſts executed.

Out of theſe Seminaries were ſent forth into divers parts of *England* and *Ireland* at firſt a few young men, and afterwards more, according as they grew up, who were entred over-haſtily into Holy Orders, and inſtructed in the above-mentioned Principles. They pretended onely to adminiſter the Sacraments of the Romiſh Religion, and to preach to Papiſts: but the Queen and her Council ſoon found that they were ſent under-hand to ſeduce the Subjects from their Allegeance and Obedience due to their Prince, to oblige them by Reconciliation to perform the Pope's Commands, to ſtir up inteſtine Rebellions under *the Seal of Confeſſion*, and flatly to execute the Sentence of *Pius Quintus* againſt the Queen, to the end that way might be made for the Pope and the *Spaniard*, who had of late deſigned the Conqueſt of *England*. To what intent Seminary-Prieſts were ſent into *England*.

To theſe Seminaries were ſent daily out of *England* by the Papiſts, in Contempt and Deſpite of the Laws, great numbers of Boys and young men of all ſorts, and admitted into the ſame, making a Vow to return into *England*: others alſo crept ſecretly from thence into the Land, and more were daily expected with the *Jeſuites*, who at this time firſt came into *England*. Hereupon there came forth a Proclamation in the month of *June*, "That whoſoever had any Chil- "dren, Wards, Kinſmen, or other Relations in the Parts beyond the "Seas, The *Jeſuites* creep into *England*. A Proclamation againſt Seminary-Prieſts and *Jeſuites*.

1580. "Seas, ſhould after 10 days give in their Names to the Ordinary, "and within 4 months call them Home again, and when they were "returned, ſhould forthwith give notice of the ſame to the ſaid Or- "dinary. That they ſhould not directly or indirectly ſupply ſuch "as refuſed to return with any Money. That no man ſhould enter- "tain in his Houſe or harbour any Prieſts ſent forth of the aforeſaid "Seminaries, or *Jeſuites*, or cheriſh and relieve them. And that "whoſoever did to the contrary ſhould be accounted a Favourer of "Rebels and Seditious perſons, and be proceeded againſt according "to the Laws of the Land.

Before ſuch time as this was proclaimed, the Papiſts pretended that they were ſenſible too late of the Inconveniences by the ſaid Bull, and that they were ill pleaſed that ever it came forth. A Defenſe of the ſame written by *Nicholas Sanders* they cunningly (as the event ſhewed) ſuppreſſed; and prohibited the Queſtion concerning the Power of the Biſhop of *Rome* in Excommunicating and Depoſing of Princes to be publickly diſputed: which notwithſtanding (ſuch is the nature of man, to be ſtill prone and forward to whatſoever is forbidden) brake forth every day hotter and hotter amongſt them. *Robert Parſons* alſo and *Edmund Campian*, Engliſh-men, and of the Society of *Jeſus*, being now ready to come over to advance the Romiſh Affairs in *England*, obtained Power from *Gregory* the Thirteenth Biſhop of *Rome* for moderating that ſevere Bull, and that in theſe words: *Let there be humbly prayed of our moſt Holy Lord an Explanation of the Bull declaratory ſet forth by* Pius Quintus *againſt* Elizabeth *and her Adherents. Which Bull the Catholicks do deſire may be underſtood in this manner: that it may always bind her and the Hereticks, but in no way the Catholicks as matters now ſtand; but onely hereafter, when publick Execution of the ſaid Bull may be had. Theſe Graces aforeſaid the Chief Biſhop hath granted to Father* Robert Parſons *and* Edmund Campian, *who are now to take their Journey into* England, *the fourteenth day of* April 1580. *in the preſence of Father* Oliver Manarco *Aſſiſtent.*

Parſons and *Campian* the *Jeſuites* come into *England.*

An Indulgence granted to Papiſts.

This *Parſons* was of *Somerſetſhire*, a violent, fierce-natur'd man, and of a rough Behaviour. *Campian* was a *Londoner*, of a ſweet Diſpoſition, and a well-poliſhed man. Both of them were by Education *Oxford*-men, whom I myſelf knew, being of their Standing in the Univerſity. *Campian*, being of *Saint John's* Colledge, bare the Office of Proctour of the Univerſity in the year 1568. and being made Deacon made a ſhew of the Proteſtant Religion till he withdrew himſelf out of *England*. *Parſons* was of *Balliol* Colledge, wherein he openly profeſſed the Proteſtant Religion, untill he was for his Looſe carriage expelled with Diſgrace, and went over to the Papiſts. Theſe two coming privately into *England* travelled up and down through the Countrey and to Popiſh Gentlemens Houſes, covertly and in the diſguiſed Habits ſometimes of Souldiers, ſometimes of Gentlemen, ſometimes of Miniſters of the Word, and ſometimes of

Parſons and *Campian* deſcribed.

of Apparitors, diligently performing what they had in Charge, both by word and writing. *Parſons*, who was conſtituted *Superiour*, being a man of a ſeditious and turbulent Spirit, and armed with a confident Boldneſs, tampered ſo far with the Papiſts about Depoſing the Queen, that ſome of them (I ſpeak upon their own Credit) thought to have delivered him into the Magiſtrate's Hands. *Campian*, though more modeſt, yet by a written Paper challenged the Miniſters of the Engliſh Church to a Diſputation, and publiſhed a neat well-penn'd Book in Latine called *Ten Reaſons* in Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*: and *Parſons* put out another virulent Book in Engliſh againſt *Chark*, who had ſoberly written againſt *Campian*'s Challenge. But to *Campian*'s *Reaſons Whitaker* gave a ſolid Anſwer. *Campian* himſelf was taken a year after, and put to the Rack: and afterwards being brought forth to diſpute, he ſcarcely anſwered the Expectation raiſed of him. 1580.

Neither wanted there others alſo of the Popiſh Faction (for Religion was grown into Faction) who laboured tooth and nail at *Rome*, and elſe-where in Princes Courts, to raiſe War againſt their own Countrey: yea, they publiſhed alſo in print, that the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* had conſpired together to conquer *England*, and expoſe it for a Spoil and Prey: and this they did of purpoſe to give Courage to their own Party, and to terrifie others from their Allegeance to their Prince and Countrey. The Queen being now openly thus aſſailed both by the Arms and cunning Practices of the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, ſet forth a Manifeſto, wherein (after acknowledgement of the Goodneſs of God towards her) ſhe declareth, *That ſhe had attempted nothing againſt any Prince, but for Preſervation of her own Kingdome; nor had ſhe invaded the Provinces of any other, though ſhe had ſundry times been thereunto both provoked by Injuries, and invited by Opportunities. If any Princes go about to attempt ought againſt her, ſhe doubteth not but to be able (by the Bleſſing of God) to defend her People; and to that purpoſe ſhe had muſtered her Forces both by Sea and Land, and had them now in readineſs againſt any hoſtile Invaſion. Her faithfull Subjects ſhe exhorteth to continue immovable in their Allegeance and Duty towards God, and their Prince the Miniſter of God. The reſt, who had ſhaken off their Love to their Countrey, and their Obedience to their Prince, ſhe commandeth to carry themſelves modeſtly and peaceably, and not provoke the Severity of Juſtice againſt themſelves: for ſhe would no longer be ſo imprudent, as by ſparing the bad to prove cruell to herſelf and her good Subjects.*

The Fugitives excite Forreiners againſt their Countrey.

An Edict againſt them.

And not onely theſe perfidious Subjects, but alſo Forreiners out of *Holland*, (a Countrey fruitfull of Hereticks,) began at this time to trouble the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth of *England*, who under a Shew of ſingular Integrity and Sanctity inſinuated themſelves into the Affections of the ignorant common people, and then inſtilled into their minds ſeveral damnable Hereſies manifeſtly repugnant

Sectaries flock hither out of *Holland*.

1580.

The *Family of Love.*

pugnant to the Chriſtian Faith, uſing uncouth and ſtrange kind of Expreſſions, contrary to the Chriſtian Profeſſion, which men might rather admire then underſtand. Theſe named themſelves of the *Family of Love*, or *Houſe of Charity*. They perſwaded their Followers, "That thoſe onely were elected and ſhould be ſaved who were admitted into that Family, and all the reſt Reprobates, and to be "damned: and that it was lawfull for them to deny upon their Oath "before a Magiſtrate whatſoever they pleaſed, or before any other "who was not of their Family. Of this fanatical Vanity they diſperſed Books amongſt their Followers tranſlated out of the Dutch Tongue into Engliſh, which they intituled, *The Goſpel of the Kingdome*, *Documental Sentences*, *The Prophecie of the Spirit of Love*, *The publiſhing of Peace upon earth*; *the Authour H. N.* The Authour's Name they could by no means be perſwaded to reveal: yet was it found afterward to be *Henry Nicholas* of *Leiden*, who with blaſphemous Mouth gave out, *That he did partake of God, and God of his Humanity.* For the timely ſuppreſſing of theſe by Law, the Queen, conſidering that Religion ought to be the chiefeſt Care of Princes, commanded by Proclamation, that the Civil Magiſtrate ſhould be aſſiſtent to the Eccleſiaſtical, and that the ſaid Books ſhould be publickly burnt.

Their fanatical Writings.

A Proclamation againſt them.

Francis Drake.

About this time returned into *England Francis Drake*, abounding with great Wealth, and greater Renown, having proſperouſly ſailed round about the World, being, if not the firſt of all which could challenge this Glory, yet queſtionleſs the firſt but *Magellan*, whom Death cut off in the midſt of his Voiage. This *Drake* (to relate no more then what I have heard from himſelf) was born of mean Parentage in *Devonſhire*, and had *Francis Ruſſel* (afterwards Earl of *Bedford*) for his Godfather, who, according to the Cuſtome, gave him his Chriſten name. Whileſt he was yet a Child, his Father, imbracing the Proteſtant Doctrine, was called in queſtion by the Law of the *Six Articles*, made by King *Henry* the Eighth againſt the Proteſtants, fled his Countrey, and withdrew himſelf into *Kent*. After the death of King *Henry* he got a place among the Sea-men in the King's Navy, to reade Prayers to them: and ſoon after he was ordained Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of *Upnore* upon the River *Medway*, (the Road where the Fleet uſually anchoureth.) But by reaſon of his Poverty he put his Son to the Maſter of a Bark, his Neighbour, who held him hard to his Buſineſs in the Bark, with which he uſed to coaſt along the Shoar, and ſometimes to carry Merchandize into *Zeland* and *France*. The Youth being painfull and diligent, ſo pleaſed the Old man by his Induſtry, that, being a Bachelour, at his Death he bequeathed the Bark unto him by Will and Teſtament. Wherewith when he had got together a little Money, and heard that Sir *John Hawkins* was rigging certain Ships at *Plimouth*, and purpoſed a Voiage to *America*, which they called *The new World*, he ſold his Bark, and going thither out of *Kent* with ſome other

His Parentage.

His Education.

other ſtout Sea-men, in the year 1567. he imployed both his Pains and Fortunes unſucceſsfully in that Voiage under *Hawkins*. For the *Engliſh* (as I have formerly ſaid) being vanquiſhed in the Haven of *Saint John de Ulua* by the *Spaniards*, he hardly eſcaped with the loſs of what he had. Five years after, to wit in the year 1572. when he had gotten pretty ſtore of Money by playing the Sea-man and the Pirate, he, to lick himſelf whole of the Dammage he had received of the *Spaniards*, (which a Divine belonging to the Fleet had eaſily perſwaded him to be lawfull,) ſet ſail again with a man of War, which was named the *Dragon*, and two Pinnaces, for *America*, acquainting his Companions onely with his Purpoſe. *Nombre de Dios*, a Town in the *Iſthmus* of *Dariena*, he took, and ſoon after loſt it again. Afterwards being advertiſed by certain fugitive *Negroes*, (*Cimarons* they call them,) that there was a great quantity of Gold and Silver to be brought by the Mulettors from *Panama*, he robbed them by the way, brought the Gold to his Ships, but the Silver, becauſe he could not well carry it over the Mountains, he left behind, and ſome he hid under Ground. Then he fired a rich Receptacle or Store-houſe of Merchandize upon the River *Chirage*, (called the *Croſs*.) And roaving for a time up and down in the Parts adjoyning, he deſcried from the Mountains the *South Sea*. Hereupon the man being inflamed with Ambition of Glory and hopes of Wealth, was ſo vehemently tranſported with deſire to navigate that Sea, that falling down there upon his Knees, he implored the Divine Aſſiſtence, that he might at ſome time or other ſail thither, and make a perfect Diſcovery of the ſame; and hereunto he bound himſelf with a Vow. From that time forward his Mind was pricked on continually night and day to perform his Vow.

1580.

His firſt Voiage into *America*.

His Exploits.

He being now grown very rich, and brooding in his Mind privately upon this Deſign, *John Oxenham*, who had ſerved under him in his former Voiages as a Souldier, a Sailour, and a Cook, having gotten amongſt the Sea-men the name of Captain for his Valour, and privily ſcraped together good ſtore of Money, to prevent *Drake* both in his robbing the Mulettors, and in navigating the *South Sea*, made a Voiage to the ſame parts in the year 1575. with one onely Ship and 70 Sea-men; and conſulting with the *Negroes*, when he underſtood that the Mulettors were now bringing their Treaſure from *Panama* with a Convoy of Souldiers, he drew up his Ship to Land in a by and woody Corner, and covered it with green Boughs which he had cut down, his great Ordnance and Proviſion of Victuals he buried under ground, and with all his men and ſix *Negroes* for Guides went forward to a River which runneth into the South Sea: there he cut down Trees, and building a Galliot, croſſed over to an Iſland in the South Sea called *Iſla de Perlas*, ſituate not far from the Land. In which Iſle having tarried ten days expecting the coming of Ships from *Peru*, he took one with ſixty pound weight of Gold, and another with an hundred pound weight of Silver, and returned to the River

Oxenham ſaileth into *America*.

Inſula Margaritifera, or the *Iſle of Pearls*.

1580.

He is purſued by the *Spaniards*.

River with the Ships he had taken. The matter being now noiſed abroad by the *Spaniards* whom he had let goe, *John Ortega* a *Spaniard* with an hundred men purſued after him: and whereas the River had three Mouths or Out-lets, he made a ſtop, doubting which of them to follow, untill the Feathers of the Fowls which the Engliſh-men had eaten came ſwimming down the Stream, and ſhewed them the way. The *Spaniards* taking this way found the Gold amongſt the Thickets, and the Engliſh-men at Variance among themſelves about dividing their Prey: who notwithſtanding joyned together for their common Safety, and made Head againſt the *Spaniards*, though far moe in number then they. But many of them were ſlain, and the reſt taken, amongſt whom *Oxenham* himſelf: who being carried to *Lima*, and demanded whether he had the Queen's Authority for entring into the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, when he could ſhew no ſuch Authority, he was put to death as a Pirate and common Enemy of mankind, together with the Maſter of the Ship, and ſome others, and ſo miſcarried in this great and memorable Adventure.

Taken, and executed as a Pirate.

Drake's ſecond Voiage.

Drake, not knowing what *Oxenham* had done, ſet ſail from *Plimouth* the 13. day of *December* in the year 1577. to navigate the South Sea, which ſtill ran in his mind, and to try his Fortune, with five Ships and 163 Sea-men, of whom ſcarce any knew what he intended to doe; which ſecret Carriage in all Expeditions is the ſafeſt courſe. The 25. day he came againſt *Cantin* a Cape of *Barbary*: and proceeding from thence he refreſhed himſelf in the Iſle of *Mayo*, being a pleaſant Iſle, and abounding with the ſweeteſt Grapes. At *Saint Jago* he took a Portugall Ship laden with Wine, and letting the Sea-men go, carried the Veſſel away, with *Nonnius de Silva* the Pilot, who might be of uſe to him for the Harbours and Watering-places on the Coaſt of *Braſill*, which he knew exactly well. From thence he ſailed by the Iſle of *Fuogo*, which caſteth forth ſulphury Flames, and *Brava*, near which the Mariners report the Sea to be very deep. And now drawing near the *Æquator*, *Drake*, being very careſull of his mens Health, let every one of them Bloud with his own Hands, and there meeting with a great Calm, with much Thunder and Lightning, in almoſt three weeks time he got little or nothing forward, and for five and fifty days ſaw no Land, till *Braſill* preſented itſelf to his view.

He putteth Doughtey to death.

On the 26. of *April*, entring into the Mouth of the River of *Plate*, he ſaw an infinite company of Sea-Calves. From thence ſailing into the Haven of *Saint Julian*, he found a Gibbet, ſet up (as is thought) by *Magellan* for the Puniſhment of certain Mutiners. In this very place *John Doughtey*, an induſtrious and ſtout man, and the next unto himſelf, was called to his Triall for raiſing a Mutiny in the Fleet, found guilty by Twelve men, after the Engliſh manner, and condemned to death, which he ſuffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having firſt received the Holy Communion with *Drake*. And indeed the moſt indifferent perſons in the Fleet were of opinion that he had acted

acted ſeditiouſly, and that *Drake* cut him off as an Emulatour of his Glory, and one that regarded not ſo much who he himſelf excelled in commendations for Sea-matters, as who he thought might equall him. Yet wanted there not ſome who, pretending to underſtand things better then others, gave out that *Drake* had in Charge from *Leiceſter*, to take off *Doughtey* upon any Pretence whatſoever, becauſe he had reported abroad, that the Earl of *Eſſex* was made away by the cunning practices of *Leiceſter*. 1580.

On the twentieth day of *Auguſt* he came with three Ships (for his two leſſer he had before left to the Waves, ſhipping the men and Munition into the reſt,) to the Streight of *Magellan*, (as they call it) being a Sea thick ſet with Iſlands, and incloſed with high Cliffs or Mountains, the Air being extreme cold with Snow and Froſt. On the 6. of *September*, having paſt the Streight, he entred into the open South Sea, (which they call the *Pacifick* or calm *Sea*,) but found it rough and turbulent above meaſure; and a terrible Tempeſt carried the Fleet about 100 Leagues Weſtward, and ſeparated them. Here he obſerved an Eclipſe of the Moon on the 15. of *September* at 6 of the clock after noon, (which I note for the Mathematicians ſakes.) He obſerved alſo, contrary to what ſome had written, that that part of the Heaven next to the Southern Pole was bedecked with but few Stars, and thoſe of a ſmaller Magnitude, and that there were but onely three of any remarkable Bigneſs to be ſeen in that Hemiſphere which *England* hath not beheld. But two ſmall Clouds he obſerved, of the ſame Colour with *Via lactea*, not far diſtant from the Pole, which our men called *Magellan's Clouds*.

He paſſeth the Streight of *Magellan*.

He obſerveth an Eclipſe of the Moon,

and the Southern Stars,

and *Magellan's* Clouds.

Of thoſe Ships that were carried away with the Tempeſt, one (whereof *John Winter* was Captain) came back through the Streight, and returned ſafe into *England*, and was the firſt that ever returned through the ſaid Streight. *Drake* himſelf, being now caſt with one onely Ship to the 55. Degree of Southern Latitude, having with much adoe gotten up to the Latitude of the Streight, coaſted along the Shoar, and found thoſe Coaſts to give back with a great Retiring into the Eaſt, otherwiſe then they are ſet down in the Maps.

John Winter the firſt that ever returned through the Streight.

On the laſt of *September* he came to *Mouch*, an Iſland near the Shoar, where one or two of his Sea-men, whom he had ſent out for freſh Water, were intercepted by the people of the Country. Setting ſail from hence, he lighted upon a Barbarian fiſhing in a ſmall Boat, who, ſuppoſing our men to be *Spaniards*, gave them notice that a great Spaniſh Ship laden rode at Anchour at *Villa Parizo*, and directed them thither. The Spaniſh Mariners ſeeing the Engliſhmen coming, and ſuppoſing them to be their own Countrymen, rung a Bell, drew Wine of *Chili*, and drank full Cups to them. But they clapping the Ship aboard, thruſt the *Spaniards* preſently under Hatches, and ſacked the Town of *Saint Jago* hard by, together with the Chappel; the Prey whereof fell to *Fletcher*, Miniſter of the Word in the Fleet. The *Spaniards* being ſet on Land, (who were not

Drake meeteth with Purchace by Sea and Land.

1580.

above eight in number with two *Negroes*,) he carried away with him the Maſter, being by Nation a *Græcian*, and the Ship, wherein was 400 pound weight of *Baldivian* Gold, ſo called of the Place, which was exceeding fine and pure.

He accidentally lighteth upon rich Prizes.

Then went he on Land at *Tarapaſa*, where he found a *Spaniard* ſleeping ſecurely upon the Shoar, and by him thirteen Bars or Wedges of Silver, to the value of four hundred thouſand Ducats; which he commanded to be carried away, not ſo much as once waking the man. Afterward entring into the Haven of *Arica*, he found there three Ships without Mariners, and in them, beſides other Merchandize, 57 Wedges of Silver, every one of which weighed twenty pound. From hence he ſailed to *Lima*, where he found twelve Ships riding at Anchour, their Munition being all drawn on Land, and in them good ſtore of Silks, and a Cheſt full of Money ready coined; but not ſo much as a Boy aboard. So great Security was there on that Coaſt, that they ſtood in no Fear at all of Pirates, by reaſon of the great Remoteneſs of thoſe places and the Unknownneſs of that Sea. And certainly never any man after *Magellan*, before *Drake*, had navigated that Sea, except the *Spaniards*, who built there all the Ships which they had on that Coaſt. Having ſent away theſe Ships to Sea, with all the Sail he could make he gave Chace to the *Cacoſoga*, a very rich Ship, which he underſtood had ſet ſail from thence towards *Panama*. By the way he met a ſmall Brigandine unarmed, out of which he took fourſcore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, ſome Emeralds of a finger's length, and ſome Munition.

He taketh the *Cacoſoga*.

On the firſt of *March* he overtook the *Cacoſoga*, and having ſhot down her Fore-maſt with the Shot of a Piece of Ordnance, he ſet upon her, and ſoon took her, and in her, beſides Pearls and precious Stones, fourſcore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Cheſts full of Silver coined, and ſo great a quantity of other Silver as would ſuffice to ballaſt a Ship. All which when he had taken into his own Ship, he let the *Cacoſoga* goe: The Maſter whereof is reported to have bidden him thus merrily farewell, ſaying, *We reſign the Name of our Ship to yours: Yours now may be called the Cacoſoga*, that is, *Shite-fire, and ours the Cacoplata*, that is, *Shite-plate*. After this he met with no rich Booty. His *China* Diſhes, with an Eagle of Gold, and a fair *Negroeſs*, given him for a preſent by a *Spaniard* whoſe Ship he had ſpared, and the ſacking of a ſmall Town called *Aquatulco*, I purpoſely omit.

He provideth to return home.

And now thinking himſelf abundantly inriched, and ſufficiently ſatisfied for the private Injury done him by the *Spaniards* at the Haven of *Saint John de Ulua*, he began think of returning. To return by the Streight of *Magellan* ſeemed very dangerous, both by reaſon of the frequent Tempeſts, and the uncertain Shelves and Shallows, as alſo for fear the *Spaniards* ſhould there lay wait for him againſt his coming back. And indeed Don *Franciſco de Toledo*, Viceroy of *Peru*, had ſent thither *Peter Sarmiento* with two Ships to intercept him

him as he returned, and to fortifie ſuch narrow places of the Streight as he found. He held on his Courſe therefore Northward, to the Latitude of 42 Degrees, to diſcover if there were any Streight on that ſide, by which he might return the next way Home. But when he ſaw nothing but thick Clouds, ſharp Cold, and naked Shoars, covered onely with Snow, he deſcended to 38 Degrees, and, meeting with a commodious Harbour, ſtayed there a while. The People inhabiting there were naked, pleaſantly-diſpoſed, dancing daily in a Ring, offering Sacrifices, and, as it ſeemed by the Signs they made, willing to chuſe *Drake* by a long Oration to be their King: neither could he conjecture that the *Spaniards* had ever gone ſo far. This Countrey being a fruitfull Soil, and very full of Deer and Conies, it pleaſed him to name *New Albion*, ſetting up an Inſcription upon a Poſt which notified the Year of our Lord, the Name of Queen *Elizabeth*, and their Arrival there; and putting under it ſome of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Coin. 1580.

He diſcovereth *New Albion*.

From this Coaſt he ſet ſail and came in the moneth of *November* to the Iſles of the *Moluccaes*, being kindly entertained by the King of the Iſle of *Ternate*. From thence ſailing forward in that Sea thick beſpread with Iſles and Rocks, on the 9. of *January* his Ship ſtruck upon a Rock which was hid under Water, and there ſtuck for the ſpace of ſeven and twenty hours, and was given for loſt by all the Company, who now fell devoutly to their Prayers, as if they ſhould aſſuredly be caſt away with all their Wealth which they had gotten with ſo great Labour and Hazzard. But when they had laid their Hands to work, and thrown eight great Guns and ſome Merchandize over into the Sea, there came a bearing Gale of wind on the one ſide, as if it were ſent from Heaven, and cleared the Ship of the Rock. Afterwards he arrived at *Java Major*, which was then grievouſly afflicted with the French Diſeaſe, which they cure by ſitting in the open Air againſt the warm Sun to dry up that malignant Humour: where having received great Civility at the hands of that petty King, he held on his Courſe to the *Cape of Good Hope*: which the Engliſh Mariners, who had never ſeen it before, commended for the faireſt Promontory they ever ſaw. On the Weſt ſide thereof he landed for freſh Water, but could find no Spring: and now he had been diſtreſſed for lack of freſh Water, had he not providently kept Rain-water beforehand in Veſſels. But this Want he ſupplied at length at *Rio grande*: From whence he returned with a proſperous Gale into *England* the third of *November*, in the year 1580. arriving at the Haven of *Plimouth*, from whence he firſt ſet forth, having ſailed round about the World in the ſpace of three years or thereabouts, to the great Admiration of all men, and without any Crime laid to his Charge by his Adverſaries, but onely that he had put *Doughtey* to death, that he had left a *Portugueeze* whom he had taken upon the Coaſt of *Africa* to the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* at *Aquatulco*, and had inhumanely ſet that *Negro*-Maid before mentioned

He cometh to the *Moluccaes*.

He is in danger.

He paſſeth the *Cape of Good Hope*.

He returneth into *England*.

1580.

tioned on Shoar in an Island, after she was gotten with Child in his Ship.

The Queen receiveth him graciously.

The Queen received him graciously, and laid up the Treasure he brought by way of Sequestration, that it might be forth-coming if the *Spaniard* should demand it.

His Ship reserved as a Monument.

His Ship she caused to be drawn up into a little Creek near *Deptford* upon the *Thames*, as a Monument of his so lucky Sailing round about the World, (where the Carkass thereof is yet to be seen.) And having as it were consecrated it for a Memorial with great Ceremony, she was banquetted in it, and conferred on *Drake* the Honour of Knighthood.

He is Knighted.

At this time a Bridge of Planks, by which they came aboard the Ship, sunk under the Crowd of people, and fell down with an hundred men upon it, who notwithstanding had none of them any Harm. So as that Ship may seem to have been built under a lucky Planet.

In Praise of *Drake* these Verses, amongst others, were set up the same day upon the main Mast, written by the Scholars of *Winchester* School.

Verses in his Praise.

Plus ultrà, *Herculis inscribas*, Drace, *Columnis*,
Et, *Magno*, *dicas*, *Hercule major ero.*

On *Hercules* Pillars, *Drake*, thou maist
Plus ultrà write full well,
And say, I will in greatness that
Great *Hercules* excell.

Drace, *pererrati novit quem terminus Orbis*,
Quémque semel Mundi vidit uterq; Polus,
Si taceant homines, *facient te Sidera notum*:
Sol nescit Comitis non memor esse sui.

Sir *Drake*, whom well the World's End knows,
Which thou didst compass round,
And whom both Poles of Heaven once saw,
Which North and South do bound;
The Stars above will make thee known,
If men here silent were:
The Sun himself cannot forget
His Fellow-traveller.

Digna Ratis quæ fiet radiantibus inclyta Stellis;
Supremo Cœli Vertice digna Ratis.

Amongst the radiant Stars to stand
Thy Ship well worthy were;
Well worthy on the highest Top
Of Heaven a place to bear.

1580.

But these things may seem too light, and to proceed from an idle Brain, and not beseeming the Gravity of an History. *Drake* being now returned, nothing troubled him more then that some of the chief men at Court refused to accept the Gold which he offered them, as gotten by Piracy. Nevertheless the common sort of people admired and highly commended him, as judging it no less honourable to have enlarged the Bounds of the English Name and Glory then of their Empire.

The *Spaniard* demandeth Restitution of the Goods.

Don *Bernardine de Mendoza*, the *Spaniard's* Embassadour in *England*, storming hereat, very earnestly demanded the Goods again of the Queen, complaining of the *English* for sailing in the *Indian* Ocean. To whom this Answer was given; *That the* Spaniards *by their hard Dealing with the* English, *whom they had prohibited Commerce, contrary to the Law of Nations, had drawn these Mischiefs upon themselves. That* Drake *should be forth-coming to answer according to Law, if he were convicted by good Evidence and Testimony to have committed any thing against Law and Right. That those Goods were laid by purposely that Satisfaction might be made to the* Spaniard, *though the Queen had spent a greater Summe of Money then* Drake *had brought in against those Rebels whom the* Spaniard *had raised and encouraged against her both in* Ireland *and* England. *Moreover, she understood not why her or any other Princes Subjects should be debarred from the* Indies, *which she could not perswade herself the* Spaniard *had any just Title to by the Bishop of* Rome's *Donation, (in whom she acknowledged no Prerogative, much less Authority, in such cases, so as to lay any Tie upon Princes which owed him no Obedience or Observance, or as it were to infeoffe the* Spaniard *in that new World, and invest him with the Possession thereof,) nor yet by any other Claim, then as they had touched here and there upon the Coasts, built Cottages, and given Names to a River or a Cape: which things cannot intitle them to a Propriety. So that this Donation of that which is another man's, which is of no Validity in Law, and this imaginary Propriety, cannot hinder other Princes from trading into those Countreys, and, without Breach of the Law of Nations, from transporting Colonies into those parts thereof where the* Spaniards *inhabit not, (forasmuch as Prescription without Possession is little worth,) neither from freely navigating that vast Ocean, seeing the Use of the Sea and Air is common to all. Neither can a Title to the Ocean belong to any People or private persons; forasmuch as neither Nature nor publick Use and Custome permitteth any Possession thereof.*

The Answer of the *English*.

What propriety the *Spaniard* hath in *America*.

Some Money repay'd to the *Spaniard*.

Notwithstanding all this, a great Summe of Money was afterwards pay'd to *Pedro Sebura* a *Spaniard*, (who pretended himself an Agent for retriving the Gold and Silver, though he had no Letters of Credence or Commission so to doe:) which he never repay'd to the right Owners, but imployed it against the Queen, and converted it to the Pay of the *Spaniards* that served in the *Netherlands*, as was at length, when it was too late, understood.

Whilst *Drake* was thus prosperously sailing round about the World,

Jack-

1580.

An Attempt to diſcover a Northern paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Jackman and *Pett*, two famous Pilots, being ſet out by the *Londoners* with two Ships, ſought as unproſperouſly to diſcover a nearer way to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the *Cronian* or Frozen Sea. For having paſſed a few Leagues beyond the Iſles called *Waigatz*, they met with ſuch uncertain Tides, ſo many Shelves, and ſuch Heaps of Ice piled together, that they could get no farther forward, and very much adoe they had to return Home.

The death of the Earl of *Arundel*, who firſt brought the uſe of Coaches into *England*.

About the beginning of this year *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundell* rendred his Soul to God, in whom was extinct the Surname of this moſt noble Family, which had flouriſhed with great Honour for three hundred years and more, from the time of *Richard Fitz-Allen*, who, being deſcended from the *Albaneys*, ancient Earls of *Arundell* and *Suſſex*, in the Reign of *Edward* the Firſt received the Title of Earl without any Creation, in regard of his being poſſeſſed of the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Arundell*. This *Henry*, enjoying many Honours, was of the Privy Council to all the Kings under whom he lived, and went through the higheſt Offices. Under *Henry* the Eighth he was Governour of *Calice*, Marſhall of the Army at the Siege of *Boulogne*, and Lord Chamberlain. To King *Edward* the Sixth he was Lord high Marſhall of *England* at his Coronation. To Queen *Mary* likewiſe at her Coronation he was Lord high Conſtable, and afterward Steward of the Queen's Houſhold, and Preſident of the Queen's Council. And to Queen *Elizabeth* he was likewiſe Steward of her Houſhold, with whom he ſought to marry in his declining Years. He was in leſs Favour after he had intermeddled in the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Buſineſs, and when he afterwards openly oppoſed her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. For, being a plain-dealing man, he profeſſed flatly that he liked not the *French*, ſaying many times, that he had been taught by his Father, who was born in *Suſſex*, a County neighbouring upon *France*, not to truſt the *French*. By his Wife *Katharine*, Daughter to *Thomas Grey* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, he had three Children, and out-lived them all: *Henry*, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, who died at *Bruſſells*; *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Mary*, married to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom ſhe bare *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, of whom in his proper place.

The Lord *Grey* ſuppreſſeth the Rebels in *Ireland*.

And cruſheth a Conſpiracy.

Arthur Lord *Grey*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, marching againſt the *O-Conors*, who attempted to raiſe new Troubles in *Ophalie*, put *O-Moloy*, a ſeditious-minded man, to death by Law, quieted that Countrey, as alſo the Countrey of the *Magohigans* and of *O-Carol*, and cruſhed a dangerous Conſpiracy in the very bud. For divers of noble Families in *Leimſter*, moſt of them deſcended of *Engliſh* Bloud, partly out of Affection to the Romiſh Religion, and partly out of Hatred againſt the new-come *Engliſh*, (who many times, contrary to the Intent of the Law, excluded them as mere *Iriſh* from Offices of Government and Magiſtracy) had conſpired together to ſurprize the Lord Deputy with his Houſhold, to take the Caſtle of *Dublin* at unawares, (where all the Proviſion for War lay,) and to put

put the *Engliſh* in *Ireland* every man to the Sword: and ſo cloſe they were in carrying on their Conſpiracy, that they never conferred or diſcourſed about it more then two and two together. But amongſt ſo many who were privy to it it came at laſt to light, and was by the Execution of a few timely extinguiſhed: the moſt remarkable of whom was *J. Nogent*, Baron of the Exchequer, a man of a ſingular good Life and Reputation, who was meerly circumvented (as the *Iriſh* report) by the Cunning of his Adverſaries. He relying upon the conſcience of his own Innocency, when the Lord Deputy faithfully promiſed him his Life if he would confeſs himſelf guilty, choſe rather, being guiltleſs, to undergoe an infamous Death, then by betraying his own Innocency to lead an infamous Life. Howſoever the truth were in this matter, certainly the Lord *Grey* incurred great Diſpleaſure with the Queen for putting theſe men to death, which Diſpleaſure was raiſed againſt him by *Suſſex* his Adverſary, (for rare it is to ſee great Captains love one another,) who ſuggeſted as if by his Cruelty, of late towards the *Spaniards* which had yielded themſelves, and now towards her own Subjects, he had both eclipſed his Prince's Glory, and increaſed the number of her Enemies. Nevertheleſs the Lord Deputy by the Terrour hereof drew *Turlogh Leinigh* to Terms of Peace, who had now begun to raiſe Diſturbances in *Ulſter*. By this means alſo the *O-Brines*, the *O-Moors* and *Cavenaghs*, Rebels in *Leimſter*, in all Humility and Submiſſion craved Peace, offering Hoſtages. Theſe *Iriſh* matters, though in time ſomewhat diſtantly acted, I have thought good to mention together, that they might the better be remembred.

1580.

Nogent executed.

Innocency a ſure Comfort.

The Rebels ſuppreſſed.

In *Scotland*, ſome Miniſters of God's Word and certain Noblemen, obſerving that the Duke of *Lenox*, formerly mentioned, was in great Favour with the King, they firſt raiſed an Emulation in *James Stuart*, of the Houſe of *Ochiltrey*, againſt him, who was Captain of the Guard, and Earl of *Arran*, (for this Title he had uſurped upon I know not what Reſignation of *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, to whom being Lunatick he was appointed Guardian.) But the Queen ſoon made them Friends again. When this ſucceeded not, they both wrought him what Hatred they could at Home, and heavily accuſed him to the Queen of *England*, as ſent under-hand by the *Guiſes* to ſubvert Religion, to procure the captive Queen's Liberty, and to diſſolve the Amity betwixt the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. Theſe men were eaſily credited, and a ſerious Conſultation was holden in *England* about the matter; though the Duke cleared himſelf by his Letters to the Queen, and openly profeſſed himſelf of the Proteſtant Religion.

The *Scots* envy the Duke of *Lenox*.

They accuſe him in *England*.

For the Council of *England* feared leſt he ſhould oppreſs thoſe *Scots* that maintained cloſe Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, favour Excurſions upon the Borders, and entice the King of *Scots* to a Marriage in *France* or elſewhere unknown to the *Engliſh*. Upon the Confidence of which Marriage the young King might put *England* to Trouble, and,

Conſultation againſt him.

1580. and, when he came to riper years, aſſume to himſelf the Title of the Kingdom of *England*, as his Mother had already done. Which if it ſhould come to paſs, greater Danger threatned from him then from his Mother; foraſmuch as being born to an aſſured Hope of both Kingdomes, he would procure himſelf many Favourers; and the *Scots*, being bred up in the Wars both at Home and in the *Netherlands*, were now trained up to the uſe of their Arms, and military Knowledge. Hereupon it was reſolved, by all means to leſſen *Lenox* his Favour and Authority with the King, or to drive him out of *Scotland*, and that without all Delay: foraſmuch as Rumours were ſpread abroad, that he, to ſuppreſs *Morton*, had ſent for *Balfour* out of *France*, (who had gotten I know not what Writing under *Morton*'s Hand, whereby it was hoped that *Morton* might be found guilty of the Murther of the King's Father;) and alſo had obtained the Government of the Caſtle of *Dunbriton*, to no other intent but to let in forrein Forces into *Britain*, or elſe to convey the King of *Scots* into *France*. It was reported alſo, that he perſwaded the King to reſign the Kingdome to his Mother, as if ſhe had been unjuſtly, and by a very bad and dangerous Precedent, depoſed by her Subjects, upon Promiſe by her given, that he ſhould immediately receive it back again from her by a lawfull Reſignation: by which means he ſhould both ſtrongly confirm the Kingdome to him, and ſhould be acknowledged of all men for lawfull King, and all Factions be utterly extinguiſhed.

Rumours ſcattered to his Prejudice.

Hereupon Sir *Robert Bowes*, Treaſurer of the Garriſon of *Berwick*, was ſent into *Scotland* to charge *Lenox* with theſe matters before the King and his Council, and to put the King in mind of the Miſchiefs hanging over his Head. As ſoon as he came to Audience, he deſired that *Lenox* might for the time withdraw from the place. This the Councill flatly denied, for that it was a ſtrange and unheard of thing, that a Counſellour of the King's ſhould be removed from the Council without Cauſe ſhewn. They queſtioned alſo whether he had any ſuch expreſs Charge from the Queen, and willed him to ſhew his Inſtructions for the more Credit. He refuſed to ſhew them to any but the King and one or two others. Whereupon he was ſoon after called home again without being heard, and took his Leave of the King when he little thought of it, complaining of the rejecting the wholſome Admonitions and Advices of a Queen who had ſo well deſerved of him.

Sir *Ro. Bowes* ſent to accuſe him.

He returns home without a Hearing.

Shortly after *Alexander Humes* was ſent from *Scotland* to excuſe the Buſineſs, and to learn what thoſe Miſchiefs were which hung over the King's Head. But he was not admitted to the Queen's Preſence, but remitted to *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, who in a grave and ſhort Speech, befitting an old man, told him, *That it was not the Queen's Pleaſure to admit him to her Preſence, not that ſhe ſlighted him, whom ſhe had found to be very well affected to the true Religion, his Prince and Country, and to the Peace of both Kingdoms; but out of a juſt Reſentment*

The *Scots* excuſe themſelves.

Their Embaſſadour not admitted.

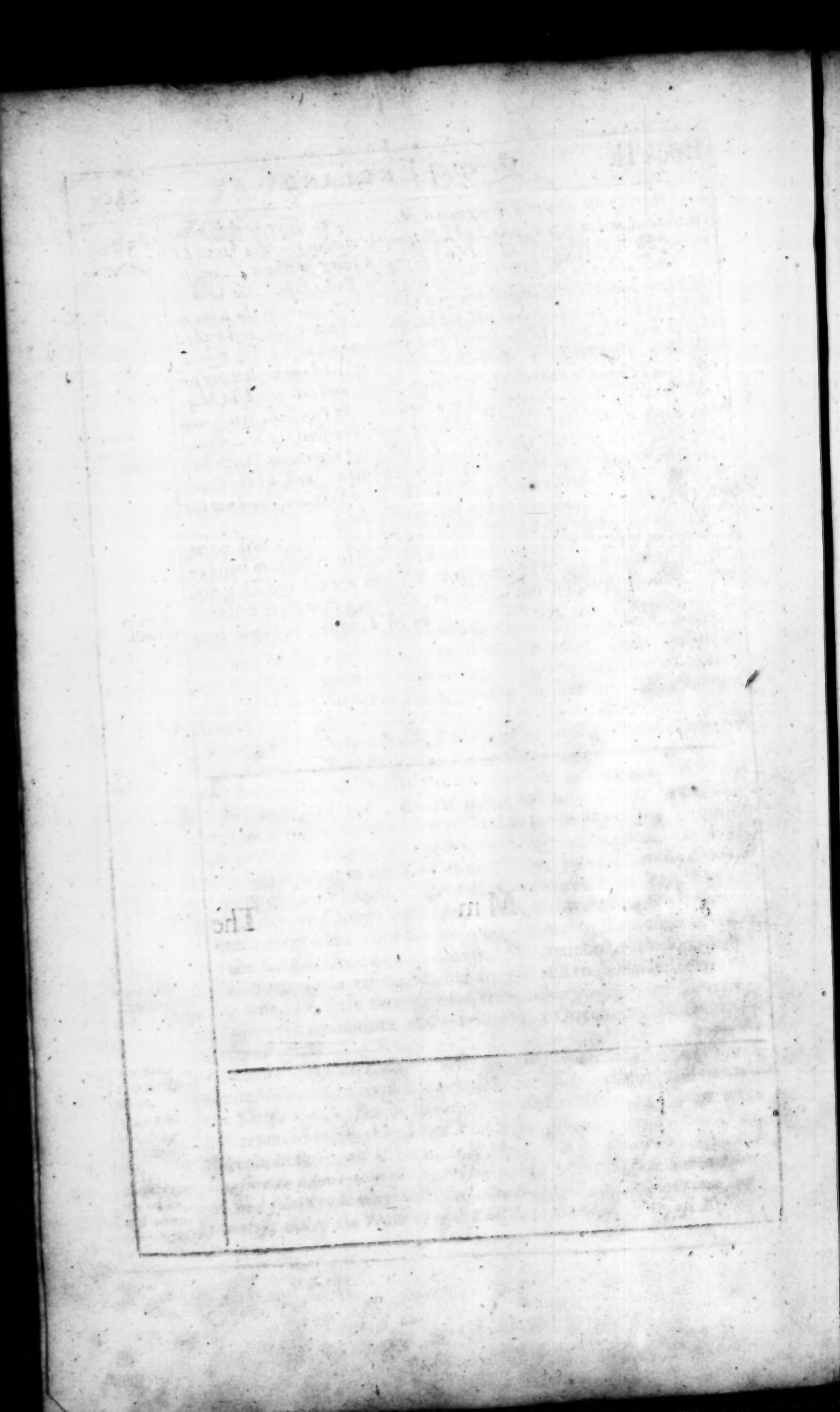
Burghly gives the reaſon, and admoniſhes him.

1580.

ment that her Majeſty was ſo neglected, and the Credit of her Embaſſadour contemned and deſpiſed, who had kept himſelf within the preſcribed Limits of his Embaſſage; and yet (which was a thing without Example) was commanded to ſhew the Inſtructions of his Embaſſage. He laid all the Blame upon the new and ill-adviſed Counſellours, excuſed the King by reaſon of his Age, which had not yet taught him Experience, and wiſhed that he would hearken to the ſound and wholſome Advice of the Queen, who bare a true Motherly Affection towards him, and not neglect her for his French Couſin, a Subject of the French King's, and intangled in Marriage with a French Woman, a man addicted to the Popiſh Religion, and who haply aſpired (the Hamiltons *being now baniſhed) to be deſigned Heir apparent next after the King. Let the King remember* (ſaith he) *that there is no Paſſion more violent then Ambition: and let the* Scots *remember what Troubles the* French *had cauſed in* Scotland, *had not the Queen by her Wiſedome and Power prevented them.*

Thus was *Humes* ſent back into *Scotland*; and all this was done on purpoſe to ſtrike a Terrour into the King, and to make him believe that *Lenox* was ingaged in dangerous Deſigns againſt the King and Realm. Nevertheleſs not long after, *Morton*, a man moſt addicted to the *Engliſh*, was accuſed by *Arran* of Treaſon, and caſt into Priſon.

Morton impriſoned.



1581.

The True

HISTORIE

OR

ANNALS

OF

ENGLAND,

During the whole Life and Reign of the Ever-Renowned and Victorious Princess,

ELIZABETH,

Late Queen of *ENGLAND.*

The Third Book.

The Four and twentieth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1581.

Randolph sent to intercede for *Morton*, and against *Lenox.*

HEreupon Master *Thomas Randolph*, chief Postmaster, was sent in the beginning of *January* into *Scotland*, with Instructions, that, for Preservation of Religion, and Amity with the *English*, he should leave no means untried to procure that no violent Course might be taken against *Morton*, that *Lenox* might be removed out of *Scotland*, and that the Noblemen of the *English* Faction might be encouraged. *Randolph* playeth the earnest Intercessour for *Morton*, alleaging the man's Deserts with the King, Queen *Elizabeth*'s Honour, (lest she, to whom the King and Realm was so much beholden, should suffer

1581. the Repulse in so just a matter,) and the Malice of his Accusers. The King answered, "That he could not but according to his Kingly "Office leave the man to his Trial, as being charged with High "treason. The Queen's approved Kindness he acknowledged, and "would doe nothing (he said) which might any way give her just "Offence.

His complaints to the *Scots*.

Randolph having afterwards Audience in an Assembly of the Estates, reckoned up Queen *Elizabeth*'s Good offices towards *Scotland* and towards the King himself. Namely, *That she had delivered their Kingdome from the* French *with the expense of the Bloud of* English-*men*: *That she had defended Religion and the King*: *That she never had so much as a Thought of conveying him out of the Land*, (*as was falsely reported*,) *or of seizing upon so much as an Acre of Land in* Scotland; *whereas notwithstanding she had not wanted Opportunities to have conquered all* Scotland, *while the King lay crying in his Cradle*, *his Mother was a Prisoner in* England, *and the Nobility at Variance amongst themselves*. *But on the contrary she had used all Care to preserve the King and his Kingdome in Safety*, *he being nearly allied to her in the strictest Bands of Bloud*, *Neighbourhood*, *and Religion*; *of whose Love*, *as also of the Love of all the Regents*, *she was most assured*, *till such time as that* Aubigny *Duke of* Lenox *came into* Scotland. *For from that time he had carried a kind of commanding Hand over the King*, *averted his Mind from Amity with the* English *unto the* French, (*who yet had not to this day acknowledged him for King*,) *removed the King's faithfullest Subjects*, *preferred others less faithfull*, *dealt with Forreiners by his Letters* (which *Randolph* produced) *for the Invasion of* England, *stirred up the King to hate the Ministers of God's Word as turbulent and railing Fellows*, *and taken no care for due administring of Justice betwixt the Borderers*. *Which things Queen* Elizabeth *could not but take very ill*, *when she saw a Prince of so great Vertue*, *and so strictly linked to her in Friendship*, *to be alienated and estranged from her by cunning Practices*.

But in vain.

Yet was there nothing then done, either for *Morton*, or against *Lenox*, most men suspecting that the Crimes alleaged against him were false, and the Letters counterfeit.

He endeavoureth to set them together by the Ears.

Randolph therefore betook himself to other Artifices. Amongst *Lenox* his Adversaries and *Morton*'s Friends he bewaileth the unhappy Condition of *Scotland*; layeth before them the Dangers that threaten the King, the Commonwealth, and them; complaineth that the Queen of *England*'s Intercession was ungratefully slighted; and privily adviseth them to attempt by Arms what they could not effect by other means, promising both Men and Money out of *England*.

In vain also.

And indeed he had drawn to his Party *Argyle*, *Montross*, *Angus*, *Morton*'s Brother's Son, *Marre*, *Glencarne*, *Ruthuen*, *Lindsey*, and divers others. But they shortly after disagreeing among themselves, when they saw that the King wholly inclined to favour *Lenox*, and was not terrified with the English Forces upon the Borders, but had drawn up his own against them, most of them, reverencing the Royal Majesty

jeſty even in ſo young a Prince, attempted nothing againſt *Lenox*, and thought it enough to pity *Morton*. Yet *Angus* and *Marre* continued their ſecret Deſigns with *Randolph* for *Morton*, and againſt *Lenox*: Whereof when the King was advertiſed by *Wittingham*, *Angus* was commanded to withdraw himſelf beyond the River *Spey*, and *Marre* forthwith to ſurrender *Sterlin* Caſtle into the King's Hands. *Randolph*, doubting the worſt, retired ſecretly to *Berwick*, and adviſed *Angus* and *Marre*, matters being now grown deſperate, to ſhift for themſelves, either by procuring the King's Favour, or flying to the Protection of the Queen of *England*. And now were the Engliſh Forces called Home from the Borders: and not long after was *Morton* found acceſſary to the Murther of the King's Father, and beheaded. For he confeſſed (as they report) that *Bothwell* and *Archibald Douglaſs* acquainted him with the Plot for making away the King, and that he in ſo dangerous a time durſt not reveal it. Neither could he deny but that, after the Murther committed, he eſteemed *Douglaſs*, who murthered the King, amongſt his intimate Friends; and that he had given his Faith under his Hand to defend *Bothwell*, if any man ſhould accuſe him of the Murther of the King. *Angus* and the reſt which favoured *Morton* fled preſently into *England*.

1581.

He retireth out of *Scotland*.

Morton beheaded.

His Friends flie into *England*.

In the Low-country Provinces the Confederate Eſtates ſent Colonell *Norris* with the *Engliſh* and other Forces againſt the Count of *Reneberg*, who victoriouſly carried all before him for the *Spaniard*, and ſtreightly beleaguered *Steenwick* a Town of *Frieſland*. But *Norris* gallantly and ſucceſsfully brought Proviſions into the Town twice, put *Reneberg*'s men to Flight, and raiſed the Siege. But afterwards joyning Battell with *Verdugo* a *Spaniard* at *Northorn*, when the Victory was now as good as in his Hands, the Enemie's Troups being defeated by Sir *Roger Williams*, the Chance of War ſuddenly turned, he himſelf was wounded, and many of his men ſlain; and amongſt them (not to name others) *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams* and *Biſhop*, ſtout Captains. How Captain *Thomas*, a Captain of the *Epirots*, at this time challenged Generall *Norris* to a ſingle Combat, and Sir *Roger Williams*, his Lieutenant, accepted the Challenge, (becauſe he, being Generall, might not accept it by the Law of Arms,) I know not whether it be worth the mentioning, conſidering that after they had tried their Skill a little while in the View of both Armies, and neither of them received a Wound, they drank a hearty Cup together, and ſo parted Friends. Yet this is not to be omitted, that the *Engliſh*, who of all the Northern Nations had been till now the moderateſt Drinkers, and moſt commended for their Sobriety, learned in theſe Netherland Wars firſt to drown themſelves with immoderate Drinking, and by drinking others Healths to impair their own. And ever ſince the Vice of Drunkenneſs hath ſo diffuſed itſelf over the whole Nation, that in our days firſt it was fain to be reſtrained by ſevere Laws.

Norris overcometh the *Spaniards* in *Frieſland*.

He is worſted himſelf.

A ridiculous Duell.

Drunkenneſs brought out of the *Low-Countreys* into *England*.

While the Eſtates and the *Spaniard* contended in the *Netherlands* for petty Towns, the *Spaniard* ſeized into his Hands the rich Kingdome

The *Spaniard* ſeizeth upon *Portugal*.

1581.

dome of *Portugall*. For *Henry* King of *Portugall* dying the laſt year an old man, many Competitors laid Claim to the Crown, and amongſt them *Philip* King of *Spain*, King *Henry*'s eldeſt Siſter's Son, who was, if not in Right, yet in Might the ſtrongeſt. And yet he wanted not ſome ſhew of Right: for of all the Competitors he was neareſt of Kin to the deceaſed King, and of the Male ſex, and therefore (as he and his Friends thought) to be preferred in the Succeſſion to the Crown before the Females, who were both younger, and in Kindred more remote. The *Savoyard* was excluded, becauſe he was born of the younger Siſter; and *Rainutio Farneze*, the Prince of *Parma*'s Son, who was born but of the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* King *Henry*'s Brother, and *Catharina* Dutcheſs of *Braganza*, the other Daughter of the ſaid *Edward*, becauſe they grounded their Title onely upon a *Repreſentation*, as they call it; which being nothing but a Fiction, the *Spaniards* maintained that it could not overthrow the true Right. As for Don *Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*, the Son of *Lewis* another Brother of King *Henry*, he was utterly rejected as illegitimate. However the *Spaniard* offered theſe things ſeverall times to be diſcuſſed both by Divines and Lawyers. And when they all with one Conſent affirmed his Title to be good, he ſent the Duke of *Alva*, invaded the Kingdome, put Don *Antonio* to flight, who was elected by the People, and in 70 days ſubdued all *Portugall*. But the Title which *Katharine de Medicis* Queen of *France* laid to *Portugall*, which was derived from *Alphonſus* the Third by the Earls of *Bononia* above 320 years before, was in a manner exploded both by the *Spaniards* and *Portugueezes*, as an outworn Title, drawn as it were from the Mother of *Evander*, and injurious to ſo many Kings of *Portugall* as had ſince reigned, as if they had unjuſtly poſſeſſed the Crown. Whereat being moved with Anger, and looking with a jealous Eye upon the growing Power of the *Spaniard*, which was far and wide extended hereby, and inriched with the Addition of *Portugall*, *Eaſt-India*, and many Iſles, and miſ-doubting the Condition of herſelf and her Poſterity, ſhe adviſed both other Princes and Queen *Elizabeth* to curb his Ambition betimes, and reſtrain his too-far-extending Power within ſome reaſonable Limits. And indeed Queen *Elizabeth*, being carefully provident for herſelf and her Subjects, willingly hearkned unto her, foreſeeing how dangerous the over-ſwelling Power of her neighbour Princes might be. But for Don *Antonio*, who was driven out of *Portugall* into *France*, and from thence ſent over with Recommendations into *England*, ſhe bountifully relieved him: which ſhe thought ſhe might doe without Offenſe, in regard ſhe acknowledged him her Kinſman, as deſcended of the Bloud royall of *England*, and of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; neither was there ever ſuch a Proviſo put into any League betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh*, that the *Portugueezes* ſhould not be received into *England*.

And withall the ſaid Queen of *France*, and the King her Son, for a Foundation of a ſtricter Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*, urged more earneſtly

By what Title.

The ſeveral Competitours.

The French Queen's Title to *Portugal* exploded.

She covertly exciteth Q. *Elizabeth* againſt the *Spaniard*.

She ſendeth Don *Antonio*, who was driven out of *Portugal*, into *England*.

She ſendeth Commiſſioners to treat about the Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*.

earneſtly then ever before the Marriage with her Son the Duke of *Anjou*. For the effecting whereof there were ſent into *England* on a very honourable Embaſſage *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Daulphinie*, *Arthur Coſſe* Earl of *Segondin*, Marſhal of *France*, *Lewis* of *Luſignan* of *Saint Gelaſie*, Seigneur of *Lanſac*, *Tanerge Venator* of *Corconge*, *Bertrand Salignac a Mota-Fenellon*, *Michael a Chaſteau-neuf* Seigneur *Mauvaiſier*, *Bernard Briſonius a Granela* Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, (a man of moſt excellent Learning,) *Claudius Pinarte* firſt Baron of *Valois*, *Pierre Clauſe* Seigneur of *Curats* and *Marcho-mont*, and *Jaques Vray* Secretary of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Treaſury. Theſe Honourable perſons were as honourably entertained, being nobly banquetted in a large Edifice built at *Weſtminſter* in all haſte for this very purpoſe, richly and royally furniſhed, and after entertained with Tiltings performed at a vaſt Expenſe by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick* Lord *Windſore*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, who challenged all Comers: to ſay nothing of other Courtly Sports and Paſtimes, which are not ſo proper for an Hiſtorian to relate. 1581.

The Commiſſioners appointed to confer with them about the Marriage were *William Cecyl* Lord *Burghley*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord Admiral of *England*, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suſſex*, *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham* Secretary. Betwixt theſe Commiſſioners a matrimonial Inſtrument was agreed upon to the following purpoſe. Commiſſioners for Q. *Elizabeth*.

The Duke of Anjou *and the Queen of* England *ſhall within ſix weeks after the ratifying of theſe Articles contract Marriage* de præſenti *in* England. *The Duke and his Retainers, provided they be not native Subjects of* England, *may freely exerciſe their Religion in ſome certain place to be appointed within his Court without lett or hinderance. He ſhall alter nothing in the Religion now received in* England. *After the Marriage conſummated, he ſhall enjoy the Title and Honour of King, but ſhall leave the management of Affairs wholly and ſolely to the Queen. Whereas he hath demanded, that preſently after the Marriage he may be crowned King, and enjoy that Honour as well while the Marriage laſteth, as when it ſhall be diſſolved, during his Government of the Kingdome in the Minority of their Children; the Queen promiſeth to communicate his Demand to the Eſtates of the Realm in the firſt Parliament, which ſhe will call within fifteen days after the Ratification, and to promote it as far as ſhall lie in her power. Letters Patents, &c. ſhall run in both their Names, as in the time of* Philip *and* Mary. *The Queen ſhall aſſign the Duke a yearly Penſion by Authority of Parliament; but how large it ſhall be ſhall be left to her Pleaſure; and ſhe ſhall procure the Parliament to aſſign him a conſiderable Summe of Money yearly, if he ſurvive the Queen. He ſhall make the Queen a Dowry to the yearly Value of forty thouſand Crowns of the Sun out of his Dukedome of* Berry, *and ſhall preſently put her in Poſſeſſion thereof. What ſhall be concluded concerning their Children in the Parliament of* England, *ſhall be verified and* The Articles of the Marriage.

1581. *and confirmed in the Parliaments of* France, *to this effect. The Males or Females ſhall ſucceed their Mother in the Inheritance of* England. *If there be two Males, the eldeſt ſhall ſucceed in the Kingdom of* France, *and the ſecond in his Mother's Right to* England. *If there be but one Male, and he come to enjoy both Crowns, he ſhall reſide in* England *eight Months in every two Years. And if the Duke never come to the Title of King of* France, *their Children ſhall ſucceed in his* Appenage. *If he out-live the Queen, he ſhall have the Guardianſhip of the Children; provided the Males be not above eighteen years of age, and the Females fifteen. If the Duke die before, their Guardianſhip ſhall be left to the Authority and Pleaſure of the Parliament. The Duke ſhall preſer no Forreiner to any Office in* England. *He ſhall alter nothing in the Law, but ſhall maintain all the Cuſtomes of the Land. He ſhall not convey the Queen nor her Children out of the Realm of* England, *but by her own Conſent and the Conſent of the Peers of the Realm. If the Queen die without Children, the Duke ſhall claim no Propriety in the Kingdome of* England. *He ſhall not tranſport the Crown-Jewels out of the Realm. He ſhall leave all Places in the Kingdome to the Cuſtody of native Engliſh-men; neither ſhall he remove from thence any warlike Munition. He ſhall not engage* England *in any forrein War. He ſhall maintain the Peace betwixt* England *and other Kingdoms. The Queen alone ſhall bear the Superiority, and no Title ſhall accrue to the Duke as* Tenant by the Cuſtome of England. *The Duke intendeth not by this Marriage to prejudice his Title in the Succeſſion to the Crown of* France. *This preſent Contract ſhall be read, proclaimed, and recorded in all the Courts of* France *and* England, *ſix months after the day of Marriage; and the Authority of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall be had for the Ratification of theſe Articles. There ſhall be a particular Treaty concerning a Confederacy and League betwixt* England *and* France. *All theſe things ſhall be ratified within two Months on the French King's part upon his Faith and Oath for him and his Heirs,* &c. *and as ſoon as may be he ſhall deliver Writings of Ratification, by which Aſſurance ſhall be given that the things here concluded ſhall be obſerved* bonâ fide.

A Reſervation added.

A Reſervation alſo was added apart by itſelf, ſigned with the Hands of all the Commiſſioners, in theſe words; *But Queen* Elizabeth *is not bound to conſummate the Marriage, untill ſhe and the Duke ſhall throughly ſatisfie one another in certain Points, and ſhall thereof certifie the French King in writing within ſix weeks.*

The French King earneſtly preſſeth the Marriage.

Before ſuch time as thoſe ſix weeks were expired, *John Somers*, Clark of the Council, was ſent into *France* about this matter. The King refuſeth to hear him, and preſſeth that the Marriage already contracted may be ſolemnized out of hand, for that now there remained nothing elſe behind. *Somers* ſheweth to the contrary by the Writings, that there was firſt a League defenſive and offenſive to be entred into. The French King denieth it. *Walſingham* is diſpatched to make up theſe Differences, who joyntly with *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, Embaſſadour Leiger in *France*, and *Somers*, was to inform

inform him of theſe things following, and others of like nature.

1581.

Queen *Elizabeth* deferreth it for theſe Reaſons.

That although the vulgar ſort did hardly cenſure the delaying of the Marriage, yet did Queen Elizabeth *at firſt incline to Marriage upon no other Account then to ſatisfie the Deſires of her People, who importunately perſwaded her to marry, that there might be an eſtabliſhed and certain Succeſſion by her Children. And the Duke of* Anjou, *who ſought to her for Marriage, ſhe deſervedly preferred before all others in her Love, both for his own Vertue, and his Noble and Royall Deſcent; which Love ſhe ſtill profeſſeth to be very great towards him. Nevertheleſs ſhe as yet forbeareth to give her Aſſent to the contracting of the Marriage, till ſhe may perceive whether it be a thing pleaſing to her People, leſt ſhe might ſeem after to repent too late. That at preſent many Impediments and Obſtructions were in the way: namely, the Civill war in* France, *and the Duke of* Anjou's *forlorn Condition, who had undeſervedly loſt the King's Favour. In* England *the Minds of the beſt men were averſe from the Marriage, which had been a means of delaying it ſo long; yet notwithſtanding the Queen's Affection was ſtill conſtant towards him. That the French King preſſed the Conſummation of the Marriage unſeaſonably at the preſent, whilſt the Duke of* Anjou *was engaged in a War againſt the* Spaniard, *which he could not give over without a Slur to his Honour, and great Diſadvantage to both the Kingdoms of* England *and* France, *and the utter Undoing of the* Netherlands, *whilſt the* Spaniard's *Power daily increaſed more then was convenient. Moreover, whereas the People of* England *deſired nothing more then that by this Marriage the Realm might be preſerved in Peace and Tranquillity, it would be by this means precipitated from a moſt ſerene and gladſome Peace into a moſt dangerous War, conſidering that the Queen muſt of neceſſity be ingaged in her Husband's Quarrel. Wherefore ſhe would have no more treating of the Marriage, till the Duke of* Anjou *were diſingaged from the War he had undertaken, and the League of mutuall Defenſe and Offenſe were concluded betwixt* England *and* France. Which verily Queen *Elizabeth* deſired above all things. The French King promiſed with all his Heart to enter into a League of Defenſe; but as for a League offenſive, he flatly refuſed to hear any more thereof before the Marriage were ſolemnized.

Anjou cometh again into *England.*

Not long after the Duke of *Anjou* came himſelf into *England*, (who was now deſigned Governour of the *Netherlands* by the Eſtates,) after he had by the Help of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Money happily raiſed the Siege of *Cambray*. For ſhe had privately ſupplied him with a great Summe of Money by *Henry Seimour*, *Palavicini*, and *Bexie* a French-man. He had a ſtrong Hope, that if he did not compleat the Marriage while he ſtayed here, yet at leaſt he ſhould gain thus much, that, being ſupported with Q. *Elizabeth*'s Favour, he ſhould be the more welcome to the *Netherlanders*, who honoured her as their tutelar Saint. He was received with as great Reſpect as he could hope for, and no Demonſtrations could there be given of Honour and Affection which ſhe did not ſhew him to the full. Inſomuch as in the moneth of *November*, as ſoon as ſhe had with great Pomp

He is highly entertained.

1581.

The Queen delivereth him a Ring.

celebrated her Coronation-day, the Force of modeſt Love in the midſt of amorous Diſcourſe carried her ſo far, that ſhe drew off a Ring from her Finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Anjou*'s, upon certain Conditions betwixt them two. The Standers by took it, that the Marriage was now contracted by Promiſe: amongſt whom *Aldegond*, Governour of the City of *Antwerp*, diſpatched Letters preſently away into the *Netherlands* to ſignify as much; and *Antwerp* teſtified her publick Joy thereat by Bonefires and Peals of Ordnance.

The Courtiers minds diverſly affected.

At Home the Courtiers minds were diverſly affected; ſome leaped for Joy, ſome were ſeized with Admiration, and others were dejected with Sorrow. *Leiceſter*, who had lately plotted and contrived to croſs the Marriage, *Hatton* Vice-chamberlain, and *Walſingham*, ſtormed at it, as if the Queen, the Realm and Religion were now quite undone. The Queen's Gentlewomen, with whom ſhe uſed to be familiar, lamented and bewailed, and did ſo terrify and vex her Mind, that ſhe ſpent the Night in Doubts and Cares without Sleep amongſt thoſe weeping and wailing Females. The next day ſhe ſent for the Duke of *Anjou*, and they two, all By-ſtanders being removed, had a long Diſcourſe together. He at length withdrew himſelf to his Chamber, and throwing the Ring from him, a while after took it again, taxing the Lightneſs of Women, and the Inconſtancy of Iſlanders, with two or three biting and ſmart Scoffs.

The Queen wavereth in mind.

She weigheth in her mind the Inconveniences which would follow upon neglecting the Marriage.

The Queen pondereth in her troubled Mind what *Burghley* and *Suſſex* had told her; "That unleſs ſhe married the Duke of *Anjou*, "no League offenſive could be hoped for from the French King: "That ſhe of herſelf alone was too weak to withſtand the Greatneſs "and Power of the *Spaniard*, who, if he ſhould profer his Daughter "in Marriage to the King of *Scots*, would eaſily draw to the Scotiſh "King's Party all the Papiſts in *England*, all the Fugitives, all the Re"bels, all that were weary of the preſent Government, and all of "deſperate Fortunes, of whom there were every-where great num"bers: That the Hopes of all good men, who expected Iſſue from "the Queen by this Marriage, would be fruſtrate, ſo that now, neg"lecting her, they would caſt their Eyes upon ſome of the Competi"tors. Beſides, ſhe herſelf could not but incurre very great Diſplea"ſure with the French King and the Duke of *Anjou*, who, after ha"ving ſpent ſo long time in ſo many Conſultations, ſent ſuch honou"rable Embaſſies, and diſburſed ſo much Money, would take it very "hardly to be thus deluded, however they might diſſemblingly con"ceal their Diſpleaſure a while for their own Advantage, thereby to "procure either Money at preſent for the Duke of *Anjou* towards "the Low-country Wars, or a yearly Penſion for the time to come. Neither did leſs Scruple ſtick in her Mind, if the Duke of *Anjou*, being thus neglected, ſhould take a Wife out of *Spain*, (which ſome whiſpered into her ears:) for then ſhe foreſaw that Danger would threaten her both from *France* and *Spain* too.

In the midſt of theſe perplexed Cogitations concerning Marriage, into

into which the Conſideration of the Times did neceſſarily ever and anon caſt her, ſome were of opinion that ſhe was fully reſolved in her Mind, that ſhe might better provide both for the Commonwealth and her own Glory by an Unmarried life then by Marriage; as foreſeeing that if ſhe married a Subject, ſhe ſhould diſparage herſelf by the Inequality of the Match, and give occaſion to domeſticall Heart-burnings, private Grudges and Commotions; if a Stranger, ſhe then ſhould ſubject both herſelf and her People to a forrein Yoak, and endanger Religion: having not forgotten how unhappy the Marriage of her Siſter Queen *Mary* with King *Philip* a Forreiner had been; alſo how unfortunate that Marriage of her great Grandfather *Edward* the Fourth had proved, who was the firſt of all the Kings of *England* ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt that ever took one of his Subjects to Wife. Her Glory alſo, which whilſt ſhe continued unmarried ſhe retained intire to herſelf and uneclipſed, ſhe feared would by Marriage be transferred to her Husband. And beſides, the Perills by Conception and Child-bearing, objected by the Phyſicians and her Gentlewomen for ſome private Reaſons, did many times run in her Mind, and very much deterre her from thoughts of Marrying.

1581.

Why ſhe preferred an Unmarried life before Marriage.

She was alſo much incenſed at a Book which was written and publiſhed againſt the Marriage in a ſmart and ſtinging Style, (out of a fear leſt Religion ſhould be changed) entituled, *The Gulph wherein* England *will be ſwallowed by the French Marriage.* In which Book thoſe of the Council who favoured the Marriage are taxed as ungratefull to their Prince and Country; the Queen herſelf (in the midſt of ſeverall flattering Expreſſions) is glanced at as unlike herſelf; the Duke of *Anjou* ſlandered with unworthy Reproaches; the French Nation odiouſly defamed; and the Marriage itſelf, in regard of the Difference of Religion, (as of the Daughter of God with a Son of Antichriſt,) with virulent words condemned, as prophane, dangerous to the Church, and deſtructive to the Commonwealth, and this proved out of the Holy Scriptures miſerably wreſted. Neither would the Queen be perſwaded that the Authour of the Book had any other Intent but to procure the Hatred of her Subjects againſt her, (who had always no leſs Regard of the Love of her People then ſhe had of her own Authority, and (as Princes uſe to doe) made it her chief Care to preſerve her Reputation,) and privily to open a Gap for ſome prodigious Innovation; conſidering that the Writer had not ſo much as mentioned the Security of the Queen and Realm, or Prevention of Dangers to either, and that the Eſtates of the Realm had before with all earneſtneſs beſought her to marry, as the moſt aſſured Remedy againſt the threatning Miſchiefs. Theſe things ſhe declared by publick Proclamation, wherein, having condemned the Authour of the Book as a Publiſher of Sedition, ſhe highly commended the Duke of *Anjou*'s good Affection towards her and the Proteſtant Religion, and expreſſed her Reſentment that ſo great an Injury ſhould be offered to ſo noble a Prince, and one

A Book ſet forth againſt this Marriage.

The Queen's Opinion of the Book.

She ſetteth forth a Proclamation againſt it.

1581. that had ſo well deſerved, who had deſired nothing to be altered either in the Commonwealth or Religion: and withall ſhe commended *Simier*, the Duke of *Anjou*'s Agent, for his Wiſedome and Diſcretion, whom ſome had loaden with Calumnies and Slanders. She alſo advertiſed the People, that the ſaid Book was nothing elſe but a Fiction of ſome Traitours, to raiſe Envy abroad, and Sedition at home: and commanded it to be burnt before the Magiſtrate's Face.

From this time forward ſhe began to be a little more incenſed againſt the *Puritans*, or Innovatours, from whom ſhe eaſily believed theſe kind of things proceeded. And indeed within a few days after, *John Stubbs* of *Lincolns-Inne*, a fervent hot-headed Profeſſour of Religion, (whoſe Siſter *Thomas Cartwright*, a Ring-leader amongſt the *Puritans*, had married,) the Authour of this Book, *William Page*, who diſperſed the Copies, and *Singleton*, the Printer, were apprehended. Againſt whom Sentence was given, that their Right hands ſhould be cut off, according to an Act of *Philip* and *Mary Againſt the Authours and Publiſhers of Seditious writings*. Though ſome Lawyers muttered that the Sentence was erroneous and void by reaſon of the falſe noting of the time wherein the Law was made; and that that Act was onely temporary, and died with Queen *Mary*. Of this number *Dalton*, who often bawled it out openly, was committed to the Tower; and *Monſon*, a Judge in the Court of Common pleas, was ſo ſharply reprehended, that he reſigned his Place: foraſmuch as *Wray*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, made it appear that there was no Miſtake in noting the time; and proved by the Words of the Act, that the Act was made againſt thoſe who ſhould abuſe the King by Seditious writings, and that the King of *England* never dieth; yea, that that Act was renewed *anno primo Elizabethæ*, to be in Force during the Life of her and the Heirs of her body. Hereupon *Stubbs* and *Page* had their Right hands cut off with a Cleaver, driven through the Wriſt by the force of a Mallet, upon a Scaffold in the Market-place at *Weſtminſter*. The Printer was pardoned. I remember (being there preſent) that when *Stubbs*, after his Right hand was cut off, put off his Hat with his Left, and ſaid with a loud voice, *God ſave the Queen*; the Multitude ſtanding about was deeply ſilent: either out of an Horrour at this new and unwonted kind of Puniſhment; or elſe out of Commiſeration towards the man, as being of an honeſt and unblamable Repute; or elſe out of Hatred of the Marriage, which moſt men preſaged would be the Overthrow of Religion.

The Authour of the Book taken,

with the Diſperſer and Printer.

Their Right hands cut off

The Printer pardoned.

Edmund Campian the Jeſuite and ſome Prieſts executed.

Theſe things were done preſently after the Duke of *Anjou*'s coming into *England*. During his Stay here, the Queen, to take away the Fear which had poſſeſſed many mens minds, that Religion would be altered, and Popery tolerated, being overcome by importunate Intreaties, permitted that *Edmund Campian* aforeſaid, of the Society of *Jeſus*, *Ralph Sherwin*, *Luke Kirby*, and *Alexander Briant*, Prieſts, ſhould

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ſhould be arraigned: who being indicted upon the Act for Treaſon made in the twenty fifth of *Edward* the Third, and charged to have compaſſed and imagined the Deſtruction of the Queen and Realm, to have adhered to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Queen's Enemy, to have come into *England* to diſturb the Peace and Quiet of the Realm, and to have raiſed Forces to that end, were condemned to die, and, perſiſting obſtinately to defend the Pope's Authority againſt the Queen, were executed. For *Campian*, after he was condemned, being asked, firſt, whether Queen *Elizabeth* were a *right and lawful Queen*, refuſed to anſwer: then, whether he would take part with the Queen, or the Pope if he ſhould ſend Forces againſt the Queen, he openly profeſſed and teſtified under his Hand, that he would ſtand for the Pope. Afterwards ſome others alſo were executed for the ſame Reaſons, whereas in full ten years time after the Rebellion there had been no more then five Papiſts put to death. But theſe things I leave to the Writer of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: Yet let me, by his Leave, give a brief Touch here of ſome few things which are linked with matters that concern the Commonwealth. Such now were the Times, that the Queen, (who never was of opinion that mens Conſciences were to be forced) complained many times that ſhe was driven of Neceſſity to take theſe Courſes, unleſs ſhe would ſuffer the Ruine of herſelf and her Subjects, upon ſome mens Pretence of Conſcience and the Catholick Religion. Yet for the greater part of theſe ſilly Prieſts, ſhe did not at all believe them guilty of plotting the Deſtruction of their Countrey: but the *Superiours* were they ſhe held to be the Inſtruments of this Villany; for theſe inferiour Emiſſaries committed the full and free Diſpoſure of themſelves to their Superiours. For when thoſe that were now and afterwards taken were asked, "Whether by Authority of the "Bull of *Pius Quintus* Biſhop of *Rome*, the Subjects were ſo abſol-"ved from their Oath of Allegeance towards the Queen, that they "might take up Arms againſt their Prince; Whether they thought "her to be a lawfull Queen; Whether they would ſubſcribe to "*Sanders*'s and *Briſtow*'s Opinion concerning the Authority of that "Bull; Whether if the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould wage War againſt "the Queen, they would joyn with her or him: they anſwered ſome of them ſo ambiguouſly, ſome ſo reſolutely, and ſome by Prevarication or Silence ſhifted off the Queſtions in ſuch a manner, that divers ingenuous Catholicks began to ſuſpect they foſtered ſome treacherous Diſloyalty; and *J. Biſhop*, a man otherwiſe devoted to the Biſhop of *Rome*, wrote againſt them, and ſolidly proved, that that Conſtitution obtruded under the name of the *Lateran* Council, upon which the whole Authority of abſolving Subjects from their Allegeance and Depoſing Princes is founded, is no other then a Decree of Pope *Innocent* the Third, and was never admitted in *England*; yea, that the ſaid Council was no Council at all, nor was any thing at all there decreed by the Fathers.

This puniſhment of the Catholicks neceſſary.

The Suſpicion increaſed againſt them,

by their Tergiverſation;

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and by their ſowing dangerous Opinions.

Suſpicions alſo were daily increaſed by the great Number of Prieſts creeping more and more into *England*, who privily felt the Minds of men, ſpread abroad that Princes Excommunicate were to be Depoſed, and whiſpered in Corners, That ſuch Princes as profeſſed not the Romiſh Religion had forfeited their Regal Title and Authority; That thoſe who had taken holy Orders were, by a certain Eccleſiaſtical Priviledge, exempted from all Juriſdiction of Princes, and not bound by their Laws, nor ought they to reverence or regard their Majeſty; That the Biſhop of *Rome* hath ſupreme Authority and abſolute Power over the whole World, yea even in Temporal matters; That the Magiſtrates of *England* were no lawful Magiſtrates, and therefore not to be accounted for Magiſtrates; yea, That whatſoever was done by the Queen's Authority ſince the time that the Bull declaratory of *Pius Quintus* was publiſhed againſt her, was by the Laws of God and Man altogether void, and to be eſteemed as of no Validity. And ſome of them were not aſhamed to own, that they were returned into *England* with no other Intent, then, by reconciling men at Confeſſion, to abſolve every one particularly from all his Oaths of Allegeance and Obedience to the Queen, juſt as the ſaid Bull did abſolve them all at once and in general. And this ſeemed the eaſier to be effected, becauſe they promiſed withall Abſolution from all mortal Sin; and the ſafer, becauſe it was performed more cloſely, and under the *Seal of Confeſſion*.

The Five and twentieth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1582.

New Laws againſt the Papiſts.

THeſe things and the like extorted from the Eſtates of the Realm, which were aſſembled in the moneth of *January* at *Weſtminſter*, new and more ſevere Laws againſt the Papiſts, wherein "they are declared guilty of High treaſon, whoever ſhall "diſſwade the Subjects from their Obedience to their Prince, and "from the Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, or ſhall reconcile them "to the Church of *Rome*; as alſo thoſe who ſhall be ſo diſſwaded "or reconciled. Thoſe alſo who ſhall ſay Maſs are fined in 200 "Marks, and Impriſonment for a Year, or longer, till they have "payed the Money: they who ſhall wittingly and willingly be pre-"ſent at Maſs are fined in 100 Marks, and Impriſonment likewiſe "for a Year: and they who refuſe to frequent Divine Service in "their Pariſh-Churches are fined in 20 Pounds a Month. This the Papiſts exclaimed was unjuſtly interpreted of Lunary Moneths, who had hitherto redeemed their Abſence upon Sundays and Holidays for a Shilling to the uſe of the Poor. But theſe things let the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians handle more at large.

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The Duke of *Anjou*, having ſtayed in *England* full three Months, began his Journey toward the *Netherlands* in the month of *February*. The Queen herſelf, to doe him Honour, accompanied him as far as *Canterbury*, and commanded the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Charles Howard*, *Hunſdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windſor*, and *Sheffield*, Barons, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Ruſſell*, Sir *George Bourchier*, and ſome other eminent Knights, to wait upon him as far as *Antwerp*: where he was made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburgh*, *Lorrain*, &c. For the Eſtates of the Confederate *Netherlands* had before declared the *Spaniard* to have forfeited his Sovereignty by violating their Laws, broken his Seals in pieces, thrown down his Arms in all places, and abſolved the People from their Oath of Allegeance, ſo that they were at Liberty to chuſe themſelves another Prince. The Duke granted the Exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion to all that would ſwear Allegeance to him, and abjure the *Spaniard*. Then he buckled himſelf to the War, loſt *Oudenard*, and took *Aloſt*. Six hundred *Engliſh*, under the leading of *Thomas Norris*, *Barney*, *Corniſh* and *Gibſon*, fled from him to the *Spaniards*, laying the cauſe thereof upon the imperious Severity of *Norris*. Theſe men being expoſed to all dangerous Brunts, and ſlightly and contemptuouſly uſed, ſuffered condign Puniſhment for their Treachery, and too late repented themſelves after they had undergone infinite Miſeries. However *Norris*, with 300 Horſe and the Remainder of his Companies, gained ſingular Commendations amongſt all men for his Valour and military Skill. For he courageouſly received the Prince of *Parma*, who furiouſly charged him with great Forces, and made a diſcreet and ſober Retreat to the Walls of *Gaunt*, while *Anjou* and the Prince of *Orange* from the Walls admired his martiall Valour. But why do I dwell upon theſe things? The Duke of *Anjou*, having now ſpent in the *Netherlands* a great Maſs of Money which he received out of *England*, and that without Succeſs, and found that they beſtowed upon him nothing but bare and empty Titles, whilſt the Government and Management of Affairs remained wholly in the Eſtates Hands, attempted raſhly and unadviſedly to force *Antwerp* and other Cities, but all in vain, and not without great Loſs of his own men; and ſhortly after left the *Netherlands* with Diſhonour, as having atchieved nothing memorable.

Anjou returneth into the *Low-Countries*.

He is made Duke of *Brabant*, &c.

Some *Engliſh* revolt from him.

Norris behaveth himſelf gallantly.

Anjou leaveth the *Netherlands* with diſhonour.

Let it ſuffice to make mention in a word onely of a Comet or Blazing-ſtar ſeen in the month of *May* in the 12. Degree of *Gemini*, near the Star called the little Goat, with a radiant Tail ſtreaming above and beyond the right Shoulder of *Erichthonius*: as alſo of an hideous Tempeſt in *Norfolk*, with much Lightening, Thunder, violent force of Winds, and a great Storm of Hail, the Stones whereof were three Inches in Thickneſs, and faſhioned like the Rowells of Spurs.

A Comet,

and violent Tempeſt.

Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſtrengthen herſelf abroad againſt the *Spaniard*, whom ſhe knew to be exaſperated by that Supply of Money ſent to the Duke of *Anjou*, choſe *Frederick* the Second, King of *Denmark*,

The King of *Denmark* made Knight of the Garter.

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The Complaints of the English Merchants represented to him.

He neglecteth them.

Queen *Elizabeth* also, for her better Security at Home, purposed to compound matters with the Queen of *Scots* by Sir *Walter Mildmay*. But finding that the Duke of *Guise* plotted secretly with certain English Fugitives for her Delivery, and leavied Forces under pretence that they should serve under the Duke of *Anjou* in the *Low-Countries*, but indeed to be wafted over into *England* from *Aue* or *Ewe*, an obscure Port-town in *Normandy* belonging to the Duke of *Guise*; (whereof the French King gave her the first Notice, and out of his Love to Queen *Elizabeth* crossed it,) the matter was put off to another time, and she was neglected.

A Treaty with the Queen of *Scots* put off to another time.

But yet to prevent the Duke of *Guise* his Attempts in *Scotland*, who was thought to use *Lenox* his Assistence to avert the King of *Scots* Affection from the *English*, *William Ruthuen*, whom the King had very lately created Earl of *Goury*, raised some Troubles. This *William*, (not to degenerate from his Father, who bare a deadly Hatred against the King's Mother,) with other Conspiratours, employed

Goury and others raise Troubles in *Scotland*.

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ployed all their Wits to remove *Lenox* and *Arran* from the King, pretending to provide for the Security of Religion, the King's Safety, and the Amity with *England*. And thus they went to work. *Lenox*, who was now made Chamberlain of *Scotland*, is perſwaded to exerciſe with Rigour the outworn Juriſdiction of Chamberlain; and this to no other intent, but that he might thereby (ignorantly and never dreaming of any ſuch thing) incurre the Hatred of the Multitude; which Hatred the Miniſters of God's Word ſhould more inflame by declaiming againſt him publickly out of the Pulpit, as a Papiſt, a *Guiſian*, and a rigorous Executour of his Authority, and ſhould openly propheſy his Deſtruction. When *Lenox* therefore was gone from *Perth* (where the King then lay) to *Edenborough*, to exerciſe the aforeſaid Juriſdiction, and *Arran* was out of the way, *Goury*, *Marr*, *Lindſey*, and others, taking the Opportunity, invited the King to *Ruthuen* Caſtle, and their detained him againſt his Will, and terrified him ſo that he durſt not ſtir abroad. All his faithfulleſt Servants they removed from him, *Arran* they carried to Priſon, conſtrained the King to call Home the Earl *Angus* from Baniſhment, (at the Interceſſion of the Queen of *England*, who was acquainted with their Plot,) and to ſend *Lenox* back again into *France*: who, being a man of a very mild Spirit, did for the publick Quiet ſake ſurrender up *Dunbriton*, which he might eaſily have defended, and refuſed not to return into *France*; and this he did at the King's ſeeming Perſwaſion, which they had forced him to uſe with him. And not content with all this, they compelled the King againſt his will to approve of this their intercepting of him in his Letters to the Queen of *England*, and to declare an Aſſembly of the Eſtates ſummoned by them to be juſt and legall. Yet could they not draw *Buchanan* to approve of this Fact of theirs, either by their Declaration, or by Meſſengers ſent to perſwade him; who now with Sorrow repented that he had formerly maintained the Cauſe of Factious people againſt their Princes, and ſoon after died. A man born, as he himſelf hath written in a Poem, *nec cœlo, nec ſolo, nec ſeculo erudito*, that is, neither in a Climate, nor Country, nor Age of any Learning; yet happily arriving himſelf at the Top and Perfection of Poeticall Skill, ſo as he may deſervedly be reconed Prince of the Poets of this Age.

They ſurprize the King.

They remove *Lenox* out of *Scotland*.

They force the King to countenance their doings.

Buchanan diſapproves them.

When the French King had certain Intelligence hereof, he diſpatched away *Mota-Fenellon* through *England*, and *Maninguille* by Sea, into *Scotland*, with one and the ſame Inſtructions, to wit, "That they "ſhould take ſome courſe or other for procuring the King's Liberty: "That they ſhould confirm and encourage the French Faction, draw "the King's Mind to embrace Amity with the *French*, and congratu-"late him upon this Account, that the Queen his Mother, out of her "motherly Piety, granted him the Royall Title, and very willingly "admitted him into the Participation of the Kingdom, to wit, that "he ſhould be owned for true and lawfull King by the Princes of "Chriſtendome and all the people in *Scotland*, and that all Factions

The French King ſendeth Agents to procure the King's Liberty.

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"ſhould be for the future taken away. The Queen of *Scots* in the mean time having her Mind full of Cares and Doubts, being overlay'd with Miſeries, and languiſhing with the Calamity of a long Impriſonment without all Hope of Liberty, deplored her hard Deſtiny, with the ſad Condition of her Son, in a long Letter written in French to Queen *Elizabeth*, which her motherly Love and the Anguiſh of her Mind wrung from her, to this purpoſe, as I have abbreviated the ſame out of the very Originall.

The Queen of *Scots* bewaileth the ſeizing of her Son, and her own Condition, in a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*.

Whereas I have been certainly advertiſed that my Son is ſurprized by Rebels, (as I myſelf alſo was ſome years ſince,) out of a juſt Fear leſt he ſhould undergoe the ſame common Condition of Infelicity with myſelf, I cannot but make my wofull Complaints, and imprint the ſame (if it may be) in your Conſcience, that ſo my Innocency may appear to Poſterity, and their Ignominy by whoſe unjuſt Dealings I am moſt undeſervedly brought into theſe Miſeries. But ſeeing their cunning Practices and Devices (though never ſo wicked) have hitherto been of more Credit with you then my moſt juſt Complaints, and your Might may ſeem to overcome Right, and Force to oppreſs and bear down Truth amongſt men; I will appeal to the ever-living God, in whom onely I acknowledge a Power and Dominion over us that are Princes of equall Juriſdiction, Degree and Authority. And upon him will I call, (with whom there will be no place for Craft nor Fraud,) that in the Laſt day he will reward us according to our Deſerts one towards another, howſoever my Adverſaries know in the mean time how to cloak their treacherous Dealings before men, (and haply before you.) In his Name therefore, and as it were before his Tribunall-ſeat, I call to your Remembrance, by what cunning Artifices ſome who were employed in your Name drew the Scots, *my Subjects, into Rebellion againſt me whilſt I lived in* Scotland, *and gave Riſe to all thoſe Miſchiefs which have happened there ever ſince. Which (to omit other Proofs) is certainly known by evident Teſtimonies to be produced, and by Confeſſion out of* Morton's *own Mouth, who was in that reſpect advanced to * Honour. Againſt whom if I had proceeded according to Law and Juſtice, and you had not aided my Rebels, they could not have ſtood out long againſt me and my Friends.*

* made Regent upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s Recommendation.

While I was kept in Priſon at Lough-Levin, *Sir* Nicholas Throckmorton *was a means to perſwade me in your Name to ſet my Hand to a Writing, and reſign the Kingdome; which Writing he affirmed would be invalid, and ſo the whole World hath taken it to be, untill you aſſiſted the Authours of the ſaid Inſtrument readily with your Favour and Countenance, as alſo with an armed Power. And tell me* bonâ fide, *would you acknowledge ſuch an Authority and Power of your Subjects over you? Yet thereby was my Regall Authority taken from me, and that by your Advice and Aſſiſtence, and my Kingdome tranſlated to my Son, who was then in reſpect of his Age uncapable thereof. And when I myſelf was not long ſince determined to confirm the Kingdome to him lawfully, he was forcibly ſeized on by certain Traitours, who without queſtion purpoſed to deſpoil him (as they had done me) of the Kingdome, if not of his Life alſo.*

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alſo. After I had made an Eſcape out of Lough-Levin, *and was now ready to give the Rebels Battel, I craved your Aid, ſending back that Diamond which I had formerly received from you in Pledge of your Love, with large Promiſes of Aſſiſtence againſt my Rebels time after time renewed, giving me alſo then your faithfull word, that if I would betake myſelf to you, you would come to the Borders, and aſſiſt me in your own perſon. I, relying upon this your Promiſe ſo often repeated, (though thoſe you employed had many times deceived me with fair words,) reſolved to flie unto you in mine Adverſity as to a ſacred Anchour. And certainly ſo I had done, had I found as eaſie Acceſs to you as my Rebels againſt me have always had. But before I could come to you, I was ſeized upon, guarded with Keepers, ſhut up in ſtrong Holds, and have ever ſince endured Afflictions more bitter then Death itſelf.*

I know you will hit me in the teeth with what paſſed betwixt me and the Duke of Norfolk: *yet I deny that that was any way prejudicial to you or your Kingdome. For it was approved of by the chief Counſellours of the Realm of* England, *and confirmed by their Subſcriptions, which may be produced, who alſo gave an aſſured Promiſe of your Conſent. And how (I pray you) could men of that Quality promiſe your Conſent to that which would deprive you of Life, Honour, and your Diademe? yet would you have theſe things believed by all men.*

But when ſome of my ſaid Rebels repented them when it was too late, and perceived more palpably by the Conference betweene our Commiſſioners at York *how injuriouſly I was dealt withall, they were preſently beſieged by your Forces in the Caſtle of* Edenborough, *and two of the chief of them were miſerably bereaved of their Lives, one by Poiſon, the other by the Gallows. And this after I had at your Requeſt cauſed them more then once to lay down their Arms, in hopes of Peace, which God knoweth whether my Adverſaries ever intended.* *Lidington and Grange.*

From that time forward I determined with myſelf to try whether I could by my Patience mitigate others Rigour, by bearing quietly all things which ſhould be inflicted upon a captive Queen: yet have I now for this whole Year been quite debarred from all Intercourſe with my Son either by Letters or Meſſengers, that ſo, if it were poſſible, the Son might be rent and divided from his Mother by a ſad and woefull Alienation of Affections.

Conditions of Peace and Concord to be made betwixt us I have often propounded; at Chateſworth *eleven years ſince with your Commiſſioners, and with yourſelf by the Embaſſadours of the moſt Chriſtian King and mine own, and the laſt Winter with* Beale, *have I dealt therein ſincerely. But thoſe Conditions have been always rejected, Delays ſought and interpoſed, my Actions and Endeavours miſconſtrued, and the ſincere Affections of my Mind ſtill condemned. And of my long Patience I have reaped no other Fruit, then that by a certain Preſcription it grew to a Cuſtome that I was every day more roughly handled then other. Theſe things verily I am no longer able to endure: and howſoever it fall out, if I die, I will make known the Authours of my Death; and if I live,*

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Wherefore, to take away all Miſunderſtandings betwixt us, let the Teſtimonies of the Spaniards *that were lately taken Priſoners in* Ireland *be produced againſt me, let the Examinations of the* Jeſuites *be brought forth, let every man have liberty to accuſe me publickly; ſo as I in like manner may have liberty allowed me to defend myſelf, and not be condemned unheard. The baſeſt Malefactours and Priſoners are allowed their Defenſe, and their Accuſers brought before them Face to face. And why am not I ſo dealt withall, who am an anointed Queen, in Bloud moſt nearly allied unto you, and next to you the lawfull Heir to the Crown? And this laſt is that which above all vexeth and troubleth my Adverſaries, who labour to ſet us two at Variance. Alas! there is no reaſon this ſhould trouble them: I call God and mine own Honour to witneſs, that I have for this long time thought of no other Kingdome but that of Heaven. Yet are you bound in Conſcience, and obliged both in regard of your Duty and Juſtice, not to prejudice my Son's undoubted Title after my Death, nor to farther the ſecret Contrivances of thoſe who, both in* England *and* Scotland, *do labour tooth and nail the Deſtruction of me and my Son; as is more then too apparent by the Carriage of your Meſſengers in* Scotland, *who have behaved themſelves ſeditiouſly enough, (unknown to you no doubt, though* Huntingdon *have buſily beſtirred himſelf therein.)*

Is this Reaſon, that I who am a Mother ſhould be prohibited not onely to adviſe my oppreſſed Son, but ſo much as to underſtand in what Condition he is? Had thoſe Meſſengers been ſent for my Son's good, haply, if they had taken my Adviſe along with them, they might have been more welcome to him for my ſake; certainly you had obliged me the more cloſely to you. Neither was there any Reaſon why you ſhould ſo carefully conceal their Sending, or quite take from me at that time all uſe of my liberty. But, to ſpeak freely, I beſeech you to employ no more ſuch Miniſters in Scotiſh Matters. For though * Cary (*I think*) *would undertake nothing unbeſeeming himſelf and his Honour; yet can I promiſe myſelf no good of* Huntingdon, *by reaſon of his bad Behaviour towards me.*

* Lord *Hunſdon.*

Therefore I do earneſtly intreat you by the near Kindred that is betwixt us, to have a ſerious Care of my Son's Safety, to intermeddle no more in Scotiſh Matters without acquainting me or the French King, and to eſteem thoſe for no better then Traitours, who detain my Son in Cuſtody, and conſtrain him againſt his Will to doe what they liſt. In brief, I beſeech you by the Croſs and Paſſion of Chriſt *our Redeemer, that I may now after ſo many years Reſtraint be reſtored to my Liberty upon reaſonable Conditions, and may for the ſmall Remainder of my Life refreſh my decayed Body ſomewhere out of* England, *after ſo long Grief and Languiſhing in Priſon. So ſhall you oblige me and mine, and eſpecially my Son, unto you for ever. And this I will never ceaſe to beg*

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of you with all Earneſtneſs till you grant it me: and that which moveth me ſo earneſtly to crave it is the afflicted ſtate of my Body and Health. Take order therefore that I may hereafter be more courteouſly uſed, otherwiſe in plain terms I ſhall not be able to endure it: and put me not off to any other Doom or Sentence then your own. Whatſoever hereafter ſhall befall me, good or ill, I ſhall take it to come from yourſelf alone. Vouchſafe me this Favour, that I may underſtand your Mind from yourſelf, either by a ſhort Letter, or by the French Embaſſadour. I cannot reſt ſatisfied with thoſe things which the Earl of Shrewsbury *tells me, conſidering that they are altered every day. When I wrote of late to your Council, you wiſhed me to acquaint yourſelf onely with my Buſineſs. (But there was no reaſon for you to grant them ſo large an Authority over me to trouble and afflict me.) Yet I cannot but fear that ſome of them who are my Adverſaries have procured this, leſt the reſt, when they ſhould have heard my juſt Complaints, ſhould oppoſe them, in regard as well of your Honour as of their own Duty towards you. Now it remaineth that I make this ſpecial Requeſt unto you, that my Mind being taken up with the Thoughts of another Life, I may have ſome reverend Catholick Prieſt allowed me, who may direct me in my Religion for my Soul's Health. This laſt Office is not to be denied to the ſilleſt Wretches of the meaneſt Condition. To forrein Princes Embaſſadours you allow the Exerciſe of their Religion, and I freely granted it to my Subjects of a different Religion. If this be denied me, I (I hope) ſhall be excuſed before God, but my Adverſaries (I fear) will not eſcape unpuniſhed. Certainly it will be a Precedent for other Princes of Chriſtendome to uſe the like Severity towards their Subjects of a different Religion, if this Rigour be ſhewed to me, who am an abſolute Princeſs, and your neareſt Kinſwoman. For ſo I am, and ſo I ſhall be as long as I live, whether my Adverſaries will or no, and though they be never ſo ill pleaſed and ſatisfied at it. To have my Houſhold increaſed I deſire not, but I am neceſſitated to deſire you that I may have two Waiting-women allowed me, whom I ſhall have need of in this my weak Condition: and let not mine Enemies ſatisfie their Malice and Cruelty in hindering me of ſo ſmall a Courteſie. Whereas I am privately accuſed by the Earl of* Shrewsbury, *that, contrary to what I promiſed to* Beale, *I have dealt with my Son about conveying my Title in* Scotland *to him without your Privity; I beſeech you believe not* Beale's *Suggeſtions: I promiſed nothing but upon certain Conditions, to which I am not at all tied, unleſs thoſe on your part be performed by you. Since that time I have received no Anſwer, and a deep Silence hath enſued touching thoſe matters: but the Practices and Contrivances in* Scotland *to the Deſtruction of me and my Son have been continued. This ſo long a Silence I could not conſtrue any thing elſe but a flat Denial, which I ſignified to you and your Council by Letters. What the French King and his Mother imparted unto me, I have truly and ingenuouſly acquainted you withall, and asked your Counſel in it; but I have not heard ſo much as a Word from you. To ſubmit myſelf to your Advice touching my Affairs and my Countrey, before I knew what manner of Advice it would*

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Let not theſe and other my Adverſaries ſo far blind your Eyes, as that, while you live and ſee it, they bring your neareſt Kindred to their Graves, and underwine both Crowns: for to that purpoſe certainly do they carry on their wicked Practices againſt me, againſt my Son, and perhaps againſt yourſelf too. Can it be any Advantage or Credit to you that by their means I and my Son, and you and I ourſelves, are ſo long deprived of one another? Recall yourſelf to your innate Mildneſs and Lenity, oblige yourſelf to yourſelf, and, as you are a Princeſs, ſoften your Spirit, and diſpoſe it to lay aſide all Diſpleaſure towards me a Princeſs ſo nearly related to you in Bloud, and ſo loving to you; that theſe matters being compounded betwixt us, I may the more quietly depart this Life, and the Groans and Sighs of my afflicted Soul may not aſcend up to God. To whoſe Majeſty I offer up my daily Prayers, beſeeching him that theſe my juſt Complaints and wofull Lamentations may now at length find Regard with you. *At* Sheffield *the eighth of* November, 1582.

Subſcribed,

Voſtre treſdeſoleé plus proche parente,
& affectioneé ſeure, *Marie R.*

that is,

Your moſt ſorrowfull neareſt Kinſwoman,
and affectionate Siſter, Mary *Queen.*

The

1583.

The Six and twentieth Year of Her Reign. Ann. Domini 1583.

WIth this Letter Queen *Elizabeth* was variouſly affected, and (having firſt permitted *Mota-Fenellon* the French Embaſſadour to goe with *Daviſon* her own Embaſſadour into *Scotland*, watching the time of purpoſe that he might at unawares meet *Lenox* as he returned out of *Scotland*, and having herſelf after graciouſly received the ſaid *Lenox*, and gently blamed him for the Errours he had committed in Scotiſh matters,) ſent *Robert Beale*, Clark of the Council, a ſharp and ſour-natur'd man, to the Queen of *Scots*, to expoſtulate with her roundly about theſe Letters of Complaint, and together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* to treat with her about her Liberty, in regard ſhe had very lately by other Letters earneſtly requeſted, that, upon Security given to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe might at length enjoy the ſame, and be aſſociated with her Son in the Government of *Scotland*.

Lenox returneth to *France* through *England*.

Concerning theſe things a ſerious Conſultation was holden in the Council-Chamber of *England*, and moſt of the Council were ſatisfied that ſhe might be ſet at Liberty upon theſe Conditions. "If ſhe and "her Son would promiſe to attempt nothing which might be preju- "diciall to Queen *Elizabeth*, or the Realm of *England*. If ſhe would "acknowledge that whatever was done by her Husband *Francis* the "Second King of *France* againſt Queen *Elizabeth* was done againſt "her Will, and would utterly diſclaim the ſame as unjuſt; confirm "the Treaty of *Edenborough*, and condemn all other unpleaſing At- "tempts ever ſince by ingenuouſly renouncing them. If ſhe would be "bound to contrive or act nothing directly or indirectly againſt the "Government of the Kingdome of *England*, in either Eccleſiaſticall "or Civill matters, but oppoſe all ſuch as ſhould any waies attempt "the ſame as publick Enemies. If ſhe would forbear to claim any "Right to the Kingdome of *England* during Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life; "and afterwards be content to refer the Title of Succeſſion to the "Judgement of the Eſtates of *England*. If (to the end there might "be no place left for Prevarication, and that ſhe might not hereafter "alleage, that ſhe condeſcended to theſe Conditions being a Priſo- "ner and conſtrained thereunto,) ſhe would not onely ſwear to "theſe Conditions herſelf, but would alſo procure the Eſtates of "*Scotland* to confirm them by publick Authority, and the King to "ratify them by Oath and Writing, and Hoſtages to be given for the "Performance of them. As for her being joyned with her Son in the Government, it was not thought meet that the Q. of *England* ſhould be concerned with it: but this they referred to the King of *Scots* himſelf and the Eſtates of *Scotland*. And if they were ſo aſſociated together,

Conſultation about the Q. of *Scots* ſetting at liberty. Upon what Conditions.

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together, they ſhould be dealt withall joyntly about the League; if not, ſeverally.

The *Scots* of the Engliſh Faction oppoſe it.

Theſe things were deliberated and conſulted of, but without Succeſs, for the *Scots* of the Engliſh Faction utterly rejected the Conditions, crying out that ſome *Scots* which were mortall Enemies to the Engliſh Nation were by the Advice of the Queen of *Scots* called Home out of *France*; and that *Holt*, an Engliſh-man of the Society of *Jeſus*, was ſent privily into *Scotland* to contrive a way for Invading *England*.

The *Engliſh* and the *French* inſinuate into the King of *Scots*.

There was now much ſtriving in *Scotland* betwixt *Mota-Fenellon* and *Maninguille* the French Embaſſadours, and *Bowes* and *Daviſon* Embaſſadours of *England*, which of them ſhould by deeper Inſinuation allure the King's Mind to the Love of their Nation, and who ſhould draw moſt men to their Party. Whilſt they diligently countermined one the other in their Plots and Deſigns, the King carried himſelf evenly and indifferently betwixt them both, and intermeddled not in thoſe factious Stirs, which he laboured rather to compoſe, well knowing how to temper and mix what was Profitable with what was Juſt and honeſt, and in the mean time not to be wanting to Religion or the Commonwealth. But the Miniſters of the Word in *Scotland* were ſo inflamed with a kind of Zeal againſt the *French*, that the ſame day that *Mota-Fenellon* was feaſted by the Citizens of *Edenborough*, they appointed a Faſt, and all the day long railed upon the French King, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Embaſſadours, out of their Pulpits; and a little more they had proceeded to excommunicate all the Gueſts that dined there.

The Zeal of the Scotiſh Preachers againſt the *French*.

The *Engliſh* prevail by thoſe of their party.

As theſe Miniſters did thus openly, ſo alſo ſome Noblemen of the Engliſh Faction ceaſed not more cloſely to perſecute and diſturb the French Embaſſadours, untill firſt *Mota-Fenellon*, and afterwards *Maninguille*, left the Court and departed, having notwithſtanding firſt cunningly ſown the Seeds of Diſſenſion betwixt thoſe who had got the King in their power.

The King applieth himſelf to Queen *Elizabeth*.

As ſoon as they were gone, the King profered all Kindneſs and Reſpect to the Queen of *England* by Colonell *William Stuart* and *John Colvill*, and asked her Counſell and Advice for compoſing the preſent Commotions, and his contracting of Marriage. And now they which had poſſeſſed themſelves of the King took Heart and Courage when the French Embaſſadours were removed out of *Scotland*, and more a while after, when they heard of *Lenox* his Death.

Lenox his death.

For he, having found but cold Comfort from the French King, who was embroiled with Civil wars, and now ſecretly applying himſelf to work into the Favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, died at *Paris*, and at the point of Death openly profeſſed (as he had done before) the Proteſtant Religion, confuting thereby the Malice of thoſe who had falſly defamed him to be a Papiſt.

The King freeth himſelf out of Cuſtody.

While the Surprizers of the King were triumphing for the Duke's Death, as thinking themſelves now ſure and certain to keep the King in their power, the King, when they little thought of it, though he were

were ſcarce eighteen years of age, diſdaining (ſeeing he was an abſolute King) to be under the Tutelage of the three Earls, as he had before wiſely yielded to the Time, ſo now, having got a fit Opportunity, he wrought his own Liberty, and withdrew himſelf with a few truſty Friends into the Caſtle of *Saint Andrews*; taking Occaſion from a Rumour ſpred abroad, that the Noblemen, bearing a deadly Feud and Hatred one againſt the other, were drawing together Bands of armed men to attend them at the Convention which he had ſummoned, and therefore he had cauſe to fear leſt his Perſon ſhould be expoſed to Danger amongſt their tumultuous Scuffles. And verily he wrote Letters to Queen *Elizabeth* to that purpoſe, wherein alſo he promiſed that he would conſtantly maintain Amity with her, and follow her Counſell in ſettling of his Affairs. But this Accident (he ſaid) happened ſo unexpectedly, that he could by no means ask her Counſell in it. Afterwards with good Words and a gracious Countenance he adviſed ſome of thoſe men by whom he was ſeized upon to depart the Court for prevention of Diſturbances, and promiſed them Pardon if they would ask it. But of them all *Goury* onely asked it, and ſubmitted himſelf, uſing this Diſtinction, that he had offended, not in *matter*, but in *form*. Then called he Home *Arran* to the Court, whom he uſed in his moſt ſecret Counſells; and in the next place he ſeriouſly ſet himſelf to procure a good Agreement betwixt his Nobility, and to clear his Realm and Court from civile Diſcords. 1583.

He dealeth gently with thoſe that had ſeized him.

He recalleth his Friends to the Court.

Whileſt he buſied himſelf about theſe matters, came Sir *Francis Walſingham*, ſent from the Queen of *England*, out of her great Care leſt he ſhould by corrupt Counſells now in his flexible years be alienated from the Amity of the *Engliſh*, to the Dammage of both Kingdoms. *Walſingham* found the King attended with the Flower of his Nobility, and another manner of Face and Appearance of things in *Scotland* then he expected. At his Audience, he adviſed him at large the ſame things which the Queen had before by her Letters put him in mind of out of *Iſocrates*, (namely, that *It was the part of a Ruler to be ſo true and juſt in his Dealings that more Credit might be given to his Word then to others Oaths*,) and that he would have a great care of bad Counſellours, and be conſtant to himſelf. The King anſwered wiſely and freely, "That if he had written otherwiſe then he "thought, he had done it unwillingly, againſt his mind, and by Con"ſtraint of thoſe that compelled him to it. That he, being a free "Prince, was not to be reduced to ſuch Streights that others muſt "impoſe Counſellours upon him whom he liked not. That he had "done nothing but what ſtood with his Honour and was for his Se"curity. That he had long ſince vowed the First-fruits of his "Friendſhip to his deareſt Siſter the Queen of *England*, and now he "offered them gladly and deſervedly; and more full Demonſtrati"ons of his Friendſhip he ſhould be able to give, when all his Nobili"ty ſhould be obedient to him, then when he himſelf was forced to

Walſingham cometh into *Scotland*.

His Advice to the King.

The King anſwereth him freely.

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"obey one or two of them, and ruled as it were but at their will "and pleasure.

Walsingham's Advice. Afterwards *Walsingham* wished him not to impute to Queen *Elizabeth* those things which had lately fallen out in *Scotland:* then he shewed him how advantageous to him and to both Kingdoms Amity with *England* had been heretofore, and might be hereafter, if it were not neglected; and which he said would be firmly established if the Differences betwixt the Nobility of *Scotland* were by Authority of Parliament buried in Oblivion, if those Noblemen that were removed from the Court might be received again into Favour, Religion maintained inviolate, and a firm League betwixt both Kingdoms established. Neither was *Walsingham* unprovided of Money to distribute amongst the King's Ministers, that they might bring these things to pass. *The King's Answer.* The King modestly answered, *That he would maintain Amity with* England; *that he would be wanting in no good Offices towards the Queen, and constantly defend the received Religion.* And although he suspected *Walsingham* to be ill affected both towards him and his Mother, yet he graciously dismissed him; and being prudently mindfull and carefull of his Affairs beyond what his Age could promise, with great Commendation for his Clemency, he offered a generall Pardon to all that had surprized and seized upon him, if they would ask it within a time prescribed. *He offereth Pardon to those who seized him, if they would ask it.* But so far were they from asking it, that they secretly plotted to intercept and surprize him anew. *Those that refused he commandeth to depart the Realm.* Whereupon they were commanded to depart the Realm within a time prefixed: of whom *Marre*, *Glames*, the Commendators of *Driborough*, *Paslet*, and some others, betook themselves to *Ireland*; *Boyd*, *Zesler*-*Wemes*, *Lochelvine*, to the *Low Countries*; and *Dunfermelin* into *France*. The Earl of *Angus* was confined within such Bounds in *Angus*. Onely *Goury*, hatching new Mischief, stayed beyond the prefixed time, to his own Ruine, as we shall shew anon.

He restoreth Lenox his Reputation, and calleth home his Sons into Scotland. Thus they who had expelled *Lenox* against his will were themselves, before the year came about, expelled against their wills out of *Scotland*. The King, as he loved *Lenox* whilst he lived, so being dead he had him in gratefull Remembrance, and restored his Good name and Repute, which had by his Enemies been blemished and stained, suppressing certain infamous Libells against him. His Children he sent for out of *France:* his Son *Lewis* he made Successour in his Father's Honour, and his Daughters he matched some time after to the Earls of *Huntley* and *Marre*. And to shew himself a King, and give an early Proof how he could exercise his Kingly Authority, whereas the said Conspiratours had, in a Convention called by their own Authority, decreed their seizing of the King's Person to have been just, and had entred the same in the publick Records; he on the contrary, in a full Assembly of the Estates, declared the same to have been traitourous: although the Ministers, as if they were supreme Judges in the Kingdome, in a Synod convocated by their own Authority, pronounced it to be most just, *The Ministers oppose the King's Authority.*

and

and thought them to deſerve Excommunication who approved not of it.

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It is not here to be forgot how in theſe days, War growing hot betwixt the *Moſcovite* and the *Swede* in the Northern Climate, *John* King of *Sweden*, unable to reſiſt the Power of ſo great an Emperour, ſent *Eric* of *Wiſimbrug*, his Kinſman, *Andreas Riche* one of his Councill, and *Raſchy* his Secretary, on a noble Embaſſy to Q. *Elizabeth*, and by his Letters intreated her to mediate a Peace with the *Moſcovite* by her Embaſſadour: which ſhe did without Delay, and perſwaded the *Moſcovite* to a Peace upon reaſonable Conditions. For he dealt now afreſh with the Queen about the League before mentioned, and about his Refuge in *England* if any Diſaſter ſhould befall him; and made Suit alſo for a Wife out of *England*. Touching theſe matters Sir *Hierome Bowes* Knight was ſent Embaſſadour thither, but could hardly ſatisfy him, for that the *Moſcovite* with much Importunity required an abſolute League written in his own words; and would by no means hear that it was not the part of a Chriſtian, nor allowable by the Law of Nations, to exerciſe Hoſtility without firſt denouncing War, or to come to Blows before ſuch time as he that offered the Wrong were required to give Satisfaction, and to abſtain from doing farther Injury. The Queen deſigned him for a Wife the Lady *Anne*, Siſter to the Earl of *Huntingdon*. But when ſhe certainly underſtood that he might, by the Laws of his Country, put away his Wives at his pleaſure; ſhe excuſed it again by the Ladie's Indiſpoſition of Health, and the tender Affection of her Mother, who could not endure the Abſence of her Daughter in a Country ſo far diſtant, and that ſhe had no power to give the Daughters of her Subjects in Marriage without the Conſent of their Parents. Nevertheleſs the Embaſſadour prevailed with him to confirm the Merchants Priviledges: but his Death inſuing the year following, the Trade of the *Engliſh* in *Ruſſia* withall decayed by little and little, and the Embaſſadour was ſent back, who returned not without Danger of his Life, and was received by the Queen with Favour and Commendations. He was the firſt (if an Hiſtorian may have leave to mention ſo trivial a matter) who brought into *England* the Beaſt called a *Machlis*, never before ſeen here: it is like the Beaſt called an Elk, in Latine *Alee*, but having no Joynts in the Legs, and yet wonderfull ſwift. He brought alſo certain Fallow-deer of admirable Swiftneſs, which being yoaked together would draw a man ſitting in a Sled with incredible Speed.

Queen *Elizabeth* obtaineth of the *Moſcovite* a Peace for the King of *Sweden*.

The *Moſcovite* deſireth a Wife out of *England*, and an abſolute League.

Sir *Hierome Bows* ſent Embaſſadour to him.

The death of the *Moſcovite*.

Machlis a Beaſt.

Theodore Joannides, the Son of *John Baſilides*, (to joyn *Moſcovia* matters together) ſucceeded in that vaſt Empire; a Prince of a duller Spirit, but yet one that would hearken to them that gave him good Counſell. This *Theodore* granted to all Merchants of what Nation ſoever free Acceſs into *Ruſſia*: and being oftentimes ſolicited by the Queen to confirm the Priviledges granted by his Father to the *Moſcovia* Company of Engliſh Merchants, to wit, that one-

Theodore the *Moſcovite* miſliketh the Engliſhmens Monopoly in *Ruſſia*.

1583. ly Engliſh-men of that Company ſhould come into or trade in the North parts of *Ruſſia*, and that Cuſtome-free, in regard they were the firſt that diſcovered the Paſſage thither by Sea; he thereupon deſired her to give Liberty to all the *Engliſh* to trade into *Ruſſia*: for to permit ſome, and deny others, was Injuſtice. Princes, he ſaid, muſt carry an indifferent hand betwixt their Subjects, and not convert Trade (which by the Law of Nations ought to be common to all) into a Monopoly to the private Gain of a few. As for his Cuſtomes, he promiſed to exact leſs by the one half of that Company then of the reſt, becauſe they firſt diſcovered the Paſſage thither by Sea. In other matters he confirmed their former Priviledges, and added ſome few more out of his Reſpect to the Queen, and not for any Deſert (as he ſaid) of the Company, many of whom he found had dealt falſely with his People. And other Anſwer then this could *Giles Fletcher*, Doctour of Law, who was afterwards ſent Embaſſadour on the ſame Account, get none. This *Fletcher* ſet forth a little Book of the *Ruſſian* Polity or Tyranny, wherein are very many things worthy of Obſervation. Which Book notwithſtanding was quickly ſuppreſſed, leſt it might give Offence to a Prince in Amity with *England*.

He confirmeth ſome Priviledges, and granteth new.

Fletcher's Hiſtory of *Ruſſia*.

Out of *Polonia*, a Countrey bordering upon *Ruſſia*, came this Summer into *England* to ſee the Queen *Albert Alaſco*, Palatine of *Siradia*, a Learned man, of a good Feature of body, with a long Beard, and very comely and decent Apparel: who being graciouſly welcomed by her, and entertained by the Nobility with great Reſpect and Feaſting, as alſo by the Univerſity of *Oxford* with learned Divertiſements and ſeveral Comedies, after four months ſtay here, withdrew himſelf ſecretly, being run far in Debt.

Albert Alaſco a *Polonian* cometh into *England*.

In the County of *Dorſet* there happened this year no leſs ſtrange a Sight then did in *Herefordſhire* in the year 1571. For a piece of Ground of three Acres in *Blackmore* removed out of its place, with Trees and Hedges, and paſſed over other Land, leaving a great Pit, and ſtopping up an High-way which led to *Cerne*. Whether this happened through ſome ſuch boiſterous Wind under Ground, wherewith *Seneca* writeth that the Heads of the Gods were turned backward in *Jupiter's* great Couch; or by reaſon of much Moiſture, the Springs there bubbling up in great abundance, conſidering that the Ground lay upon a ſhelving Hill; let others examine.

An Earthquake.

This was the laſt year of *Thomas Ratcliffe*, the third Earl of *Suſſex* of that Family, a man of ſingular Fidelity to his Countrey, and of a very noble Extraction, his Mother being the Duke of *Norfolk's* Daughter, and his Grandmother Daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Buckingham*, Conſtable of *England*. Who, having paſſed through the higheſt Honours, (having been ſent Embaſſadour into *Germany* by Queen *Mary* to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth about the Marriage to be contracted with Prince *Philip*, and afterwards into *Spain* to the ſaid Prince *Philip* about ratifying the Covenants thereof, and to the Emperour *Maximilian* about Queen *Elizabeth's* Marriage with *Charles* of

The death of the Earl of *Suſſex*.

of *Auſtria*; having alſo been Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Lord Preſident of the North parts of *England*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, Chief Foreſter of *England* beyond the River of *Trent*, renowned for his Victories againſt the *Hebridians*, and the *Scots* who infeſted the Borders,) at length, after ſtriving with a tedious Sickneſs, died at *London* without Iſſue, (though he had had two Wives, *Elizabeth Wriotheſly*, and *Francis Sidney*,) and left his Brother *Henry* for his Heir and Succeſſour. 1583.

This year alſo died *Henry Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*, a man as much devoted to the Romiſh Religion and the Queen of *Scots* as any, for which he incurred his Prince's Diſpleaſure, and endured Impriſonment in the Tower. He was Son to *Thomas Wriotheſley*, (whom for his ſingular Vertue King *Henry* the Eighth advanced to the Dignity of Baron *Wriotheſley* of *Tichfield*, to the Order of the Garter, and to the high Honour of Chancellour of *England*, and made him one of the Overſeers of his laſt Will and Teſtament; and *Edward* the Sixth raiſed to the Honour of Earl of *Southampton*.) This *Henry* left by his Wife, the Daughter of *Anthony* Viſcount *Montacute*, *Henry* his onely Son and Succeſſour, and a Daughter married to *Thomas* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*. The death of the Earl of *Southampton*.

Near the ſame time was ſwallowed by the Ocean Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* Knight, a quick and lively-ſpirited man, famous for his Knowledge in matters relating both to War and Peace, in his Return from the North part of *America*, which we call *New-found-land*, whither he had ſet ſail a little before with five Ships, having ſold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. But after he had by an Herald or Crier proclaimed that Countrey to belong to the Engliſh Juriſdiction, (for *Sebaſtian Cabot* was the firſt that diſcovered it, in the year 1497. being employed therein by *Henry* the Seventh,) and had aſſigned Lands to every particular man of his Company; he ſuffered ſo much by Shipwrecks and want of neceſſary Proviſion, that he was conſtrained to give over his Enterpriſe, learning too late himſelf, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over Colonies into remote Countreys upon private mens Purſes, then he and others in an erroneous Credulity had perſwaded themſelves, to their own Coſt and Detriment. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* drowned. His deſign at *New-found-land* fruſtrate. Colonies are hardly planted in far Countries by private men.

About that time died alſo *Edmund Grindall* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, being blind and above 60 years of age; a religious and grave man, who returning from his Baniſhment under Queen *Mary*, was made, firſt, Biſhop of *London*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, and laſtly Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and flouriſhed in great Grace with the Queen, untill by the cunning Artifices of his Adverſaries he quite loſt her Favour, as if he had countenanced the Conventicles of ſome turbulent and hot-ſpirited Miniſters, and their *Prophecies*, (as they called them;) but in truth, becauſe he had condemned the unlawfull Marriage of *Julio* an *Italian* Phyſician with another man's Wife, while *Leiceſter* in vain The death of *Grindal* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

op-

1583.

Tamariſk firſt brought into *England*.

oppoſed his Proceedings therein. That little Wealth which he had gathered he beſtowed upon the Founding of a School at *Saint Bee's* in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and towards the Advancement of Learning in both the Univerſities. And to his Care (if I may mention ſo ſmall a matter) are the Engliſh-men beholden for Tamariſk, which, having found it by Experience to be exceeding good to eaſe the hard Diſtemper of the Spleen, he firſt of all brought into *England*.

John Whitgift Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

In his room ſucceeded *John Whitgift*, being tranſlated to *Canterbury* from the See of *Worceſter*; an excellent and very learned man, who gained ſingular Commendation both by his Juſtice in the Vice-preſidentſhip of *Wales*, and by maintaining the Doctrine in the Eccleſiaſtical Polity of *England*: which Commendation he farther merited by his Fortitude, Prudence, and Patience. Him the Queen (who, as in Civil matters, ſo alſo in the Laws Eccleſiaſtical, was of opinion that no looſe Remiſneſs was to be uſed,) gave in Charge, that he ſhould take ſpecial Care to reſtore the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and the Uniformity in the Service of God eſtabliſhed by Authority of Parliament, which, through the Connivence of the Prelates, the Obſtinacy of the *Puritans*, and the Power of ſome Noblemen, was run out of ſquare; while ſome of the Miniſters cloſely impugned the Queen's Authority in Eccleſiaſtical matters, ſeparated the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments from the Preaching of the Word, uſed new Rites and Ceremonies at their pleaſure in private Houſes, utterly condemned the Liturgy and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments eſtabliſhed, as contrary in ſome things to the Holy Scriptures, as alſo the Calling of Biſhops, and therefore refuſed to come to Church, and made a flat Schiſm; while the Papiſts ſtood laughing at it, and drew many daily over to their Party, as if there were no Unity in the Church of *England*. To take away theſe Inconveniences, and reſtore Unity, he propounded theſe Articles to be ſubſcribed to by the Miniſters.

The Queen's Care for the Church-Diſcipline and Uniformity in Worſhip.

The Schiſm of the *Puritans*.

Whitgift laboureth for Unity in the Church.

Articles to be ſubſcribed to by the Clergy.

Firſt, *That the Queen had the chief and ſupreme Power over all perſons born within her Dominions of what Condition ſoever they were; and that no forrein Prince or Prelate had, or ought to have, any Power, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, within her Realms or Dominions.*

Secondly, *That the Book of Common Prayer, and another Book of Ordaining Biſhops and Prieſts, contained nothing in them contrary to God's Word, but might lawfully be uſed; and that they ſhould uſe that, and no other Form, either of Prayer, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*

Thirdly, *That they approved the Articles of the Synod at* London *publiſhed by the Queen's Authority in the year* 1562. *and believed the ſame to be conſonant to God's Word.*

By occaſion hereof incredible it is what Controverſies and Diſputations aroſe, and what Hatred, what Reproachfull ſpeeches he endured at the hands of factious Miniſters, and what Troubles, yea and

and Injuries alſo, from ſome Noblemen, who by promoting unfit and undeſerving men cauſed Diſtraction in the Church, or elſe gaped after the Revenues and Livings of the Church. Nevertheleſs through Conſtancy, Fortitude and Patience, he overcame all Difficulties at laſt, and reſtored Peace to the Church: ſo that not without good Reaſon he may ſeem to have choſen that Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*, that is, He overcometh who ſuffereth with Patience. 1583.

The *Brownifts* Schiſmaticks.

And not onely did theſe men trouble the Church at Home, but alſo ſome others, who ſprung from theſe, did the like abroad: namely *Robert Brown*, a *Cambridge*-man, a young Student in Divinity, of whom the new Sectaries were called *Brownifts*; and *Richard Harriſon*, a petty Schoolmaſter. For theſe two, preſuming by their own private Spirit to judge of matters of Religion, did by Books ſet forth at this time in *Zeland*, and diſperſed all over *England*, condemn the Church of *England* as no Church, and intangled many in the Snares of their new Schiſm; notwithſtanding that their Books were ſuppreſſed by the Queen's Command, and ſolidly confuted by Learned men, and that two or three of the Sectaries were executed at *Saint Edmunds-bury*.

Their Writings.

Somervill's attempt againſt the Queen.

On the other ſide, the Writings of certain Papiſts againſt the Queen and other excommunicate Princes drew ſome men, who had the Pope's Power in great Eſteem, from their Obedience; and amongſt others they ſo diſtracted one *Somervill* a Gentleman, that in all haſte he took a Journey privately to the Queen's Court, and, breathing nothing but Bloud againſt the Proteſtants, furiouſly ſet upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword. Being apprehended, he confeſſed that he would have killed the Queen with his own Hands. Whereupon he, and upon his Impeachment *Edward Ardern*, his Wife's Father, a man of very ancient Gentility in the County of *Warwick*, *Ardern*'s Wife, their Daughter *Somervill*, and *Hall* a Prieſt, as Acceſſaries, were arraigned and condemned. Three days after *Somervill* was found ſtrangled in Priſon. *Ardern* was condemned, and the next day after hanged and quartered: the Women and the Prieſt were ſpared. This wofull End of this Gentleman, who was drawn in by the Cunning of the Prieſt, and caſt by his Evidence, was generally imputed to *Leiceſter*'s Malice. Certain it is that he had incurred *Leiceſter*'s heavy Diſpleaſure; and not without Cauſe, for he had raſhly oppoſed him in all he could, reproached him as an Adulterer, and defamed him as a new Upſtart.

He ſtrangleth himſelf.

Ardern hanged.

The *Engliſh* betray *Aloſt* to the *Spaniard*.

Theſe things at Home. But abroad, the *Engliſh* which lay in Garriſon at *Aloſt*, a Town in *Flanders*, being neglected, and having neither Pay nor Victuals, were the laſt moneth of this Year driven to thoſe Extremities, that *Pigott*, who had the Command of them, and the reſt of the Captains, breaking their Oath of Fidelity, betrayed the Town for a ſumme of Money to the *Spaniards*, and fearing the Diſgrace thereof among their own Countrymen, joyned themſelves with the Prince of *Parma*: from whom notwithſtanding, when they

1583.

The unhappy end of Traitours.

they found he kept not his Word with them, they ſlunk away by degrees. But the Authours of this Treachery came every one of them to unfortunate Ends. *Pigott* went into *Spain*, in hope of Reward: but, being ſlighted and laugh'd at, he returned again into the *Low-Countries*, where he was taken by his own Countreymen, and ſent into *England*, and there died miſerably in Priſon. *Dalton*, of a Traitour becoming a Pirat, was hanged in *England*, and *Vincent* in *Brabant*. *Tailour* was ſtabbed by the Earl of *Weſtmorland*; and *Walſh*, after he had been toſſed with a thouſand Miſeries, was ſlain in *France*. Thus God's Vengeance followeth Traitours at the heels: as *Ireland* this Year ſaw by more apparent Examples.

The Earl of *Deſmond* ſlain.

For that infamous Rebel and Traitour to his Country, *Girald Fitz-Girald*, or *Giraldides*, the eleventh Earl of *Deſmond* of this Family, when his men were ſpent with Famine and Sword, (who had barbarouſly vowed to forſwear God before they would forſake him,) and when he had ſcaped the Hands of the victorious *Engliſh* for almoſt two years by lurking here and there in Corners, was now by a common Souldier found out in a little Cottage, though unknown to him, till having his Arm almoſt cut off he diſcovered himſelf, and was ſlain by being run through the Body in many places. His Head was ſent over into *England*, and ſet upon a Pole upon *London* Bridge.

His Deſcent, vaſt Eſtate and Relations.

Such an End had this powerfull man in *Ireland*, who derived his Pedigree from *Maurice Fitz Girald* of *Windſor*, an Engliſh-man, and of great Renown amongſt the firſt Conquerours of *Ireland* in the year 1170. He had very fair Lands and Poſſeſſions, yea whole Provinces, with *Kerry* a County-Palatine, many Caſtles, a number of Vaſſals and Dependents, and of his own Kindred and Surname he had about five hundred Gentlemen at his Devotion. Of all which, yea and of his Life alſo, he was bereft within three years, very few of his Family being left, after he had once forfeited his Allegeance to his Prince, through the Perſwaſion of certain Prieſts. The principall of whom was *Nicholas Sanders*, an Engliſh-man, who very neer at the ſame inſtant of time was miſerably famiſhed to death, when, forſaken of all, and troubled in Mind for the bad Succeſs of the Rebellion, he wandered up and down amongſt Woods, Foreſts and Mountains, and found no Comfort or Relief. In his Pouch were found ſeverall Speeches and Letters made and written to confirm the Rebels, ſtuffed with large Promiſes from the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*. Thus the Divine Juſtice (if a man may judge) ſtopped that Mouth with Hunger which had been always open to encourage Rebellions, and to belch forth malicious Lies and Slanders. For (to omit other things) he was the firſt man that broached that abominable Lie concerning the Birth of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Mother, which no man in thoſe days (though the Hatred and Malice of the Papiſts was then freſh againſt her, and might remember it) ever knew, *England* full forty years after never heard of, the Computation of time doth egre-

Nicholas Sanders famiſhed to death.

egregiously convince of Falshood and Vanity, and he, forgetting himself, (which a Liar should not doe,) doth himself plainly confute. Yet are there some ill-disposed people who blush not at this day to besturre their Writings with this so impudent a Lie. 1583.

James Fitz-Eustace, that is, the Son of *Eustace*, Viscount *Ballinglass*, a man of great Estimation amongst the Lords of *Ireland*, being terrified with the unhappy Fate of these men, fled into *Spain*, where he miserably pined away with Sorrow. He had a little before, out of Zeal to the Romish Religion, taken up Arms with the Rebels against his Prince, and, writing a short obscure Letter to the Earl of *Ormond* his Neighbour, (who deriveth his Descent from Saint *Thomas* of *Canterburie's* Sister,) amongst other things he with this piece of Wit exhorted him to doe the like for the Romish Religion, "Had not "blessed *Thomas* of *Canterbury* died for the Church of *Rome*, thou "hadst never been Earl of *Ormond*. For, to expiate the Murther of the said *Thomas*, King *Henry* the Second had in former time given to his Ancestours large Possessions in *Ormond*. *Baltinglass* flieth out of *Ireland*.

Sir *John Perott* Knight, who had born the Office of President of *Munster* with Commendation, being this Year made Vice-Roy or Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, as soon as he had received the Sword, summoned the Estates of the Realm to a Parliament, wherein severall Laws were enacted, and *Desmond*, who was lately slain, was condemned of High treason, and all his Lands and those of the other Rebells in *Munster* confiscate. Which when the Queen was resolved to lease out at a very easy Rate, thereby to invite Husbandmen thither, that so those fruitfull Fields might not lie untilled, (for the Rebellion had brought a miserable Devastation,) some of those who were employed to enquire after the Estates of the Rebells, and others who took their Lands, began to turn the faithfull and loyall Subjects out of their Possessions with violent Rudeness, so that the Queen was fain to restrain them by Proclamation, lest the injurious Avarice of some private persons should kindle a new Fire of Rebellion. Wherein the Lord Deputy did very good Service, though he were now and then blamed by the *English*, as too favourable to the *Irish*, and too rigid to the *English*. But he, by administring Justice indifferently, and shewing equall Favour to the *Irish* and the *English*, restored the Countrey by little and little to a welcome Tranquillity, and by fair and peaceable means reduced the fiercest and rudest of the Inhabitants under the power of the Laws. The *Hebridian Scots*, who had made an Irruption into *Ireland* out of the Isles, he sufficiently plagued. *Donell Gormi*, that is, *the Blew*, and his Brother *Agne Mac-Conell*, who had seized upon the small Countrey of *Glimes*, and *Surley Boy*, that is, *the Tawney*, their Uncle, who had invaded *Rout*, a neighbouring Tract near the Isle of *Ricnea*, now *Rachlin*, he drove to those Streights, having by the Valour of Captain *Meriman* slain many of their Family, that they sware Allegeance to the Queen, and received from her, upon their Intreaty and Petition, certain Lands in that Cor- *Perott* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

Husbandmen sent into *Munster*.

Perott's good Services.

1583. ner of the Country, upon Condition that they ſhould ſerve the Kings of *England* onely in their Wars, and none elſe without their Leave; that they ſhould find ſo many Horſe and Foot in all Expeditions, and pay ſuch a number of Beeves and Hawks every year. Theſe things in *Ireland*.

The Seven and twentieth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1584.

New Stirs in *Scotland*.

IN the beginning of the Spring certain *Scots* came privately home out of *Ireland*, according as they had before laid their Deſign with *Goury*, who was now upon new Projects with ſome others for ſeizing upon the King's Perſon again. Theſe men gave out openly, that they aimed at no other thing then the Glory of God, the Sincerity of Religion, the Security of the King and Kingdom, and the maintaining of Amity with the *Engliſh*, againſt thoſe who by their cunning Artifices and Devices drew the King, whilſt he was yet in his tender years, to the Ruine of all. The King hearing hereof, forthwith commanded Colonel *Stuart* with all poſſible ſpeed to ſeize *Goury*, the Contriver of the Conſpiracy, who had already withdrawn himſelf to the Haven of *Dundee*, pretending as if he would depart the Realm.

Goury taken.

Goury, being guilty in his own Conſcience, contemned the King's Authority, made an obſtinate Reſiſtence, and fought deſperately to defend the Houſe he was in; but within an hour or two he was taken and carried to Priſon.

The Conſpiratours take *Sterlin*, and quit it again.

The Conſpiratours in the mean time took *Sterlin* by a Surprize and forcible Entrance, and the Caſtle after by Compoſition; but preſently quitted them again, as well becauſe the King had drawn forth his Army into the Field, and was ready in Perſon to advance againſt them, as becauſe the Forces which were met were far leſs then *Goury* had promiſed, and they had in vain expected Aſſiſtence out of *England*.

They are diſperſed.

And whilſt every man for Fear now ſhifted for himſelf, *Marre*, *Glames*, and *Angus*, (who had joyned with them,) with ſome others, fled, and coaſted the Country into *England*, beſeeching the Queen to relieve them in their forlorn Condition, and to make Interceſſion for them to the King, in regard they had loſt their Eſtates and the King's Favour for no other Reaſon, then becauſe they ſtood for his Good and the Good of *England*.

Queen *Elizabeth* relieveth ſome of them.

The King demandeth them by the League. But in vain.

The King on the contrary accuſed them to the Queen of high Miſdemeanours, and required to have them delivered into his Hands, according to the League. But there were in the Court thoſe that perſwaded the Queen that they were men dutifull and obedient to their King, and highly carefull of his Safety, in regard they attempted nothing againſt him while they had him in their Hands. And as for that Article for delive-

delivering up of Rebells, uſually expreſſed in Leagues, it was long ſince grown out of uſe among Princes. Theſe men alſo went about to perſwade the King of *Scots* to deal favourably with them, being ſo many in number and ſo conſiderable for Quality, leſt they ſhould by Deſpair be driven to worſe Undertakings; alleaging that Terrour and Violence are but weak and unſucceſſefull Supports of Power, producing ſeverall ſad Examples out of the Scotiſh Hiſtory; and commending his Mother, and her Husband King *Francis*, that when the Civil war began in *France*, they winked at the Miſcarriages and Offenſes of the great ones. 1584.

When *Walſingham*, who extremely favoured the Fugitives, ſent his Letters, commanding that, for their Security, they ſhould be received into *Lindisfarne*, or the *Holy Iſle*; *Hunſdon*, who was of all men the greateſt Friend to the King of *Scots*, oppoſed it, judging that that Iſle, being a place ſo ſtrongly fortified, was not to be diſcovered and made known to the *Scots*, who might poſſibly prove Enemies, nor the Secretary to be ſatisfied herein, unleſs the Queen expreſſely commanded it by her own Letters; for that the Jurisdiction of the place did of right belong to him, as Warden of the *Eaſt March*. *Walſingham* favoureth them, *Hunſdon* oppoſeth him.

Hereupon grew a Diſpute, whether the Secretary might not by his own Authority, without the Prince's ſpecial Warrant, and without acquainting the Governours of Places, direct and execute the Prince's Buſineſs upon all occaſions. What was determined herein I find not: but certain it is they were not admitted into the Iſle. Yet was it thought good to ſhew them Favour, that they might be made uſe of againſt the contrary Faction in *Scotland*: for now the Miniſters of the Word ſpred abroad Rumours in all places, that the King was ready to fall off from Religion; and this upon no other probable Argument, (though they pretended many,) but becauſe his Filiall Love and Obſervance inclined him wholly towards his Mother, and becauſe he received thoſe into his cloſer Friendſhip whom he knew to be moſt devoted unto her. The Secretarie's Authority queſtioned and debated.

In the mean time *Goury* was tried by his Peers at *Sterlin*. The principall Articles he was charged withall were theſe. "That "whereas the King had raiſed him to high Honours, Wealth, and "Offices, and had reputed him as his Kinſman, he had notwithſtan- "ding entred into a new Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, whom he had "before kept Priſoner in his Houſe. That he had held nocturnall "Conſultations with *Angus* his Servants for the poſſeſſing himſelf of "*Perth* and *Sterlin*; had by Force and Arms reſiſted the King's Au- "thority at *Dundee*; had concealed a Conſpiracy on foot for the "Deſtruction of the King and his Mother; and, laſtly, had conſul- "ted with one *Maclen* a Witch. He, proteſting his Innocency, and his ſincere Affection towards the King, acknowledged his Favours, ſharply taxed the Earl of *Arran* as his Adverſary and a bloudy-minded man, complained that he was apprehended through his ſubtill Contrivance, juſt as he was ready to depart the Land, and fraudulently *Goury* arraigned. His Defenſe.

1584. perſwaded, by the Hopes of Life and Pardon offered him, to confeſs the things objected againſt him, which therefore in Equity ought not now to be laid to his Charge, ſeeing they had been deceitfully extorted from him. The Reaſon why he made Reſiſtence (he ſaid) was, becauſe he thought the Warrant for his Apprehenſion written with *Arran*'s Hand to be of leſs Force then the Letters of Protection which he had under the King's broad Seal. And whereas he did for a ſhort time conceal the Conſpiracy againſt the King and his Mother, he was not ſo much to be blamed for that, as to be commended for revealing the ſame afterward. Laſtly, proteſting that he hated and deteſted from his heart all Magicians and Witches, he ſaid openly, that if there were any ſuch, he thought them to be for the moſt part in Princes Courts. But his Peers, after they had duly ſworn that they had been no Inſtigatours of the King's Advocate to accuſe him, pronounced him guilty of High treaſon; and the ſame Evening he was beheaded. His Head was preſently joyned to his Body by his Friends, which was afterwards buried.

He is beheaded.

At what time the *Scots* with ſuch ill Succeſs enterprized theſe things againſt their King for Queen *Elizabeth*'s ſake, (as they pretended,) at the ſame time ſome Engliſh-men attempted no leſs matters, and with no better Succeſs, againſt their own Queen for the Queen of *Scots* ſake. Of whom the principal man was *Francis Throckmorton*, eldeſt Son of *John Throckmorton*, a Juſtice of Peace in *Cheſhire*, (who not long before had by *Leiceſter*'s Policy been turned out of the Commiſſion and fined, for having (if I be not miſtaken in the Lawyers terms) ſupplied or filled up ſome words in a Fine or Judicial Inſtrument, tranſcribed out of an old worm-eaten Original copy, and had not produced it with all the Defects that were in it at firſt.) This *Francis* came into Suſpicion by means of a Letter to the Queen of *Scots* which was intercepted. No ſooner was he committed to Cuſtody, and had begun to confeſs ſome things, but *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, and *Charles Arundell* a Courtier, privily fled the Land, and withdrew themſelves into *France*, where, with others devoted to the Romiſh Religion, they heavily bewailed and complained amongſt themſelves, *That the Queen was without any Fault or Deſert of theirs alienated from them by the ſubtil Artifices of* Leiceſter *and* Walſingham; *That they were unworthily diſgraced, and ignominiouſly uſed; That ſtrange kinds of Tricks and Cheats were invented, and ſecret Snares ſo cloſely laid, that they muſt whether they would or no, and before they were aware, be involved in the Guilt of High treaſon; and that there was at Home no hope at all of any Safety.* And verily there were at this time ſome ſubtil ways taken to try how men ſtood affected. Counterfeit Letters were privily ſent in the Name of the Queen of *Scots* and the Fugitives, and left in Papiſts Houſes: Spies were ſent abroad up and down the Country to take notice of people's Diſcourſe, and lay hold of their words: Reporters of vain and idle Stories were admitted, and credited. Hereupon many were brought into

Francis Throckmorton's Treaſon.

The Lord *Paget* flieth into *France*.

Complaints of the Catholicks.

Counterfeit Letters Spies ſuborned, &c.

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into Suſpicion, and amongſt the reſt *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*: his Son, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, was confined to his own Houſe; his Wife committed to Sir *Thomas Sherly*'s Cuſtody. *William Howard*, the Earl's Brother, and *Henry Howard*, their Uncle, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, were ſeveral times examined about Letters from the Queen of *Scots*, and from *Charles Paget*, and about one *Mope*, then not known who he was, whoſe Prudence and Innocency could hardly protect them. Neither yet are ſuch ways for Diſcovery and eaſie giving Credit to be eſteemed altogether vain, where there is a Fear for the Prince's Safety. Certain it is, at this time an horrid piece of Popiſh Malice againſt the Queen diſcovered itſelf: for they ſet forth Books wherein they exhorted the Queen's Gentlewomen to act the like againſt the Queen as *Judith* had done with Applauſe and Commendations againſt *Holofernes*. The Authour was never diſcovered, but the Suſpicion lighted upon *Gregory Martin* an *Oxford*-man, one very learned in the Greek and Latine Tongues. *Carter* a Bookſeller was executed who procured them to be Printed.

Many brought under Suſpicion.

A malicious Practice of the Papiſts againſt the Queen.

And whereas the Papiſts uſually traduced the Queen as rigid and cruel, ſhe (who was always very carefull to leave a good Name and Memorial behind her,) was highly offended with the Inquiſitours that were to examine and diſcover Papiſts, as inhumanely cruel towards them, and injurious to her Honour. Inſomuch as they thought it neceſſary to excuſe themſelves by a publick Writing, wherein they proteſted, *That the Prieſts were more favourably dealt withall then they deſerved: That they were never once queſtioned for their Religion, but onely for dangerous Contrivances againſt their Prince and Country, and that upon vehement Suſpicion, and probable Arguments and Evidence: That* Campian *was never racked ſo but that he was preſently able to walk, and ſubſcribe his Confeſſion; but* Briant, *obſtinately refuſing to ſpeak or write who it was which penned thoſe obſcure Papers found about him, was indeed denied Food till ſuch time as he asked it in writing.* But theſe things did not ſatisfie the Queen, who commanded the Inquiſitours to forbear Tortures, and the Judges to refrain from putting to death. And not long after ſhe commanded 70 Prieſts, ſome of which were condemned, and others in danger of the Law, to be tranſported out of *England*: amongſt whom thoſe of chiefeſt Note were, *Gaſpar Heywood*, Son to that famous Epigrammatiſt, who was the firſt of all the *Jeſuites* that came into *England*; *James Boſgrave*, of the Society of *Jeſus* alſo; *John Hart*, the moſt learned of all the reſt; and *Edward Riſhton*, that impious ingratefull man to his Prince, to whom though he ought his Life, yet he ſoon after ſet forth a Book wherein he vomited out the Poiſon of his Malice againſt her.

The French King required to remove the Engliſh Fugitives.

Prieſts ordered to be tranſported.

The Lord *Paget* and *Arundell* being come into *France*, Sir *Edward Stafford*, the Queen's Embaſſadour there, diligently obſerved them, yet could by no means diſcover what they were contriving. He dealt nevertheleſs with the French King, that they, *Morgan*, and other Engliſh-men, who were plotting againſt their Prince and Country,

The Queen's Mercifulneſs towards them.

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He denieth it.

try, might be removed out of *France*. But he received no other Anſwer then this: *That if they attempted any thing in* France, *the King would puniſh them according to Law; but if they had attempted any thing in* England, *the King could not take Cognizance thereof, nor proceed againſt them by Law. That all Kingdoms were free for Fugitives; and that it concerned every King to maintain the Priviledges of his own Kingdom: yea, that Queen* Elizabeth *herſelf had not long ſince received and harboured in her Kingdome* Montgomery, *the Prince of* Conde, *and others of the French nation; and that* Segurie, *the King of* Navarr's *Embaſſador, lay in* England *at this very time, hatching new Troubles againſt the French King.*

The Spaniſh Embaſſadour commanded out of *England*.

In the mean time Don *Bernardine de Mendoza*, the *Spaniard*'s Embaſſadour in *England*, ſecretly croſſed the Seas into *France*, in a great Rage and Fury, as if he had been thruſt out of *England*, contrary to the Priviledge of an Embaſſadour: whereas indeed, being a man of a violent and turbulent Spirit, and abuſing the ſacred Priviledge of his Embaſſage by foſtering and encouraging of Treaſon, he was commanded to depart the Land; whereas by the ancient Rigour and Severity in ſuch caſes he was to be proſecuted (as many thought) with Fire and ſword. For he had his Hand in theſe wicked Deſigns with *Throckmorton* and others for bringing in of Forreiners into *England*, and Depoſing the Queen. And being gently reprehended for the ſame, he was ſo far from clearing himſelf of the things objected againſt him by any modeſt Anſwer, that he charged the Queen and Council by way of Recrimination with detaining the *Genoeſes* Money, with aſſiſting the Eſtates of the *Low-Countries*, the Duke of *Anjou*, and Don *Antonio*, and with the Depredations of *Drake*. But yet, leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould think that *Mendoza*'s Miſdemeanours were not hereby puniſhed, but the Priviledges of his Embaſſadour violated, *William Waad*, Clark of the Council, was ſent into *Spain*, to inform the *Spaniard* plainly how ill he had performed the Duty of an Embaſſadour; and withall to let him know, (leſt the Queen by thus commanding him away might ſeem to renounce the ancient Amity that had been betwixt both Kingdoms,) that all Offices of Kindneſs ſhould by her be ſtill ſhewed, if he would ſend any other perſon who ſhould ſeem deſirous to preſerve Friendſhip, provided the like Kindneſs might be ſhewed to her Embaſſadour in *Spain*. But the *Spaniard* not vouchſafing to give *Waad* Audience, but referring him to his Council; he, taking it in Diſdain, boldly declared, that it was a thing uſuall and cuſtomary, even in the Heat of War, for Embaſſadours to be admitted into the Preſence even of an Enemy Prince; and that the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, the *Spaniard*'s Father, admitted an Herald to his Preſence who declared War againſt him from the French King: and therefore he flatly refuſed to impart the Contents of his Embaſſie to his Council. And when *Idiacio*, the *Spaniard*'s Secretary, could not by all the Wit he had learn from him what his Errand was, at length he underſtood the whole matter from *Mendoza*, who lay lurking in *France*. Then, laying aſide his publick Quality, he

Waad ſent into *Spain*, but not admitted to Audience.

he in familiar Diſcourſe told *Waad*, *That he was ſorry there were ſome that cunningly went about to break off the Amity that was betwixt both Princes, and to beget Miſunderſtandings. That Injury had been done to the Catholick King himſelf, rather then to his Embaſſadours, to* Diſpeſy *heretofore, and now to* Mendoza: *neither was there any Reaſon why he ſhould accuſe* Mendoza *farther to the King, who had already ſufficiently ſmarted for his Fault, (if he were in any,) by his diſgracefull turning out of* England; *or that he ſhould complain he was not admitted Audience. For the Catholick King had but requited like for like, conſidering that* Mendoza *was diſmiſſed by the Queen without Hearing; and as ſhe had remitted* Mendoza *to her Councill, ſo did the King in like manner refer him to Cardinall* Granvell. And though *Waad* anſwered, that there was a great Difference betwixt him, who had never done any thing againſt the Catholick King, and *Mendoza*, who had notoriouſly offended the Queen, inſolently refuſing for a long time to come at her, and having done things unbeſeeming an Embaſſadour; yet could he not be admitted, but returned Home unheard. The greateſt part of the Crimes which he would have charged upon *Mendoza* were taken out of *Throckmorton's* Confeſſion. 1584.

For when *Throckmorton* was to be apprehended, he had privily ſent away a Cabinet of Secrecies to *Mendoza*. The reſt of his Coffers being ſearched, there were found two Catalogues, in one whereof were written the names of the Ports in *England* that were convenient to land Forces at; in the other, the names of thoſe Gentlemen all over *England* that embraced the Romiſh Religion. As ſoon as he ſaw theſe two Catalogues produced, he cried out that they were counterfeit, never ſeen by him before, and foiſted in purpoſely for his Ruine: and this he ſaid while he was upon the Rack. But being brought again to the Rack, he refuſed not to anſwer his Knowledge to what Queſtions were demanded of him. And being then asked touching thoſe Catalogues, and to what Intent they were written, he deviſed this Story. *That going ſome few years before to the* Spaw, *he had conſulted with* Jeney *and Sir* Francis Ingleſield *how* England *might beſt be attempted by Forreiners, and the Form of Government altered: and to that End he had taken thoſe Notes of the Havens, and the Gentlemens Names. That* Morgan *had given him to underſtand by Letters out of* France, *that the Catholick Princes were now reſolved that* England *ſhould be invaded and the Queen of* Scots *ſet at Liberty under the Conduct of the Duke of* Guiſe, *who now wanted nothing but Money, and an auxiliary Army to be ready in* England. *That to procure theſe things* Charles Paget *was ſent privily into* Suſſex, *under the counterfeit Name of* Mope, *where the Duke of* Guiſe *purpoſed to land. That he had imparted the matter to* Mendoza, *and ſhewed him the names of the Havens and of the Gentlemen, who had already been made acquainted with them by the Conſpiratours. He denied not but he had promiſed his Aſſiſtence; and withall had told* Mendoza *what Gentlemen he might ſafely treat withall about theſe things, as being a publick Perſon, which he, being*

Throckmorton's Confeſſion.

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He goeth back from it.

Nevertheleſs being charged with theſe matters at the Barre in *Guildhall London*, he ſtifly denied every particular, and affirmed that they were vain Fictions of his own, purpoſely uttered that he might not be put again to the Racks and openly accuſed the Queen of Cruelty, and his Examiners of falſe dealing: imagining he ſhould eſcape by reaſon of the diſtance of time between the Crime committed and his bringing to Triall. For in the 13. Year of Queen *Elizabeth* ſeverall Crimes were reconed up as High treaſon, for which yet no man was to be called in queſtion, unleſs the Delinquent were charged therewith within ſix months after the Fact committed, and the thing were proved by the Witneſs and Oath of two men, or by the Partie's voluntary Confeſſion without Conſtraint or Violence. But this time was long ſince expired, and therefore (he ſaid) he was not to be called in Queſtion. But the Judges ſhewed, that the Matters objected againſt him were not of that ſort there mentioned, but that he was indicted upon an ancient Statute of High treaſon, made in the Reign of *Edward* the Third, which admitted of no Circumſcription of Time or Proof. And according to this Law was Sentence of death pronounced againſt him.

Being condemned he maketh a full Confeſſion.

And denieth it again at his death.

Being afterwards perſwaded, he caſt himſelf upon the Queen's Mercy, and in Writing confeſſed again at large all thoſe things in a manner which he had done before: which yet (ſuch was his Inconſtancy) he again began to deny at the Gallows, but in vain.

A new Treaty with the Queen of *Scots*.

William Waad, being returned out of *Spain*, was ſent about this time to the Queen of *Scots*, about a Treaty to be holden betwixt her and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which was propounded two years before, and interrupted, as I have ſaid formerly. To whom ſhe proteſted with many Aſſeverations how ſincerely ſhe had dealt concerning this Treaty, and withall vowed herſelf and her whole Ability to the Queen, and promiſed to depend wholly upon her, if ſhe would vouchſafe to ſhew her ſo much Love and Honour.

Her Promiſes.

Moreover ſhe religiouſly promiſed, if this Treaty did proceed, to mediate, yea to engage, that her Son ſhould receive *Angus* and the reſt of the Scotiſh Noblemen into Favour; as alſo that the Biſhops of *Roſſe* and *Glaſcow*, her Agents in *France*, ſhould attempt nothing to the Prejudice of the Queen or the Realm of *England*, and that they ſhould from thenceforth have nothing to doe with the Engliſh Rebels and Fugitives.

Propoſitions made to her.

Theſe things Queen *Elizabeth* was glad to hear: and whereas at very near the ſame time *Angus*, *Marre*, *J. Hamilton* and *Glames* were fled into *England*, ſhe, laying hold on the Opportunity, ſent *Beale* to the Queen of *Scots*, that together with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* he might let her know, that if ſhe continued in the ſame Mind which ſhe had expreſſed

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expreſſed to *Waad*, *Mildmay* ſhould come ſhortly to her, and treat with her about her ſetting at Liberty: and farther, might perſwade her in the mean time to mediate with her Son for the Reſtoring of the Scotiſh Fugitives, and inform her that they had deſigned nothing againſt the King, but onely againſt certain violent Counſellours, who had ſeduced him by their evill Counſels: and, laſtly, might learn from her as near as might be the Attempts and Deſigns of the Duke of *Guiſe*. She very prudently anſwered, *That ſhe much deſired the Treaty might proceed, and this ſhe earneſtly craved of Queen* Elizabeth, *as of her elder Siſter, to whom ſhe tendered all Reſpect and Honour. That ſhe had propounded nothing to* Waad *but what was limited with Conditions; and that he could ſay no other, whom ſhe took to be an ingenuous honeſt man. That to the Reſtoring of the Fugitive* Scots *her helping Hand would be very neceſſary, and thereof they ſhould not fail, if ſhe could certainly find that any Advantage would come thereby to her and her Son; provided they would humbly ſubmit themſelves to the King, and become obedient to him: otherwiſe ſhe would not appear for them, but aſſiſt her Son to bring them to their Duty.* Beſides, ſhe denied not but *that, when ſhe found herſelf grow ſickly, ſhe committed herſelf and her Son to the Protection of the Duke of* Guiſe, *her deareſt Kinſman: That ſhe underſtood nothing of his Attempts; neither, if ſhe did, would ſhe diſcover it, unleſs ſhe had good Aſſurance given her of her Deliverance: for it were no point of Wiſedome to forſake certain Friends upon uncertain Hopes.* She prayed *that ſhe might be no more hardly dealt withall, being a free Princeſs, then Queen* Mary *dealt in times paſt with Queen* Elizabeth, *being then her Subject and Priſoner; or then the French King dealt of late with the King of* Navarre, *his Subject alſo, and up in Arms againſt him.* She praied alſo *that the Treaty might be compleated before any Commiſſioner were appointed in* Scotland *touching that matter. And whereas the moſt Chriſtian King had acknowledged her Ordinary Embaſſadour, and* Seton, *who was ſent from her Son into* France, *as Embaſſadours from Princes of the ſame Authority, and aſſociate in the Government, ſhe offered the Queen the Honour to publiſh this Aſſociation of her and her Son in* Scotland, *and beſought her that ſhe would no waies prejudice the ſame.* Theſe things had a Hearing, but were ſoon laid aſide, and the whole Buſineſs defeated, by means of certain Fears caſt in the way by thoſe who knew how to increaſe Suſpicions between Women that were already diſpleaſed with one another; but principally by the Diſcovery of certain Papers which *Chreiton* a Scotiſhman, of the Society of *Jeſus*, paſſing into *Scotland*, and being taken by ſome Netherland Pirates, had torn in pieces: the torn Pieces whereof being thrown over-board were by the Wind blown back again, and fell by Chance into the Ship, not without a Miracle, (as *Chreiton* himſelf ſaid.) Theſe being put together by *Waad* with much Pains and ſingular Dexterity diſcovered new Deſigns of the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and the *Guiſes*, for Invading *England*.

Her Anſwer.

She deſireth to be aſſociate with her Son in the Kingdom.

Fears and Jealouſies break off the Treaty.

Hereupon, as alſo upon occaſion of Rumours from all parts that

1584. An Aſſociation entred into in *England.*

great Dangers were at hand and threatned, to prevent the wicked Deſigns and treacherous Practices of Seditious people, and to provide for the Queen's Safety, upon which the Welfare both of the Realm and Religion depended, many men of all Degrees and Conditions throughout *England* by *Leiceſter*'s means, and out of their own publick Care and Love, whilſt they ſtood not in Fear of her, but were full of Fear for her, bound themſelves in an Aſſociation by mutuall Vows, Subſcriptions, and Seals, to proſecute to the death, as far as lay in their power, all thoſe that ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Queen.

Hereupon Propoſitions are made by the Queen of *Scots.*

The Queen of *Scots*, who eaſily perceived that her Deſtruction was aimed at by this Aſſociation, being weary of her long Miſery, and fearing harder Meaſure, propounded theſe things following to the Queen and Council by *Nawe* her Secretary. *That if her Liberty might be granted her, and ſhe might be aſſured of Queen* Elizabeth's *ſincere Affection and Love towards her, ſhe would enter into a cloſer Amity with the Queen, officiouſly love and obſerve her above all other Princes in Chriſtendome, forget all by-paſt Diſpleaſures, acknowledge her to be the true and rightfull Queen of* England, *forbear to pretend or lay Claim to the Crown of* England *during her Life, attempt nothing againſt her directly or indirectly, flatly renounce the Title and Arms of* England, *which ſhe had uſurped by the Command of King* Francis *her Husband, as likewiſe the Pope's Bull for her Depoſing; yea and enter alſo into the aforeſaid Aſſociation for the Queen's Security, and into a League defenſive, (ſo far as might ſtand with the ancient League betwixt* France *and* Scotland.) *Provided that nothing ſhould be done during the Queen's Life, or after her Death, which might prejudice her, her Son, and their Heirs, in the Succeſſion, before ſuch time as they were heard in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of* England. *That for Confirmation hereof, ſhe herſelf would ſtay awhile in* England *as an Hoſtage: and if ſhe were permitted to depart out of* England, *ſhe would deliver other Hoſtages. Moreover, that ſhe would alter nothing in* Scotland, *provided ſhe and her Family might be allowed the Exerciſe of their Religion. That ſhe would alſo bury in Oblivion all Injuries done to her in* Scotland, *(howbeit upon the Condition, that whatſoever had been enacted to her Diſgrace and Diſparagement might be repealed.) That ſhe would recommend ſuch Counſellours to the King as were well affected to Peace with* England; *and reconcile unto him, as far as lay in her power, ſuch of his Nobility as were fled, if they would ſubmiſſively acknowledge their Fault, and that Queen* Elizabeth *would paſs her Word and Promiſe to aid the King againſt them if at any time they ſhould fly off from their Duty and Obedience. That ſhe would doe nothing about her Son's Marriage without acquainting the Queen: and as ſhe would doe nothing without the Advice of her Son, ſo ſhe deſired that her Son might be included in this Treaty, that ſo it might be the more ſtrongly and ſolidly confirmed. She doubted not but the King of* France *would be her Surety in the Buſineſs, and paſs his Word, together with the Princes of the Houſe of* Lorrain, *for Performance of Covenants.* She prayed that a ſpeedy

Anſwer

Anſwer might be returned hereunto, leſt any Inconveniences ſhould fall out in the mean time. And laſtly, ſhe beſought that ſhe might be kept in freer Cuſtody, that thereby the Queen's Love towards her might be more plainly diſcerned. 1584.

Theſe things, as ſavouring of much Reſpect and Honour, Q. *Elizabeth* ſeemed to take great Pleaſure and Contentment in; and it was believed ſhe was then really purpoſed to ſet her at Liberty, though there wanted not ſome in *England* who, by laying new Fears before her, deterred her from it. But the Buſineſs, which was as good as concluded, was quite hindered and daſhed by the *Scots* of the contrary Faction, who cried out, "That there was no Hope of Queen *Eli-*"*zabeth*'s Safety, if ſhe were ſet at Liberty; That both Kingdoms "were undone, if ſhe were admitted to be Partner with her Son in "the Kingdome; That the true Religion in *Britain* was ruined, if "the Exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion were allowed her, though it "were but within the Court-Walls.

Q. *Elizabeth* inclined to ſet her at liberty.

The *Scots* of the Engliſh Faction oppoſe it.

And not content with this, ſome Miniſters in *Scotland* bitterly inveighed againſt the Queen, and loaded her with unworthy Calumnies both from the Pulpit and in their ordinary Meetings; and withall notoriouſly beſpattered the King and his Councill: for which being commanded to appear before them, they refuſed with a diſdainfull Contempt, as if the Pulpits were exempted from the Authority of Kings, and Church-men were not ſubject to the Command of the Prince, but to the Presbytery; flatly contrary to the Laws made this year in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, whereby the King's Authority over all his Subjects, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Lay, was eſtabliſhed for ever. By which Laws the King and his Councill were made competent Judges in all Cauſes; and thoſe who declined their Judgement were to be reputed guilty of High treaſon: the Aſſemblies of the Presbyteries, (as alſo the Conventions of Lay-men) as well generall as particular, were prohibited, which had aſſumed and arrogated to themſelves a boundleſs Authority, both to aſſemble at their pleaſure without the King's Conſent, and to preſcribe Laws to the King himſelf and the whole Realm: the popular Equality alſo of Miniſters was taken away, and Biſhops reſtored to their Dignity and Juriſdiction, whoſe Calling the Presbyteries had condemned as Antichriſtian: alſo ſcandalous and defamatory Writings againſt the King, the King's Mother, and his Council, and particularly *George Buchanan*'s Hiſtory, and a *Dialogue of the Right and Priviledge of the Scotiſh Kingdome*, were prohibited and ſuppreſſed, *as containing in them many things to be found fault withall, to be defaced and obliterated.*

The Inſolency of the Scotiſh Miniſters, againſt the Laws.

Eccleſiaſtical Laws in *Scotland.*

Buchanan's Writings diſallowed.

Theſe things ſome of the Miniſters took ſo hainouſly, that they voluntarily departed the Land, and filled all *England* with their Clamours and Complaints, as if the true Religion of *Chriſt* were now quite driven out of *Scotland.* But Queen *Elizabeth* hearkned not to them, but neglected them as Innovatours and men given to Change, neither ſuffered ſhe them to preach in *England*; yet now and then ſhe

Scotiſh Miniſters fly into *England.*

1584. uſed their Help, leſt Religion in *Scotland* ſhould receive any Prejudice. And when *Arran*, who was in high Truſt and Favour with the King, officiouſly offered his Service with all Reſpect to maintain Amity with the *Engliſh*, ſhe thought it a fit time to make uſe thereof, that neither the Scotiſh Fugitives might be proſcribed in the Parliament of *Scotland* now at hand, nor the King's Mind alienated from the Friendſhip of the *Engliſh*. Whereupon a Conference was appointed between *Arran*, and *Hunſdon* Governour of *Berwick*, upon the Borders of both Kingdoms. But before this Conference came to be holden, the Fugitives and all thoſe that were preſent at the Attempt upon *Sterlin* (the Meeting of the Parliament being haſtened) were proſcribed; and at the Conference, which followed preſently upon it, *Arran* charged them with great and weighty Crimes, and amongſt other things, that they had very lately plotted the Deſtruction of the King. But he promiſed moſt religiouſly that he would be wanting in nothing whereby he might give the Queen Satisfaction; and that he would not doe any thing which might prejudice her, as long as he was in Grace and Credit with the King. Notwithſtanding within a month the Scotiſh Borderers, through the ſecret Wiles of the *Spaniard*, (who laboured all he could to divert Q. *Elizabeth* from the Low-Country War,) invaded *Rhedeſdale*, uſing all manner of Hoſtility: and not long after the Engliſh Borderers ſharply revenged the Wrong they had received by Fire and Sword all over *Liddeſdale*.

A Conference on the Borders.

Incurſions between the *Scots* and the *Engliſh*.

Now came Embaſſadour from *Scotland Patrick Gray*, Heir of that Family, a quaint young Gentleman, and one that thought himſelf able for the weightieſt Buſineſs, if not more. The chief Heads of his Embaſſage were, about Reſtraining of Incurſions on both ſides; about Reſtoring of Goods taken by Piracy; and about either ſending back the Scotiſh Fugitives, according to the League, or removing them farther from the Borders of *Scotland*, they with others in *Scotland* daily plotting new Treaſons againſt the King. For the more eaſie obtaining of theſe things, and to win the Queen's Affection more fully to the King, he made her believe he would reveal ſome ſecret Conſpiracies againſt her. To the firſt and ſecond Points he received the Anſwers he deſired. As for ſending back the *Scots*, the Queen anſwered, *That ſhe was verily perſwaded that thoſe Gentlemen had not ſo much as imagined the leaſt Miſchief in their Hearts. That thoſe things which fell out of late in* Scotland *proceeded not from any Ill will of theirs towards the King, but from mutual Differences ariſing amongſt the Nobility always in the Minority of their Kings, which it concerned the King to make up with all ſpeed, and to bind his Subjects to him in one common Band of Obedience, and ſuppreſs all Factions amongſt them.* Nevertheleſs, in ſome part to ſatisfie the King's juſt Requeſt, and that ſhe might come to know what were thoſe ſecret Practices which he ſpake of, ſhe commanded that the Scotiſh Fugitives ſhould remove farther from the Borders. What Diſcovery ſoever he made, the Queen made ſhew as if ſhe underſtood it all before: and many

Patrick Gray his Embaſſie to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Heads of his Embaſſie.

The Queen's Anſwer.

men

men accuſed *Gray*, as if, corrupted with Mony, he had blabbed forth ſomewhat to the Prejudice of the King and his Mother, and had hindered the accepting of thoſe ſo reaſonable Conditions which were propounded by *Nawe* from the King's Mother. 1584.

Gray's double dealing.

Whereupon ſhe, whoſe Patience had now for a long time been abuſed, began to fall into great Sorrow and Indignation, and, out of a Deſire of her Liberty, to open both her Heart and her Ears as well to the treacherous Counſels of her Adverſaries, as to the dangerous Advices of her Friends. And the rather, becauſe, as ſhe had before perſwaded herſelf that the late Aſſociation was made for her Ruine and Undoing, ſo now ſhe had heard that ſhe was (through the crafty Contrivance of ſome) to be removed from the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, (who was a downright honeſt man, and favoured not their Attempts,) and committed to new Keepers. Which that it might be done the more handſomly, and the Fidelity of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which had been throughly tried and approved, might not ſeem to be ſuſpected, (for it was not thought good openly to blemiſh ſo great a man's Reputation, which notwithſtanding they had ſtained ſecretly by Calumnies grounded upon the falſe Accuſations of his ill-condition'd Wife,) Suſpicions were laid hold on, as if there were a Plot already laid to ſet her at Liberty; and thoſe raiſed upon occaſion of certain Emblems ſent unto her. The Emblems were theſe: *Argus* with his many Eyes lull'd aſleep by *Mercury* ſweetly piping, with this ſhort Sentence, *Eloquium tot lumina clauſit*, that is, *So many Eyes hath Eloquence faſt clos'd: Mercurie* cutting off *Argus*'s Head, who was *Io*'s Keeper: A Scien graſted into a Stock, and bound about with Bands, yet budding forth freſh, and thus written about, *Per vincula creſco*, that is to ſay, *By Bands I grow*: A Palm-Tree preſſed down, but riſing up again, with this Sentence, *Ponderibus innata Virtus reſiſtit*, that is, *'Gainſt Weights doth in-bred Vertue ſtrive.* This Anagram alſo, *Veritas armata*, that is, *Truth armed*, according to her Name *Maria Steuarta*, the Letters being tranſpoſed, was taken in an ill ſenſe. There were alſo Letters produced, as if they had been intercepted, wherein the Friends of the captive Queen complained, that all Hope of delivering her was quite cut off, if ſhe were once committed to the *Puritans* Keeping. Under pretence hereof ſhe was removed from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had many times earneſtly deſired the ſame, and committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that purpoſely, (as ſome thought) that, being thereby driven to Deſpair, ſhe might be apt to take raſh Counſels and Reſolutions, and be the more ſubject to be inſnared. For the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had kept her for fifteen years with ſuch Warineſs and Circumſpection, that he had prevented all poſſible ways of attempting any thing either for her or againſt her. But now not onely ſhe with Importunity ſolicited the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* by Sir *Francis Ingleſield* to haſten what they had in hand with all Speed, whatever ſhould become of her; but alſo *Leiceſter* (who

The Queen of *Scots* Patience abuſed.

Suſpicions laid hold on againſt her.

She is committed to new Keepers.

She more eagerly ſeeketh her Liberty.

1584.

Wait laid for her life.

She is put forwards to her own Ruine.

(who people thought contrived and ſtudied how to prevent her lawful Succeſſion) privily ſent certain cut-throat Murtherers (as ſome report) to take away her Life. But *Drury*, being a ſincere honeſt man, and deteſting from his heart ſo foul a Deed, denied them Acceſs to her. Nevertheleſs there were ſome employed under-hand to her, and ſeveral Letters ſecretly ſent her, as well counterfeit as true ones, whereby her weak Sex might be thruſt forward to her own Deſtruction, as we ſhall ſhew afterwards.

Conſultation ſaid to be amongſt the Catholicks.

To alienate Queen *Elizabeth* wholly from her, it was whiſpered into her Ears, that *Allen* for the Catholick Church-men of *England*, *Ingleſield* for the Laiety, and the Biſhop of *Roſſe* for the Queen of *Scots*, had with unanimous Conſent reſolved, with the Aſſent alſo of the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, "That Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould "be deprived of her Crown, the King of *Scots* diſinherited of the "Kingdom of *England*, as being both of them notorious Hereticks, "and the Queen of *Scots* married to ſome Engliſh Catholick Noble-"man: That this Nobleman ſhould be elected King of *England* by "the Engliſh Catholicks, and the Election confirmed by the Biſhop "of *Rome*: That his Children by the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be pro-"claimed lawfull Succeſſours to the Crown. And all this was taken up on the Credit of *Hart* a Prieſt. But who this Engliſh-man ſhould be, *Walſingham* inquired with all imaginable Diligence, but could never find out. But the Suſpicion lighted upon *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, who was a man of noble Bloud, a Bachelour, extremely Popiſh, and in very great Credit and Repute amongſt the Papiſts.

The death of the Earl of *Weſtmorland*.

Within the compaſs of this Year *Charles Nevil*, that traitourous Rebel againſt his Prince and Country, the laſt Earl of *Weſtmorland* of this Houſe, ended his life obſcurely in a miſerable Exile. From this Family, fruitfull in Nobility, there ſprung (beſides ſix Earls of *Weſtmorland*) two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marqueſs *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, a Baron *Ferrers* of *Ouſley*, Barons *Latimers*, Barons *Abergavenney*, one Queen, five Dutcheſſes; to omit Counteſſes and Baroneſſes, an Archbiſhop of *York*, and a great number of inferiour Gentlemen.

The death of *Plowden*.

In *England* died this Year no man more worthy to be remembred then *Edmund Plowden*, who as he was ſingularly well learned in the Common Laws of *England*, whereof he deſerved well by his Writings, ſo for Integrity of Life he was ſecond to no man of his Profeſſion.

The death of the Duke of *Anjou*.

The Prince of *Orange* ſlain.

But in *France* died *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, of Sickneſs which he contracted through Grief and Trouble of Mind. And in *Holland* died *William* Prince of *Orange*, being treacherouſly ſhot with three Bullets out of a Gun by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*.

For the ſad Loſs of theſe two Queen *Elizabeth* was very much troubled, and ſent *B.* into *France*, to let the King underſtand how heavily ſhe took the Duke of *Anjou*'s Death, whom ſhe had alway found to be a moſt faithfull and dear Friend to her; and withall to put

put him in mind what a ſad Condition the *Netherlanders* now were in, the Prince of *Orange* being ſlain, and how formidable the growing Power of the *Spaniard* was: for all the Princes in *Italy* were at his Beck, the Biſhop of *Rome* was wholly addicted and engaged to him, the Cardinals were as it were his Vaſſals, all the ableſt Perſons for matters both of War and Peace were his Penſioners, in *Germany* the Houſe of *Auſtria*, an Houſe extending and branching far and wide, and other Houſes allied unto the ſame by Marriages, did as it were attend upon him and his Service; his Wealth alſo and Strength were ſo much increaſed, both by Sea and Land, ſince the late Addition of *Portugal* and *Eaſt-India*, that he was far more powerfull and formidable then ever his Father *Charles* the Fifth was: and if he ſhould once reduce the *Netherlanders* under his Power, there was nothing to hinder but that the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendome muſt of neceſſity ſtoop to his Greatneſs, unleſs it were timely prevented.

1584.

The Power of the *Spaniards* formidable.

The Eight and twentieth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1585.

QUeen *Elizabeth*, that ſhe might bind the French King to her in the firmer Tie of Amity, having the laſt year choſen him into the Order of the Garter, now ſent *Henry* Earl of *Derby* with the Robes and Enſigns of that Order into *France*, ſolemnly to inveſt him therewith. The King received them with great Reſpect and Eſteem, being inveſted at Even-ſong, (the *Engliſh* refuſing to be preſent at the Maſs,) and religiouſly promiſed to obſerve the Laws of the ſaid Order which were not repugnant to the Laws of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt and Saint *Michael*, to which he was before formally ſworn.

The French King choſen into the Order of the Garter.

At this time a Parliament was holden, and *William Parry*, by Nation a Welſh-man, born of obſcure Parentage, and of mean Eſtate, by Title a Doctour of the Law, (though but indifferently learned) a man exceeding proud, neat and ſpruce, when a Bill was preferred in the Lower Houſe againſt the *Jeſuites*, was the onely man that ſtood up to ſpeak for them, pleading that the ſaid Law was *cruell, bloudy, deſperate, and of pernicious Conſequence to the Engliſh Nation.* Being willed to ſhew his Reaſons, he obſtinately refuſed, unleſs it were before the Queen's Council; whereupon he was committed to Cuſtody: but his Reaſons being after heard, and Submiſſion made, he was admitted again into the Houſe. Shortly after the ſame *Parry* was accuſed by *Edmund Nevill*, (who claimed the Inheritance of the *Nevills* Earls of *Weſtmorland*, and the Title of Lord *Latimer*, as next Heir male,) to have been ingaged in a ſecret Deſign for taking away the Queen's Life.

A Parliament. *Parry* ſtandeth for the *Jeſuites*.

He is accuſed of treaſon.

This

1585.

This *Parry*, (to fetch the matter a little higher,) returning out of *Italy* above two years since, had, to win Favour and Credit with the Queen, privately revealed what *Morgan* and other Fugitives had wickedly plotted and agreed on for the taking away of her Life; pretending that he had gone along with them to no other intent, but onely to get out of them the Depth of the Design, that so he might provide for the Queen's Safety. Hereupon she did not lightly give Credit to *Nevill*'s Information; yet commanded she *Walsingham* to ask *Parry*, whether he had dealt about this matter with *any male-contented and suspected person* to feel his Inclination in the Business. He flatly denied that he had; and being otherwise a man quick-sighted enough, yet saw he not the Evasion which the Queen's Lenity had laid before him. For if he had but given the least inkling that he had dealt with *Nevill* to feel him, whom he had already told the Queen to be a *suspected and male-contented man*, he had without doubt avoided the Danger. But a wicked Deed once resolved upon doth many times infatuate the sharpest Wits. But whereas *Nevill* had no Witness to make good his Accusation, *Parry* was brought to confront him, when, after some tart biting Words one against another, *Parry* began to relent a little, and, being sent to the Tower of *London*, voluntarily confessed these things which I shall briefly relate.

He seeth not a fair Evasion when it was offered.

His Confession.

In the year (saith he) 1570. *I was sworn own of the Queen's Servants, and continued intirely devoted to her Majesty till the year* 1580. *at what time I came into Danger of losing my Life with great Disgrace.* (For he had broken into *Hugh Hare*'s Chamber, in whose Debt he was, and had wounded him; for which he was by the Law condemned, but had his Life saved by the Queen's gracious Pardon.) *From that time I continued troubled in my Mind, and, having procured a Licence, withdrew myself into* France; *not with any intention to return hither again, for I had devoted myself to the Catholick Religion. At* Paris *I was reconciled to the Church of* Rome. *At* Venice *I had Conference with* Benedict Palmio *a* Jesuite *concerning the distressed Catholicks in* England; *and I gave him some Hint that I had found out a way to relieve them, if the Pope or any learned Divines would justify it to be lawfull.* Palmio *extolled this as a pious Design, and me he recommended to the Pope's Nuncio at* Venice, *whose name was* Campeius, *and* Campeius *recommended me to the Pope. I besought by Letters that I might come to* Rome *with a Safe conduct. Letters of Safe conduct were sent me from the Cardinall of* Como, *but not large enough: afterwards others were sent me more large and full: but then was I returned to* Paris. *There I lighted upon* Morgan, *who told me, that it was expected by divers that I should doe some notable Service for God and the Catholick Church. I answered, that I was ready to kill the greatest Subject of* England. *But* (*said he*) *why not the Queen herself? And this* (*said I*) *might easily be done, if it might appear to be lawfull. For* Wattes *a Priest* (*with whom I had Conference about it, concealing Persons names*) *affirmed flatly it was not lawfull.* (And *Chreiton* also, the Scotish *Jesuite*, avouched the same;

He consulted with a *Jesuite* about killing the Queen;

and with the Pope's Nuncio;

and with *Morgan*;

and with Priests;

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ſame; teaching, "*That evill was not to be done that Good might come* "*of it: That God was better pleaſed with Adverbs then with Nouns;* "*and more approved what was done* well *and* lawfully, *then what was o-* "*therwiſe* Good: *and That many Souls were not to be redeemed with the* "*Deſtruction of any one, without the expreſs Command of God.*) *Notwithſtanding I, having ingaged myſelf both by Letters and Promiſes while I was in* Italy, *thought it an hainous Sin to give over my Enterpriſe, in caſe the Pope ſhould approve it by his Letters, and grant me a plenary Pardon, which I begged of him by Letters I ſent to him by* Ragazonio *his Nuncio in* France, *who highly commended my Deſign, and ſent my Letters to* Rome. *Being returned into* England, *I procured Acceſs to the Queen, to whom, after all By-ſtanders were removed, I diſcovered the whole Conſpiracy, howbeit cloaked with the beſt Art I could. She heard me without being daunted: I departed not without being terrified; and cannot now forget what ſhe then ſaid,* That no Catholicks ſhould be called in Queſtion meerly for Religion or the Pope's Supremacy, ſo that they ſhewed themſelves good Subjects. *In the mean time, whileſt I was a daily Suitour in the Court for the Maſterſhip of* Saint Catharine's, *I received Letters from the Cardinall of* Como, *wherein my Enterpriſe was commended, and myſelf abſolved in the Pope's Name. Theſe Letters I imparted to the Queen. What effect they wrought with her I know not; to me certainly they added Courage, and took away all Scruple. Yet was I not minded to offer her any Violence, if ſhe could by any means be perſwaded to deal more favourably with the Catholicks. And therefore, leſt I ſhould commit the Murther, I laid away my Dagger ſtill as often as I had Acceſs to her. When I ſeriouſly conſidered her and her truly-royall Vertues, I was diſtracted with doubtfull Thoughts; for my Vows were recorded in Heaven, my Letters and Promiſes amongſt Men. Theſe things I often pondered with an unquiet Mind: I was never much beholden to her for any thing: my Life indeed ſhe once pardoned me; but to have taken it away upon that Occaſion had been cruel and tyrannicall. Hereupon I departed from the Court much unſatisfied with my Condition. I lighted upon Doctour* Allen's *Book againſt the Juſtice of* Britain, *where he taught that Princes excommunicate for Hereſie were to be deprived of Kingdome and Life, which Book did ſtrongly encourage me to proſecute my Attempt. This Book I read to* Nevil (*whom I ſometimes invited to my Table*) *ſix whole months before he accuſed me. Afterwards he came to me and ſaid, Let us venture upon ſomewhat, ſince we can get nothing from the Queen: and he propounded ſeverall things about the Delivery of the Queen of* Scots. *But I have (ſaid I) a greater Buſineſs in my Mind, and of more Advantage for the Catholick Church. The next day he came and ſwore upon the Bible, that he would conceal and conſtantly purſue any thing that ſhould be for the good of the Catholick Religion: and I ſware the like. We then reſolved with ten Horſemen to ſet upon the Queen as ſhe rode abroad to take the Air, and to kill her. All which* Nevil *concealed till now. But having heard that the Earl of* Weſtmorland *was dead, whoſe Eſtate he had already ſwallowed in Hopes, he preſently brake his Oath, and accuſed*

and with the Pope himſelf.

He openeth the matter to the Queen.

He wavereth in mind.

Allen's Book encourageth him.

Nevil offereth his help.

And bewrayeth the matter.

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accuſed me of theſe things. All this he confeſſed before the Lord *Hunſdon*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, all three of the Privy Council. He acknowledged alſo his Fault, and begged Pardon for the ſame by his Letters to the Queen, to *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, and to *Leiceſter*.

Parry arraigned.

Some few days after he was arraigned at the King's-Bench-Bar in *Weſtminſter*-Hall: where the Articles of his Indictment being read, he confeſſed himſelf guilty. And when his Confeſſion was recorded, and Judgement demanded againſt him, *Hatton* thought it neceſſary, for Satisfaction of the Multitude that were preſent, that his Crime ſhould be clearly and fully repreſented out of his own Confeſſion, which *Parry* acknowledged to be voluntary, and prayed the Judges that he might reade it himſelf. But the Clark of the Crown read both it, and alſo the Cardinall of *Como*'s Letters, and *Parry*'s own to the Queen, to *Burghley*, and to *Leiceſter*; which he confeſſed to be the very Letters themſelves. Yet did he deny that ever he was reſolved to kill the Queen. Being now commanded to ſpeak, if he had any thing to ſay why Judgement ſhould not be given againſt him, he anſwered perplexedly, as if he were troubled in Conſcience for the foul Fact he had undertaken, *I ſee I muſt die, becauſe I have not been conſtant to myſelf.* Being willed to declare more plainly what he meant, *My Bloud* (ſaid he) *be amongſt you.* Sentence of death being pronounced, he in a Fury cited the Queen to the Judgement-ſeat of God.

He is put to death.

The fifth day after he was laid upon an Hurdle, and drawn through the midſt of the City to *Weſtminſter*. At the Gallows, when he had made his Boaſts how faithfull a Preſerver and Keeper of the Queen he had been, he ſaid he was never fully reſolved in his Mind to take away the Queen's Life. Thus this vain-glorious man, not ſo much as in the leaſt commending himſelf to God, ſuffered the death of a Traitour by the Law in the Court-yard of the great Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where was then a full Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realm met in Parliament.

Bills preferred in the Parliament-Houſe againſt Biſhops.

In this Parliament ſome there were who, out of a Deſire either of Innovation or Reformation, ſtruck deeply at the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, (though the Queen had forbid it,) by bringing in Bills for reſtraining the Epiſcopall Juriſdiction in granting of Faculties, in conferring of holy Orders, in Eccleſiaſticall Cenſures, and in the Oath *ex officio*; and propoſing a new Oath to be taken by the Biſhops in the Chancery and the King's Bench, viz. that they ſhould act nothing

And againſt Non-reſidents.

contrary to the Common Law of *England*: alſo requiring Reſidence of Paſtours, that every Paſtour ſhould be reſident at his own Cure; and exclaiming as if the Church of *England* were deſtitute of able and learned Paſtours, which without doubt had more learned Paſtours at preſent then any other Age, or any other Reformed Church, could ſhew.

Rejected by the Queen.

But the Queen, who had a high Eſteem of moderate Church-men, and miſliked Innovatours, as alwaies changing for the worſe, utterly rejected theſe Attempts, as tending to overthrow her Prero-

Prerogative, and the ſupreme Authority granted unto her in Eccleſiaſticall matters. But the *Aſſociation* which I mentioned before was now confirmed by the generall Conſent and Approbation of all. And it was Enacted, *That 24 or more, of the Privy Council and the Lords of Parliament, to be deputed by the Queen's Commiſſion, ſhould make Inquiſition after all ſuch as ſhould invade the Kingdom, raiſe Rebellion, or attempt to hurt or deſtroy the Queen's Perſon, for or by whomſoever employed that might lay Claim to the Crown of* England. *And that he for whom or by whom they ſhould attempt the ſame ſhould be utterly uncapable of the Crown of* England, *deprived wholly of all Right and Title to it, and proſecuted to Death by all faithfull Subjects, if he ſhould be judged by thoſe four and twenty men to be guilty of ſuch Invaſion, Rebellion, or treaſonable Attempt, and by publick Proclamation ſo declared.* 1585. The Aſſociation eſtabliſhed.

Laws alſo were made for Preſervation of the Queen's Perſon againſt all *Jeſuites* and Popiſh Prieſts who ſhould ground any villanous Plots and Deſigns upon the Bull of *Pius Quintus:* to wit, *That they ſhould depart the Realm within forty days. That thoſe who ſhould afterwards return into the Kingdom ſhould be guilty of High treaſon. That he who ſhould wittingly and willingly harbour, relieve and maintain them, ſhould be guilty of Felony.* (So they call all capitall Crimes under the degree of Treaſon.) *That thoſe who were brought up in Seminaries, if they returned not within 6 months after Notice given, and ſubmitted not themſelves to the Queen before a Biſhop or two Juſtices, ſhould be guilty of High treaſon. And if any ſo ſubmitting themſelves ſhould within ten years approach the Queen's Court, or come within ten miles thereof, their Submiſſion ſhould be void. That thoſe who ſhould by any means whatſoever ſend or convey over any Money to Students in ſuch Seminaries ſhould incurre the Penalty of a Præmunire,* (that is, perpetual Exile, and loſs of all their Goods.) *That if any of the Peers of the Realm, that is, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, or Barons of Parliament ſhould offend againſt theſe Laws, he ſhould be brought to his Trial by his Peers. That if any ſhould know of any ſuch* Jeſuites *or other Prieſts aboveſaid lurking within the Realm, and ſhould not diſcover them within 12 days, he ſhould be fined and impriſoned at the Queen's Pleaſure. That if any man ſhould be ſuſpected to be a* Jeſuite *or Prieſt as aforeſaid, and not ſubmit himſelf to Examination, he ſhould for his Contempt be impriſoned till he did ſubmit himſelf. That he who ſhould ſend his Children or any others to Seminaries and Colledges of the Popiſh Profeſſion ſhould be fined in an hundred Pounds of Engliſh Money. And that thoſe who were ſo ſent thither ſhould not ſucceed as Heirs, nor enjoy any Eſtates which ſhould any way fall to them: the like for all ſuch as ſhould not return Home from the ſaid Seminaries within a Year, unleſs they did conform themſelves to the Church of* England. *That if the Wardens or Officers of the Ports ſhould permit any others beſides Sea-men and Merchants to croſs the Seas without Licence of the Queen or 6 Privy Counſellours, they ſhould be put out of their places,* Laws againſt *Jeſuites* and Prieſts. Felony. Præmunire.

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and the Masters of such Ships as carried them should forfeit their Ships and Goods, and suffer Imprisonment for a whole Year.

The Earl of *Arundell* intendeth to fly.

With the Severity of these Laws (which notwithstanding seemed necessary for the present time) the Papists in *England* were very much terrified; and amongst them *Philip Howard* Earl of *Arundell*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s eldest Son, insomuch as he purposed to fly the Land, lest he should offend against them. This *Philip* had through the Queen's Grace and Favour been restored in Bloud three years before, and having soon after lost her Favour through the secret Accusations of some great Persons, had privily vowed himself to the Popish Religion, living a very austere Life. Hereupon he was called once or twice before the Council, and cleared himself of the matters objected against him; nevertheless he was confined to his own House. After about 6 months he had his Liberty again, and came to the Parliament: yet he withdrew himself the first day from the Assembly while the Sermon was preaching. The Parliament being ended, he, being now resolved to be gone, wrote a Letter to the Queen, (which notwithstanding he appointed to be delivered her after his Departure,) wherein he made a long and sad Complaint *of the Malice of his potent Adversaries, whereunto he was necessitated to give place, whilst they triumphed over his Innocency. He recounted the fatal Ends of his Ancestours, namely, his Great-grandfather, who was condemned without being heard; his Grandfather, who was beheaded for light and trivial matters; and his Father, who (as he said) was circumvented by his Adversaries, and never bare any hostile Mind against his Prince or Country.* And added, *that he for his part, lest he should be the Heir of his Forefathers Infelicity, and that he might the better attend the Service of God, and provide for his Soul's Good, had quitted his Country, but not his Allegeance to his Prince.* Before such time as this Letter was delivered he was gone into *Sussex*, and being now ready to imbark himself in an obscure Creek, he was apprehended through the Treachery of his own Followers and the Discovery of the Master of the Vessel, and thrown into the Tower of *London*.

He writeth to the Queen.

He is apprehended, and sent to the Tower.

The Earl of *Northumberland* found dead.

In the same Tower was *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland* at this time kept Prisoner, a man of a lively and active Spirit and Courage, (Brother to *Thomas*, who was beheaded at *York*,) which *Henry* was suspected to have plotted secretly with *Throckmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guises*, for Invading of *England*, and setting the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty, whom he always highly favoured. In the month of *June* he was found dead in his Bed, shot with three Bullets near his left Pap, his Chamber-door being barred on the in-side. The Coroner's Inquest of the Neighbour-dwellers being impannelled and sworn according to the Custome, and having viewed the Body, considered the place, found the Pistoll with Gun-powder in the Chamber, and examined his man that bought the Pistoll, and him that had sold it, gave their Verdict, that the Earl had killed himself. The third day after there was a full Meeting of the Peers of the Realm in

in the *Star-Chamber*, where Sir *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chancellour of *England* briefly declared, that the Earl had been engaged in traitorous Deſigns againſt his Prince and Country, which when he found once to be diſcovered, he had laid violent Hands upon himſelf, being terrified with the guilty Conſcience of his Offence. But to ſatisfie the Multitude, who are always prone to believe the worſt in ſuch caſes, he commanded the Queen's Procurator or Atturney, and her learned Counſell in the Law, to ſhew plainly the Reaſons why the Earl had been kept in Priſon, and the manner of his Death. Hereupon *Popham* the Queen's Atturney general, beginning at the Rebellion in the North ſixteen years before, ſhewed out of the publick Records, "That he had been called to his Triall about that Re-"bellion, and the Deſign for delivering the Queen of *Scots*; and "that he had acknowledged his Fault, ſubmitted himſelf to the "Queen's Mercy, and was fined at 5000 Marks. But that the Queen "(out of her Clemency) had not exacted one Farthing thereof; "and after the Execution of his Brother for the ſame Crime had con-"firmed him in the Honour of Earl of *Northumberland*. That he, "notwithſtanding all this, had engaged himſelf in new Deſigns for "Delivering the Queen of *Scots*, for the Conquering of *England*, "and the Deſtruction of Religion and the Queen. That *Mendoza* "the *Spaniard* had given notice to *Throckmorton*, that *Charles Paget*, "under the counterfeit name of *Mope*, had ſecretly conferred with "him in *Suſſex* about theſe matters; and that the Lord *Paget* had "ſignified the ſame things in a manner to *Throckmorton*. That the "ſame alſo did appear by the Papers of *Chreſton* a Scotiſh *Jeſuite*; "and that *Charles Paget* had told the ſame things to *William Shelley*, "at his Return out of *France*. Then *Egerton*, the ſecond Atturney, (commonly called the *Solicitour*) argued notably from Circumſtances, and from the Earl's extraordinary Care to conceal the Buſineſs, that he was guilty thereof: viz. "That the Earl, when no man "in *England* could accuſe him of theſe things but onely the Lord *Pa-"get*, (with whom *Throckmorton* was very familiar,) within few "days after *Throckmorton* was taken, provided a Ship by *Shel-"ley*'s means for *Paget*, wherein he went over into *France*. That "when *Throckmorton* had begun to confeſs ſome things, the Earl re-"moved from *London* to *Petworth*, and, ſending for *Shelley*, told him, "that he was fallen into Danger of his Life and Eſtate, and prayed "him to conceal all, and to ſend ſuch out of the way as were privy "to the Lord *Paget*'s Departure, and the coming of *Charles Paget*: "which was preſently done; and he himſelf ſent his man aſide whom "he had employed to *Charles Paget*. The Solicitour added, "That "while he was in Priſon he had, by corrupting his Keepers, often "dealt with *Shelley* to underſtand what he had confeſſed. That af-"ter *Shelley* had let him know by a Woman which was ſecretly em-"ployed as a Meſſenger betwixt them, that he could conceal things "no longer; that their Conditions were not alike, for himſelf was "to

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The cauſes of his Impriſonment declared.

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"to undergoe the Rack, so was not the Earl in respect of his Place "and Quality; and had sent him in writing what passages he had "confessed; the Earl fetch'd a Sigh, and forthwith said, (as *Pantin* "who waited on him in his Chamber confessed,) that he was now "undone by *Shelley*'s Confession.

The manner of his death declared.

After all this the manner of his Death was related, from the Evidence of the Inquest, the Testimony of the Lieutenant of the Tower, some of the Warders, and *Pantin* his Servant: and thereupon it was concluded that he had with his own Hands murthered himself, out of a Fear lest his Family should be attainted and utterly ruined. Certainly many good men were much affected that so great a Person died so miserable and lamentable a Death, as well because men naturally favour Nobility, as that he had acquired singular Commendation for his Valour. What Suspicions the Fugitives muttered concerning one *Bailife*, that was one of *Hatton*'s Servants, and a little before appointed to be the Earl's Keeper, I omit, as being a thing altogether unknown unto me, and I think it not meet to insert any thing upon meer Hear-says and Reports.

Whence the Seeds of these Mischiefs came which were sown in *England* Queen *Elizabeth* was not ignorant, who had understood that the *Guises* had now openly entred into a dangerous Confederacy against the Protestant Religion, the French King, and herself. She on the other side, to procure a League amongst the Protestants for Defence of their Religion, sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, the Electour *Palatine*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Wittenberg*, *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, the Marques of *Brandenburg*, and the *Landtgrave* of *Hesse*; and amongst other things gave him Instructions to put the King of *Denmark* in mind by the bye, that it principally concerned him to prevent the Attempts of the *Guises*, considering that they stuck not to challenge the Kingdom of *Denmark* for their Cousin the Duke of *Lorrain*, as Grand-son to *Christiern* the Second King of *Denmark* by his Daughter. Neither did the *Lorrainer* himself dissemble or disown the same, when not long since he was a Suitour to Queen *Elizabeth* for Marriage.

A Confederacy endeavoured by the Queen with the Princes of *Germany*.

But into *Scotland* (lest any Danger should break in upon *England* from thence as it were by the back Door) she sent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King know how acceptable his Kindness towards her was, which he had declared of late by *Patrick Gray* and the *Justice-Clark*; and moreover to draw him to a League of mutual Offense and Defense, by shewing him the Dangers which now threatned the Profession of the Gospel; and to offer unto him, as her Son, as large a yearly Pension as her Father had allowed her; (for the Revenues of the Scotish Crown were much lessened through the Negligence of the Regents;) and to recommend unto him a Marriage with the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter; as also earnestly to intercede in the Queen's Name for the *Scots* that stood exiled in *England*, who she promised should be presently sent back if she found them guilty of the

And likewise with the King of *Scots*.

the leaſt Crime againſt the King. *Wotton* found the King's Mind inclinable enough to ſuch a League, (notwithſtanding that *Arran* and ſome of the French Faction laboured to hinder it:) and the Eſtates of *Scotland*, that ſo Religion might be ſecured, gave their Aſſent under their Hands to a Treaty concerning ſuch a League; provided the Queen would paſs her Royal word, that ſhe would not prejudice the King's Title to the Succeſſion in *England* as long as he continued firm in Amity with her. But this Buſineſs was delayed and hindered by the Murther of Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, which Earl died himſelf alſo the next day after.

1585. The King inclinable.

Ruſſell's death hindereth it.

For when Sir *John Foſter* and *Thomas Carre* of *Fernihurſt*, Wardens of the *Middle Marches* betwixt the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, had appointed a Meeting on the 27. of *June* about certain Goods unjuſtly taken away, and Security was given on both ſides by Oath, according to Cuſtome, and Proclamation made that no man ſhould *harm other by word, deed, or look*, (as the Borderers ſpeak,) the *Scots* came to the place of Meeting armed, in Battel-array, with Enſigns diſplayed, and Drums beating, contrary to Cuſtome and beyond Expectation, being in number about three thouſand; whereas the *Engliſh* were not above three hundred. Scarce were the Wardens ſet to hear the Complaints, when on a ſudden, upon an Engliſhman's being taken pilfering, there aroſe a Tumult, and the *Scots* diſcharging a Volley of Shot ſlew *Ruſſell* with ſome others, put the *Engliſh* to Flight, and eagerly purſuing them the ſpace of four miles into *England*, carried off ſome Priſoners. Who was the Authour of this Slaughter was not certainly known. The *Engliſh* laid the Fault upon *Arran*, now Chancellour of *Scotland*, and upon *Fernihurſt*. The Queen preſſed both by her Letters and Commiſſioners to have the Murtherers delivered into her Hands: inaſmuch as *Henry* the Seventh King of *England* had formerly delivered up into the Hands of *James* the Fourth King of *Scots William Heron* and ſeven Engliſh-men for killing of *Robert Carre* of *Chesford* upon ſuch a day of Meeting, and *Morton* the late Regent ſent *Carmichel* a *Scot* into *England* for killing of *George Heron*. The King proteſted his own Innocency in the matter, and promiſed to ſend *Fernihurſt* immediately into *England*, yea and the Chancellour too, if they could be convicted by clear and lawfull Proofs to have premeditately infringed the Security, or procured the Murther. *Fenwick* an Engliſh-man accuſed *Fernihurſt* of the Fact to his Face: he avoided it by a flat Deniall, becauſe the other could produce no Scotiſh-man for a Witneſs. For in theſe Trials on the Borders, according to a certain Priviledge and Cuſtome agreed upon amongſt the Borderers, none but a *Scot* is to be admitted for a Witneſs againſt a *Scot*, and none but an Engliſh-man againſt an Engliſh-man: inſomuch that if all the Engliſh-men which were upon the place had ſeen the Murther committed before their Eyes, yet their Teſtimony had been of no Value, unleſs ſome Scotiſh-man alſo did witneſs the ſame. Nevertheleſs *Arran* was confined to his Houſe,

The manner how *Ruſſell* was murthered.

Who were ſuſpected for the Authours.

The manner of Proofs on the Borders.

1585. *Fernihurſt* his death.

Houſe, and *Fernihurſt* was committed to Cuſtody at *Dundee*, where afterwards he died: a ſtout and able Warriour, ready for any great Attempts and Undertakings, and of an immovable Fidelity to the Queen of *Scots* and the King her Son; having been once or twice turned out of all his Lands and Fortunes, and baniſhed the Sight of his Countrey and Children, which yet he endured patiently, and, after ſo many Croſſes falling upon him together, perſiſted unſhaken, and alwaies like himſelf.

The Queen incenſed at the Murther.

Whileſt the Inquiry after this Murther was protracted from day to day, and it was calmly debated whether the yearly Money offered unto the King under the name of *Aurei* was to be payed according to the Engliſh or French Account of Money, the Queen (who took with great Indignation *Ruſſell*'s Death and the Breach of the Security, being perſwaded by the *Scots* who were *Arran*'s Adverſaries that he favoured and cheriſhed the *Jeſuites*, and laboured tooth and nail, both in *France* and *Scotland*, that the League might not be made with the *Engliſh*,) ſuffered by way of Connivence the Scotiſh Fugitives, viz. *Angus*, and thoſe who by their common Condition of Baniſhment were reconciled and made Friends with him, namely *John* and *Claudius Hamilton*, and *Marre*, *Glames*, and the reſt that were Exiles in *England*, to return into *Scotland*, ſupplying them with Money to ſuppreſs *Arran*.

The Scotiſh Fugitives ſent home, and aſſiſted by the Queen.

Divers joyn with them.

The Earl *Bothwell*, the Lord *Humes*, *Humes* of *Coldingknoll*, and others in *Scotland*, had promiſed them their Aſſiſtence beforehand; but eſpecially *Maxwell*, lately made Earl of *Morton*, who was in Hope to eſcape Puniſhment for a Rebellion which he had raiſed in *Anandale*, if *Arran* were once ſuppreſſed. Yea and in the King's Court alſo *Patrick Gray*, a ſharp and bitter Adverſary of *Arran*'s, *Belenden* the Juſtice-Clerk, and *Maitland* Lord Secretary, were drawn by *Wotton*'s Policy to ſide againſt *Arran*.

They put forth a Proclamation.

The Exiles aforeſaid upon their entring *Scotland* ſet forth a large Proclamation, wherein they command all men in the King's Name to lend their helping Hand for Defenſe of the Truth of the Goſpel, for reſcuing of the King from corrupt Counſellours, and for maintaining Amity with the *Engliſh*. *Fawkirk* was the place appointed for Rendezvous, where they muſtered 8000 men.

Their Strength.

Arran, (who by the King's Command had kept himſelf confined at *Kenetl* upon Suſpicion of his Murthering *Ruſſel*,) hearing hereof, poſted to the King, and accuſed *Gray* as the Authour of this Attempt, who ingeniouſly cleared himſelf before the King. While *Arran* made all poſſible Preparation for Defence of the Town, the Enemies were at hand ready to ſcale the Walls. He, knowing that his Head onely was aimed at, and ſuſpecting the Fidelity of his own people, (for he began now to be hated by many,) withdrew himſelf ſecretly with but one man over the Bridge. The reſt ſoon after abandoned the Town, and retired into the Caſtle to the King. The Fugitives preſently ſeize upon the Market-place, and advance their

Arran flieth.

Enſigns

Enſigns againſt the Caſtle. The King ſent *Gray* to demand the Reaſon of their coming. They anſwer, *To ſubmit themſelves, and moſt humbly to kiſs the King's Hand.* He offereth them Reſtitution of all their Lands and Goods if they would depart quietly. They ſend back word, that they little value their Goods and Lands in compariſon of the King's Favour, and beſeech him that they may be admitted to his Preſence. The King conſenteth upon theſe Conditions: *That they ſhould attempt nothing againſt his Perſon, or the Life of ſuch as he ſhould name, nor ſeek to alter any thing in the Government.* They vow to ſpend their Lives for the King's Safety; and for Alteration of the Government, they proteſt they never once thought of it. But they pray him that their Adverſaries and the Places of ſtrength in the Kingdome may be put into their Hands for their Security. A whole day was ſpent in Conſultation about this matter: yet Neceſſity compelling, conſidering there was ſo great a Multitude in the Caſtle, and Victuals were ſcarce, they were at length admitted to the King's Preſence. Forthwith the Earls of *Montroſe*, *Crawford*, and *Rothes*, Colonel *Stuart*, *Downes*, *Arran*'s Brother, and others, are delivered into their Hands; *Arran*, who was fled into the *Hebrides*, is recalled Home; and themſelves are pardoned as good Subjects, and ſuch as had deſerved well of the King: *Hamilton* of *Arbroth* is made Governour of *Dunbriton*, *Coldingknoll* of *Edenborough* Caſtle, *Angus* of the Caſtle of *Tontallon*, *Marre* of *Sterlin*, and *Glames* is made Captain of the King's Guard.

1585.

They take *Sterlin*. The King treateth with them.

They are reconciled to the King.

Having now by their faithfull Obedience cleared themſelves to the King of all thoſe things that were criminouſly and ſuſpiciouſly objected againſt them by their Adverſaries, all the Proſcriptions of all Perſons whoſoever, and for what Cauſes ſoever, from the King's Inauguration to that very day, were in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates decreed to be for ever forgotten, (except thoſe for the Murther of the King's Father, and thoſe that were iſſued againſt the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and the Biſhop of *Dunblane*;) and with generall conſent of all, the King had free Leave and Authority given him to enter into a League with the Queen of *England*, and to appoint Commiſſioners for that purpoſe. Onely *Maxwell* abuſed this extraordinary Grace and Clemency of the King, who, having by the Benefit of this generall Pardon eſcaped Puniſhment for a bloudy Murther and Depredation committed againſt the *Johnſtons*, was ſo bold and audacious, that, in Contempt of the Authority of the Laws, he commanded the Sacrifice of the Maſs to be celebrated at *Dunfreez*, which had not been permitted in *Scotland* for theſe 19 years paſt. For which he afterwards ſuffered Impriſonment the ſpace of three Months.

A general Pardon.

Maxwell cauſeth Maſs to be celebrated.

Neither was the neighbour Country of *Ireland* free in this turbulent time from the Storms of Rebellion. For when the reſt of the Provinces of this Iſle enjoyed a firm and perfect Peace, there brake forth a grand Rebellion in *Connaught*, the Weſtern part of *Ireland*,

The Rebellion of the *Bourks* in *Ireland*.

1585. occaſioned by the reſtleſs and unquiet Diſpoſition of that Nation, and their Hatred againſt Sir *Richard Bingham* their Governour, who was (as they complained) over-ſharp and rigid in his Government. He, when he ſaw the great Lords of *Ireland* exerciſe ſuch heavy Tyranny over the ſilly People, that they durſt acknowledge no other Prince but them, left nothing unaſſaied that he might reſtrain this Tyrannicall Lordlineſs, and confirm the Queen's Authority amongſt them, though he were every foot accuſed to the Queen and the Lord Deputy, and rendered odious for his Cruelty and Severity. *Thomas Roe-Burk*, of the noble Engliſh Family of *Burgh*, was the firſt that oppoſed him; and being ſummoned to the Aſſizes in the County of *Mayo*, he refuſed to appear. The Governour diſſembled the matter a while: but afterwards he commanded him and one or two turbulent men more of that Family to be ſeized upon, leſt they ſhould break forth into Rebellion. *Thomas* died in fight before he would be taken: *Meilery* and *Theobald a Burgh* were taken and hanged. And the Rebellion had been now ſuppreſſed in its very firſt Breaking forth, had not ſome Engliſh-men, who were diſſatisfied with the Governour, given ſecret Notice to the reſt of that Family to beware of the Governour, and by no means to come near him. They upon this Encouragement perſwaded the *Joyes* and *Clandonels*, who were men powerfull in Followers and Adherents in that Tract, that the Governour would deal no better with them, but by little and little weaken and take away their Power alſo. And they ſo handled the matter by their Friends, that the Lord Deputy commanded the Governour to deal no more ſo roughly with that noble Family (though degenerated) without his Knowledge and Approbation.

Some of them executed.

They break out again.

Meanwhile, during the Governour's Abſence in *Twomond*, (where he ſlew *Mahon O-Brean*, who was up in Commotion, and took his Caſtle,) the Sons of *Edmund a Burgh* of *Caſtle Barry*, and *Richard* the Son of *Richard*, (who for his wicked Deeds was ſurnamed by the *Iriſh The Devil's Hook*,) gathering together a Multitude of lewd Fellows, ſeized upon two Caſtles in *Lough Mask*, and fortified them: out of which the Governour ſoon drove them into the Woods and Mountains, and commanded *Richard a Burgh*, Brother to *Thomas*, who came in and humbly ſubmitted himſelf, to be hanged up as a Spy and treacherous perſon. And when he had ſo cloſely purſued the reſt, who wandered and ſtraggled up and down the Woods, that ſcarce any of them appeared, the Lord Deputy commanded him to proſecute them no longer, but take Hoſtages of them, and receive them into his Protection. Within a ſhort time after, while the Governour lay at *Dublin*, and Leavies of men were making all over *Ireland* for the Low-Country War, they took up the Banner of Rebellion again, and many that refuſed to ſerve in the Low-Country Wars, as namely the *Clan-Gibbons*, *Clandonells* and *Joyes*, joyned themſelves with them in great numbers. And being now increaſed both in Number and Strength, they openly gave out that (according

They are hunted by the Governour.

Taken into Protection.

They rebell the third time.

(according to their ancient Custome) they would have their *Mac-William*, that is, a principal Lord of that House *de Burgh* chosen by a popular Election to govern the Country; or else they would send for some other Head and Ruler out of *Spain*: That they would not admit a Sheriff amongst them, nor appear at the Sessions or Assizes. Neither would they return to their Duty, though the Archbishop of *Tuam*, *Birmingham* Baron of *Athenry*, and *Dillon*, being sent from the Governour, propounded reasonable Conditions to them; but began on a sudden to harrass the Country-villages in the open Champain-country, burning and plundering all before them, and razing the Forts and Strong holds. To the *Hebridian Scots* they sent *John Itcleave* and *Walter Kittagh a Burgh*, to perswade and invite them to enter into *Connaught* with their auxiliary Forces, whilst there were now but few Garrison-souldiers left in the Country, promising them large Possessions if they would drive out the *English*, and assist the Rebels.

1585. *Mac-William.*

They call the *Hebridian Scots* into *Ireland.*

The Lord Deputy hearing hereof at length commanded the Governour to prosecute the Rebels; who, gathering his Forces together, sent the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, the principal man of the House of *a Burgh*, and *Birmingham*, to treat with them about Peace: which when they flatly refused to hear of, he put the Hostages to death, and without Delay, as knowing that nothing was more prejudicial to the *English* then a lingering War, and nothing more advantageous to the *Irish*, he and the Earl of *Clan-Richard* with the Horse protected the Champain-country from the Depredations of the Rebels; and *John Bingham*, the Governour's Brother, entring the Woods with the Foot, hunted them so closely at the Heels from place to place, driving away about 5000 head of Cattel, (the greatest part whereof was shared amongst the Souldiers man by man, according to the manner of the Country,) that after forty days or thereabouts, being grievously famished and spent for want of Food, they crept out of their Lurking-holes, scarce knowing one another by their Faces, and humbly submitted themselves, giving fresh Hostages. Onely the Sons of *Edmund a Burgh* of *Castle Barry* (whom they had determined to make their *Mac-William*) persisted in their Rebellion till their Father was taken and put to death, (having been found guilty by the Law, for exciting his Children to Rebellion,) and his Lands confiscate. And now the Governour had certain Intelligence that 2000 *Hebridian Scots*, under the Leading of *Kittagh* and *Itcleave a Burgh*, were just ready to break into *Connaught*. These *Scots*, with an Army of men hastily gathered and pick'd up, and those Garrison-souldiers he had, he diligently chased and hunted night and day through By-ways and difficult Passages with indefatigable Labour, while they one while lurked in woody Forests near *Lough Earne*, and another while spent their time in marching forward and backward, winding this way and that way, and he at their Backs, in the Front, and on both Sides, constantly waited on them, watching a fit

The Governour marcheth against them.

They submit.

The *Hebridian Scots* invade *Connaught.*

1585. Opportunity to engage them. At the laſt he diſſembled a Retreat, as if he were too weak for them: when they preſently marching on more confidently towards *Ardanar* upon the river *Moin*, proclaimed themſelves Lords of the Country. He being by his Scouts ſoon advertiſed of their March found them near *Ardanar*, where they put themſelves in Battel-array, advanced their Banners, and ſounded their Bag-pipes. He held them Play a while with light Skirmiſhes, ſtill retreating till he had drawn them from the Bogs into the firm Land, and that all his Forces with great Silence were come together. Then he charged them ſtoutly, and having ſlain many, made them give ground. Shortly after his ſmall Shot charged them in the Front, and he himſelf with his Horſemen ſet upon them ſo courageouſly in the Flank, that he routed their main Battel, and forced them to take the River, where they were all ſlain and drowned but fourſcore, who ſwam over into *Tiraul*, and thoſe who went the day before another way to fetch in Booty, but were afterwards almoſt all ſlain by *John Bingham* and the Inhabitants of the County of *Slego*. There were ſlain about 3000 men, and amongſt them their principal Leaders, *Donell Gormy* and *Alexander Carragh*, the Sons of *James Mac-Comell*, who had for a long time infeſted theſe Parts, as alſo thoſe of the Houſe of *Burgh* which had drawn them to this unhappy Expedition. Of the *Engliſh* few were ſlain, but many hurt. This was doubtleſs a notable Victory, and of great Conſequence both at preſent and to future times, the Title of *Mac-William* in *Connaught* being hereby quite extinct, and the Inſolency of the Iſland-*Scots* in *Ireland* ſuppreſſed, which in former times was ſo intolerable, that to harbour them in *Ireland* was accounted no leſs then High treaſon, and *Perott*, to reſtrain their Depredations, had formerly impoſed upon the great Lords in *Ulſter* a certain number of Souldiers to be trained up and exerciſed for War.

They are overthrown.

The Title of *Mac-William* extinct.

The Eſtates of the *Netherlands* conſult about a Protectour.

Meanwhile the Eſtates in the *Netherlands*, being in great Diſtreſs, conſulted amongſt themſelves whether they ſhould fly to the French King or the Queen of *England* for Succour and Protection: for they were both of them at Enmity with the *Spaniard*, but jealous one of the other. Neither could the *French* endure to think that the *Engliſh*, nor the *Engliſh* that the French their ancient Enemies, ſhould be ſtrengthened and made more powerfull by the Addition of the *Netherlands*. * *Pruney*, the French Embaſſadour to the Eſtates, to divert them from applying to the *Engliſh*, alleaged, *That the* Engliſh *were ſo remote and ſeparated from them by means of the Ocean betwixt them, that they could not aſſiſt them upon every Occaſion: That their way of Government was harſh and not to be endured, for which cauſe they were in former times ejected out of* France, *and were now in danger of loſing* Ireland: *That the Succeſſion there was doubtfull, and whether* Mary *Queen of* Scots *or* James *her Son ſucceeded, the one as well as the other, to eſtabliſh and ſecure their own Affairs, would reſtore the* Netherlands *back to the* Spaniards. *But as for the* French, *their near*

* Seigneur d' Eſpruneaux.

Reaſons for the *French*.

Neigh-

1585.

Neighbourhood was convenient, their Government mild and gentle, and the Succeſſion certain in the King of Navarre, *a Prince of the ſame Profeſſion with themſelves.*

For the *Engliſh.*

They who favoured the *Engliſh* argued to the contrary, *That the* Engliſh *were not at ſuch a Diſtance, but that they might conveniently enough relieve them, and no man hinder them. What the Government of the* French *was in times paſt in the* Netherlands, *may appear by Hiſtories; and what it hath been of late, let* Dixmuyd, Dunkerk *and* Dendermond *ſpeak, which were treacherouſly ſurprized, as likewiſe* Bruges, Aloſt, Newport *and* Antwerp, *which were furiouſly and treacherouſly attempted by them: and what their Fidelity hath been, which hath been ſo often obliged by Edicts, but ſtill violated and broken, let their barbarous Maſſacres committed in their Cities witneſs. That the Succeſſion in* England *was ſure and certain in King* James, *a Prince very well affected to the true Religion. Beſides, the* Engliſh *were of the ſame Religion, and exact Obſervers of the ancient League with* Burgundy; *that their Traffick had brought infinite Wealth into the* Netherlands, *and their Havens were very convenient for the* Netherlanders. Nevertheleſs the Eſtates by an honourable Embaſſie craved Aid and Protection of the French King, by whom they were received with a kind of timorous Silence, and, as well out of Jealouſie towards the *Engliſh*, as Hatred againſt the *Spaniard*, a long time put off with Delays; ſo as at length they returned Home without ſpeeding: and the Eſtates having ſome Hope upon account of the former Kindneſs of the Queen of *England* towards them, reſolved to fly unto her Protection.

The Eſtates rejected by the *French.*

They incline to the *Engliſh.*

Hereupon a Conſultation was holden in *England*, whether they were to be received into Protection. Some were of opinion that they were forthwith to be received, and aſſiſted, leſt the *Spaniard*, having ſubdued them, ſhould from thence endanger *England*. There were alſo ſome who thought they were to be eſteemed as Rebels, and unworthy of Help, as having ſhaken off their Allegeance to their Prince. *That the* Spaniard *had broken none of the Articles of his* Joyfull Entrance, *which was the Pretence they had uſed for their Rebellion, and caſting off their Prince. But if he had broken them, yet was he not liable therefore to loſe his Principality. And though ſome think that Obedience is to be denied him for a time, till he have reformed what hath been done amiſs; yet others think that by the Law of God, to which the Law of Man muſt give place, Princes are to be obeyed meerly for Conſcience ſake, as Powers ordained by God. That God hath given them the Authority of Commanding, and left to Subjects the Commendation of Obeying. That good Princes are to be wiſhed for; but whatſoever they are, they are to be born withall. That thoſe Provinces were devolved to the* Spaniard, *not by popular Election, but by Right of Inheritance from his Anceſtours, and the Donation of Emperours. Moreover, that the* Netherlanders *themſelves had received all the Priviledges which they enjoy from Princes; and had forfeited the ſame again by their Treaſon,*

The *Engliſh* deliberate whether they be to be protected.

1585. *ſon, in formerly taking up Arms againſt their preſent Prince. That they who now intended to crave Protection were not the Eſtates of the* Netherlands, *but moſt of them of the vulgar ſort of men, under the Pretence and name of the Eſtates.* Theſe therefore held it the wiſeſt courſe, *for the Queen to intermeddle no farther in the Netherlandiſh Affairs, but to ſtrengthen and fortifie her own Kingdome, to engage all her good Subjects daily more ſtrictly to her by her Bounty and Clemency, to reſtrain the bad, gather Money, furniſh her Navy with all ſort of Proviſion, provide the Borders toward* Scotland *with ſtrong Garriſons, and maintain the ancient military Diſcipline of* England, *(as if the ſame were of late corrupted and adulterated by the Low-Countrey War.) So would* England *become impregnable, and ſhe on every ſide be ſecure at Home, and a Terrour to her Enemies. That this was the beſt way for thoſe who had too powerfull Neighbours to avoid and prevent War. For no man would willingly provoke thoſe whom he ſaw to be provided of Money and Strength, backed with the Love of their Subjects, and ready and prepared to take Revenge. Great Indiſcretion therefore it were, to ſpend Money and Souldiers, which are as it were the vitall Spirits of War, in a Forrein Quarrell in behalf of other Princes, or indigent States, (and thoſe Subjects to another,) who will always be expecting freſh Relief; or elſe out of Neceſſity or Ingratitude will at length provide for their own ſtate and Security, and neglect their firſt Helpers. Whereof the* Engliſh *had heretofore had Experience in* France *to their Coſt in the Quarrell of the* Burgundian, *and not long ſince alſo in the Defenſe of the Proteſtants there.* But they who were of this Opinion incurred great Diſpleaſure and Ill will amongſt the Military ſort of men, as perſons inclining to the *Spaniard*'s Party, degenerate, and faint-hearted Cowards.

The *Netherlanders* offer themſelves to the Queen.

The Eſtates Deputies, as ſoon as they had Acceſs to the Queen, earneſtly beſought her that ſhe would accept of the Government of the Confederate Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and receive the People thereof, who were moſt unjuſtly and unworthily oppreſſed, into her Protection and perpetual Vaſſalage. The Queen heard them graciouſly, but refuſed both their Government and Protection.

She promiſeth them ſome Aſſiſtence.

Nevertheleſs, for the raiſing of the Siege of *Antwerp*, which was then cloſely preſſed by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe agreed to ſend them forthwith 4000 men, for which *Sluis* with the Ordnance and Ammunition in it ſhould be delivered into her hands as Caution.

Antwerp loſt.

But whilſt this was doing, *Antwerp* was yielded up on Compoſition, the River of *Scheld* having been barred up with ſuch admirable Works that no Relief could be brought into the City.

The Queen deliberateth ſeriouſly of the matter.

After the Queen had ſeriouſly and careſully for ſome time conſidered of things, and had throughly weighed the barbarous Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards her Neighbours the *Netherlanders*, and their Hatred againſt *England* and the Religion which ſhe embraced; (for the *Spaniard* was certainly perſwaded that the *Netherlands* could never be reduced to his Obedience, unleſs *England* were firſt conquered;)

leſt

1585.

leſt the War ſhould be brought home to her own Doors, (*Scotland* yet wavering,) and the *Spaniard*'s Power ſhould too far extend and increaſe in Countries ſo near adjoyning unto her, and for Situation ſo convenient both for tranſlating the War into *England*, and for the Trade of Merchants, as well by Sea as up and down the River *Rhyne*, as alſo for prohibiting the carrying of all Proviſion for Shipping to the Enemy; Countries provided of a ſtrong Fleet and ſtout and able Sea-men, inſomuch that if they were joyned with the Engliſh Fleet, ſhe might eaſily become Miſtreſs of the Sea, and withall ſo rich and ſtrong, that they had for a long time curbed their inſulting Enemies without forrein Aſſiſtence; as alſo leſt they ſhould put themſelves under the Protection of the *French*: ſhe reſolved, that it was both Chriſtian Piety to relieve the afflicted *Netherlanders*, Embracers of the ſame Religion which ſhe profeſſed; and good Wiſedome alſo to provide for the Safety of the People committed to her Charge, by preventing the pernicious Deſigns of her Enemies; and that not out of any deſire of Glory, but out of mere Neceſſity for Preſervation of her own and her People's Security. Hereupon ſhe openly undertook the Protection of the *Netherlanders*, whilſt all the Princes of Chriſtendome admired at ſuch manly Fortitude in a Woman, which durſt, as it were, declare War againſt ſo puiſſant a Monarch: inſomuch as the King of *Sweden* ſaid, "That Queen *Eliza-*
"*beth* had now taken the Diadem from her Head, and adventured it
"upon the doubtfull Chance of War.

She taketh them into her Protection.

Betwixt her and the Confederate Eſtates theſe Conditions were agreed upon. "The Queen ſhall ſend the Confederate Provinces
"an auxiliary Force of 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, under a Gover-
"nour-Generall, an honourable Perſon, and ſhall find them Pay du-
"ring the War, which the Eſtates ſhall repay when a Peace ſhall be
"concluded; namely, in the firſt Year of the Peace, the Expences
"disburſed in the firſt Year of the War, and the reſt in the four Years
"next following. In the mean time *Fluſhing* and the Caſtle of
"*Rammekins* in *Walcheren*, and the Iſle of *Briell*, with the City and
"two Forts, ſhall be delivered into the Queen's Hands for Caution.
"The Governours of theſe Places ſhall exerciſe no Authority over
"the Inhabitants, but onely over the Garriſon-ſouldiers, who ſhall
"pay Exciſe and Impoſitions as well as the Inhabitants. The ſaid
"Places, after the Money is repayed, ſhall be reſtored again to the
"Eſtates, and not delivered to the *Spaniard*, or to any other Enemy
"whatſoever. The Governour-Generall, and two Engliſh-men
"whom the Queen ſhall name, ſhall be admitted into the Council of
"the Eſtates. The Eſtates ſhall make no League with any without
"the Advice and Conſent of the Queen; neither ſhall the Queen
"without the Advice of the Eſtates. Ships for the common De-
"fenſe ſhall be rigged and ſet forth in equall number by both Par-
"ties, and at the common Charges, to be commanded by the Admi-
"rall of *England*. The Havens and Ports ſhall be open and free to
"both

Upon what Conditions.

1585. "both Sides. With other Articles which are to be had in print.

In Memory hereof the *Zelanders*, tranſported with Joy, coined Money with the Arms of *Zeland* on one ſide, namely, a Lion riſing out of the Waves, and this Inſcription, *Luctor & emergo*, that is, I ſtruggle and get above water; and on the other ſide with the Arms of the ſeverall Cities in *Zeland*, and this Motto, *Authore Deo, favente Reginâ*, that is, God being the Authour, a Queen our Favourer. The Queen alſo hereupon ſet forth a Book, wherein ſhe ſhewed, that Leagues and Aſſociations had been made in former times between the Kings of *England* and the Princes of the *Netherlands*, and the Cities thereof apart, for yielding one another mutuall Protection and Aſſiſtence. Then ſhe related the barbarous Cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards the miſerable *Netherlanders*, and their wicked Contrivances againſt her, who had ſtudied ſo much to make Peace betwixt them, and had been the principal means to hinder thoſe People from an abſolute and totall Revolt. Neither had ſhe any other Intention now in ſending Forces to their Aid, but onely that the *Netherlanders* might peaceably injoy their ancient Freedome, ſhe and her Subjects their Security, and both Nations a free Trade and Commerce.

She publiſheth the Reaſons of her doing it.

And withall, that ſhe might not ſtay to expect the War at her own Doors, but give the *Spaniard* ſomewhat to doe abroad, ſhe ſent Sir *Francis Drake* as Admirall, and *Chriſtopher Carlile* as Generall of the Land-Forces, to the *Weſt-Indies* with a Fleet of 21 Ships, whereon were embarked 2300 voluntier Souldiers, beſides Sea-men; who unexpectedly and on the ſudden ſurprized the Town of *S. Jago* in the Iſle of *S. Jago* near *Cape Verd*, the Town giving Name to the Iſland, and being ſituate in a low Valley: here with Peals of Ordnance they celebrated the day of the Queen's Inauguration, to wit, the ſeventeenth day of *November*. Having ſacked the Town, they found not the leaſt Gold in it; but of Meal, Wine and Oil great quantities. The fourteenth day after they departed from that Coaſt, and many of them who had layn abroad in the open Air were taken with a violent Diſeaſe called a Calenture, and died thereof; which Diſeaſe is ordinary in that unwholeſome Air to Strangers that come thither and lie abroad in the Evening. On the firſt of *January* they arrived at *Hiſpaniola*, and about ten miles from the City of *Santo Domingo* the Souldiers were landed in a ſafe place, which was diſcovered to them by a *Spaniard* whom they had taken; and there ſetting themſelves in Battell-array, they marched towards the City; and having beaten back 150 Spaniſh Horſe which made head againſt them, and put certain Musquetiers to Flight which lay in Ambuſh, they entred pell-mell with them into the City at two Gates which look Weſtward, and at the ſame time the Townſmen in great Fear ran all out of the City at the North-Gate. The *Engliſh* marched up in a Body to the Market-place near the great Church; and not being enough to defend ſo large a City, they fortified that part of it with Bulwarks, and afterwards poſſeſſed themſelves of other con-

She ſendeth out a Fleet to divert the *Spaniard*.

The *Engliſh* take *Saint Jago*.

They die of the Calenture.

They take *Saint Domingo*.

convenient Posts in it: and being now absolute Masters of the City, they stayed there a full moneth. And because the Townsmen offered but a small summe of Money to redeem the Town, they began first to burn the Suburbs, and then to fire and demolish the faireſt Buildings within the City itself, till such time as the Citizens redeemed their Houses with 25000 Ducats, which they could hardly make up amongst them. The Booty was not great, except of Ordnance, Meal, and Sugar. For onely brass Money, Glasses, and Earthen Dishes from the *East-Indies*, were in use and fashion there. In the Town-hall were to be seen, amongst other things, the King of *Spain*'s Arms, and under them a Globe of the World, out of which issued an Horse with his Fore-feet springing forward, with this Inscription, *Non sufficit Orbis*, that is, The World sufficeth not. Which was laughed at, and looked upon as an Argument of the boundless Avarice and Ambition of the *Spaniards*, as if nothing could suffice them. 1585.

From hence they sailed to the Continent of *America*, and landed five miles from *Cartagena*: and while *Drake* with his Pinnaces and Boats well manned in vain attempted the Haven of the City, which was defended by a Fort and chained up, *Carlile* putting his men in Battell-array, led them in the dead of the Night all along the Shoar. A Troup of Horse shewed themselves onely, and presently retreated: whom *Carlile* pursued till he came to a narrow Neck of Land between the inner Road of the Haven and the Ocean, fenced from side to side with a Stone-wall, through which there was but one Passage, and that scarce broad enough for a Cart to pass, and defended with Barricadoes and five great Pieces of Ordnance, which were severall times discharged against the very Front of the Army, but in vain. *Carlile* knowing well how to avoid that Danger, by the Help of the dark Night, and taking Advantage of the ebbing Water, led his men somewhat lower over the Sand to the very Entrance of the Passage, which the *English* manfully brake through, notwithstanding that two Gallies constantly plaied upon the Flank of them with eleven great Pieces and three hundred Musquetiers from the said inner Road. Then they soon mastered the Palisadoes, which the enemy had providently set up at the Entrance of every Street, putting the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, who shot poisoned and envenomed Arrows at them, to Flight, and so became Masters of the Town; where they staied six weeks, compounding at last to spare the Town for 110000 Ducats, which were presently paied down, and shared equally amongst the Sea-men and Souldiers which had most need. Besides this they got but small Booty. For the Citizens, having Notice aforehand from *Hispaniola*, had conveyed away all their richest Treasure before their coming, to places more remote. The Calenture still raging amongst them, and daily lessening their Numbers, their Design for the taking of *Nombre de Dios* was laid aside, and they set Sail homewards by that Cape of the Isle of *Cuba* which hath its Name from Saint *Antonio*, where they took

They win *Cartagena*.

1585.

in freſh Rain-water out of the Ponds and Pits which they found.

They burn *S. Antonie's* and *S. Helen's*.

Then coaſting along the Shoar of *Florida* they ſeized upon two Towns, *Saint Antonie's* and *Saint Helen's*, both of them quitted and forſaken by the Spaniſh Garriſons, and burnt them. Afterwards, holding on their Courſe along a waſted Coaſt, they lighted upon certain Engliſh-men, who had ſeated themſelves in *Virginia*, ſo named in Honour of Queen *Elizabeth* a Virgin, whom Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was in great Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, had of late ſent thither for a Colony; a man never ſufficiently to be commended for the great Pains he took to diſcover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the Engliſh Navigation. To *Ralph Lane*, their Captain, *Drake* offered all Kindneſs and Aſſiſtence, and a Ship or two with Proviſion of Victuals, alſo ſome men, if he thought good to ſtay there, and proſecute his Enterprize; if not, he profered to bring him back into *England*. But whileſt they were ſhifting the Victuals into thoſe Ships, an extraordinary Storm carried them away, and ſo diſperſed the whole Fleet, that they met not again till they came into *England*. Hereupon *Lane* and thoſe who were planted there, being in great Penury and Want, and out of all Hope of Proviſions out of *England*, their Number alſo much diminiſhed, with one voice beſought *Drake* that he would carry them back again into their own Countrey, which he readily and willingly did.

They goe to *Virginia*.

They bring the Colony from thence.

Tobacco firſt brought into *England*.

And theſe men who were thus brought back were the firſt that I know of that brought into *England* that Indian Plant which they call *Tabacca* and *Nicotia*, or *Tobacco*, which they uſed againſt Crudities, being taught it by the *Indians*. Certainly from that time forward it began to grow into great Requeſt, and to be ſold at an high Rate, whilſt in a ſhort time many men every-where, ſome for Wantonneſs, ſome for Health ſake, with inſatiable Deſire and Greedineſs ſucked in the ſtinking ſmoak thereof through an earthen Pipe, which preſently they blew out again at their Noſtrils: inſomuch as *Tobacco*-Shops are now as ordinary in moſt Towns as Taphouſes and Taverns. So that the Engliſh-mens Bodies, (as one ſaid wittily,) which are ſo delighted with this Plant, ſeem as it were to be degenerated into the nature of *Barbarians*, ſince they are delighted, and think they may be cured, with the ſame things which the *Barbarians* uſe. In this Voiage were loſt 700 men, and all of them almoſt of the Calenture. The Booty was valued at 60000 Pounds of Engliſh Money. Two hundred and fourty Braſs and Iron great Pieces were gotten from the Enemy and brought home.

The Booty gotten.

A new Paſſage ſought to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in *America* under the Torrid Zone, *John Davis* with two Ships, ſet forth at the Charge of *William Sanderſon* (one that hath well deſerved of Geographicall Learning by ſetting forth Globes) and other *Londoners*, ſearched for a Paſſage under the Frozen Zone, by the upper part of *America*, to the *Eaſt-Indies*. He held his Courſe Northward, and at 500 Leagues from the Southern Cape of *Ireland* called *Miſſen-head* got Sight firſt of the Coaſt

Coaſt of *Groenland* and its high Mountains covered with Snow; the Iſland being compaſſed about as it were with an icy Bulwark for the breadth of two Leagues from the Land, ſo that there was no Acceſs to it. Following therefore the Tract hereof, which winded firſt towards the Weſt, and then towards the North, to the 64. Degree of Latitude, and having paſſed the Ice, he fell upon certain flouriſhing green Iſlands, and found there People of an indifferent Stature, with ſmall Eyes, no Beards, and of a civiler Diſpoſition then moſt of the Northern People were. From hence he ſailed Northweſtward, in a Sea without Ice, at the 66. Degree of Latitude, and diſcovered a Land which by little and little extended itſelf to the Weſt, with a Streight all the way of an equal Breadth; into which he entred, and ſailed about fourty Leagues: but towards the end of *Auguſt* he ſet Sail homeward, full of Hope to perfect the Diſcovery. The next year after he entred again into the ſame Streight, ſailed 80 Leagues in it, and found that Sea every way full of ſcattering Iſlands, and in his Return diſcovered it to be very full of Fiſh. Hereupon this Voiage was undertaken the third time with two Ships to fiſh, and another to diſcover the Paſſage; wherewith having paſſed to the 83. Degree in the ſame Streight, which he obſerved to be 40 Leagues wide, he returned Home. 1585.

A proclamation concerning Woad.

In the mean time a Proclamation was ſet forth to reſtrain the Covetouſneſs of ſome private men in *England*, who converted arable Lands and the richeſt Paſture-grounds to the ſowing of the Herb *Iſatis*, commonly called *Woad*, for the uſe of Diers, with great Prejudice to Cloathiers, and the Country-men which fed on Whitemeats made of Milk. Whereupon they were forbidden to ſow that Herb within 8 miles of any of the Queen's Houſes, and within four miles of Cities, Market-towns, and all other Towns where Cloathing was uſed.

The *Barbarie* Company of Merchants.

And for the more advantageous and gainfull vending of Engliſh Cloaths, Licence was granted to *Ambroſe* Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother the Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Thomas Starkey*, *Gerard Gore*, and divers other Merchants of *London*, for the term of 2 years, to trade with the *Moors* in the Eaſtern parts of *Barbary*, to make good and repair the Loſſes they had before ſuſtained in *Africa*; and all others were prohibited to trade upon thoſe Coaſts. Theſe Merchants *Muley Hamet* the Xeriff took into his Protection.

The death of the Earl of *Lincoln*;

In the beginning of this Year died *Edward Clinton*, Lord Admiral of the Sea, who was created Earl of *Lincoln* by Queen *Elizabeth* in the year 1572. and lieth buried at *Windſor*, being falſly ſurnamed *Fiennes* in the Inſcription of his Tombe. (Which I note, not to tax others, but leſt I be taxed myſelf.) *Henry* his Son ſucceeded him in the Earldome; in the Admiralſhip of the Sea, *Charles* Lord *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. And in his Place of Lord Chamberlain ſucceeded the Lord *Hunſdon*, Governour of *Berwick*, ſubſtituted in that Government ſome few years ſince in the

1585.

And of the Earl of *Bedford*;

room of *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*. Which *Francis*, (who was the Second Earl of *Bedford* of this Family, and a true Lover of Religion and Vertue,) having ſurvived three of his Sons, *Edward*, *John* and *Francis*, ſo that there remained but onely one Son, *William* Lord *Ruſſel* of *Thornhaugh*, and three Daughters, married to the three Earls of *Warwick*, *Bath* and *Cumberland*, died of a Gangrene the next day after his Son *Francis* was ſlain (as I ſaid before) upon the Borders of *Scotland*, and lieth entombed with his Father at *Cheiney* in the County of *Buckingham*. After him ſucceeded *Edward*, his Grand-ſon by his third Son *Francis*, being under Age.

And of Doctour *Caldwell*.

Amongſt theſe, though he were of leſs Note, we muſt not paſs *Richard Caldwell* over in Silence, who died this Year, being of *Brazen-Noſe* Colledge in *Oxford*, and a Doctor of Phyſick. This man merited well of the Commonwealth, by giving a Chirurgery-Lecture to the Colledge of Phyſicians in *London*, (which Colledge was firſt founded by *Thomas Linacre*) and endowing it with a handſome Allowance: the Lord *Lumley* being admitted into a ſhare of the Honour. He was buried at Saint *Benet*'s Church not far from the place, and his Tomb adorned with the Sculpture of ſeveral Implements uſed by Chirurgeons.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* ſent into *Holland*.

At the latter end of this Year, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, tickled with an ambitious Deſire of Command and Glory, and being eaſily perſwaded by thoſe who ſought their own Security and Power at Court more then his Honour, croſſed the Seas into *Holland*, with the Title of *General of the Queen of England's auxiliary Forces*, and with ſome kind of Command over the Admirall of *England* and the Queen's whole Fleet. He ſet out with great Preparation and a ſplendid Retinue, being accompanied by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Baſſet*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, and other Knights, and a ſelect Troup of 500 Gentlemen.

His Inſtructions.

At his Departure the Queen gave him in Charge amongſt other things, that he ſhould not ſo much as think of any thing which would not ſtand with her Honour, and the Quality of the place he bare; and that he ſhould diligently inform himſelf what Garriſons the Eſtates maintained, and by what means they did it, what way they went in raiſing and falling the Rates of Money, (for herein they ſurpaſs and are skilled above all other men,) that ſo the Souldiers might not receive their Pay at one Rate, and ſpend it at another. She charged him to cut off and hinder all Supplies of Proviſion from the Enemy, to reſtrain and curb the Pirats of *Dunkerk*; and moſt paſſionately and heartily ſhe recommended to his Care the Noblemen of thoſe Parts, more eſpecially the Prince of *Orange* his Children.

The

1586.

The Nine and twentieth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1586.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* arriving at *Fluſhing* was entertained by his Nephew, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Governour of the Place, and afterwards by the Cities of *Zeland* and *Holland*, with all manner of Honour, hearty Acclamations, triumphal Arches, votive Tables, Feaſtings, and the like. Being come to the *Hague* in *Holland*, in the month of *January*, the chief Government and abſolute Authority over the Confederate Provinces was given him by a Grant in writing from the *Eſtates Generall*, (as they call them,) with the Title of *Governour and Captain General of Holland, Zeland, the United and Confederate Provinces.* And now being attended with a noble Guard, ſaluted of all men by the Title of *Your Excellency*, and ſoothed up with Flatteries, as ſeated in the higheſt and moſt illuſtrious degree of Honour, he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect King. But the Queen, taking it very ill that the Eſtates had conferred ſo large Honour on him, and that he had accepted it, nipped the man at unawares in his ſwelling Pride by this one ſhort Letter.

Abſolute Authority granted unto him.

The Queen taketh it very ill.

How contemptuouſly you have carried yourſelf towards us, you ſhall underſtand by this Meſſenger, whom we ſend to you for that purpoſe. We little thought, that one whom we had raiſed out of the Duſt, and proſecuted with ſuch ſingular Favour above all others, would with ſo great Contempt have ſlighted and broken our Commands in a matter of ſo great Conſequence, and ſo highly concerning us and our Honour. Whereof though you have but ſmall Regard, contrary to what you ought by your Allegeance, yet think not that we are ſo careleſs of repairing thereof, that we can bury ſo great an Injury in Silence or Oblivion. We therefore command you that, all Excuſe ſet apart, you do forthwith, upon your Allegeance which you owe unto us, doe whatſoever Heneage *our Vice-chamberlain ſhall make known to you in our Name, upon pain of farther Peril.*

She expoſtulateth with *Leiceſter.*

In another Letter to the Eſtates Generall ſhe thus expoſtulated with them. *That they had to her Diſgrace, and without her Knowledge, conferred the abſolute Government of the Confederate Provinces upon* Leiceſter, *her Subject; whenas ſhe had abſolutely refuſed it herſelf, and by a publick Manifeſto had declared to the whole World, that ſhe intended onely to relieve and ſuccour her Neighbours in their Diſtreſs, and no ways to take upon her the Sovereignty over them.* She admoniſheth them therefore *to turn* Leiceſter *out of that abſolute Authority, whoſe Commiſſion ſhe had limited; not that ſhe thought their Cauſe unworthy to be favoured and aſſiſted, but to provide for and ſecure her own Honour, which ſhe eſteemed more dear to her then her Life itſelf.* The Eſtates

And with the Eſtates.

1586.

The Estates excuse it.

states wrote back to her, *That they were very sorry they had incurred her Displeasure by granting absolute Authority to* Leicester *without her Knowledge. They intreat her to be pacified, considering the Necessity thereof; forasmuch as such an Authority was necessarily to be granted to one or other, to avoid Troubles and Dissensions. Neither indeed was the Authority so great as the word* Absolute *might seem to import, considering that the Principality itself, and the supreme Rule and Dignity of Dominion, remained wholly in the People's hands. And to revoke the Authority already granted, were nothing else but to plunge the State of the* Netherlands *into extreme Dangers.* By these Letters of the Estates, and the sorrowfull Lines of *Leicester*, who knew well enough how with Tears, and a pretended Trouble for what had past, to reconcile the favour of his mild Princess to himself, her Displeasure by little and little vanished away and was forgotten.

The Queen pacified.

Leicester in the mean time receiveth all the Contributions of the Provinces, maketh military Laws, and while he goeth about to impose new Payments upon all Traffick and Merchandize, procureth himself great Hatred among the People. Now had the Prince of *Parma*, Governour of the *Netherlands* under the *Spaniard*, besieged *Grave* (a Town of *Brabant* upon the river *Maes*) for several months by *Charles* Count *Mansfield*, who had raised Works round about it. To relieve this Town the Earl of *Leicester* sent Grave *Hohenlo* or *Hollack*, a *German*, and Sir *John Norris* General of the English Foot: but as soon as they had begun to build a Fort as near the Town as they could, that from thence they might victual and relieve the Town, the *Spaniards* fell upon them, and beat them from their Work: but the English Companies coming presently in, they were themselves beaten back with great Slaughter of their men, seven of their Officers being slain; and of the *English*, *Norris* lightly hurt. Grave *Hollack* shortly after cutting through the Bank, and letting out the Waters, relieved the Town with Victuals and a fresh Supply of men by Boats. As soon as the Prince of *Parma* himself was come, and had thundered a while into the Town with his great Ordnance, *Van Hemart*, Governour of the Town, a young man raw and unversed in military matters, not so much as expecting an Assault, compounded for his own and the Townsmens Lives, and yielded up the Place: whilst in the mean time *Leicester* drove the *Spaniards* out of the *Betuwe*, (which is properly called *Batavia*,) an Island made by two Rivers, the *Rhyne* and the *Wael*, and near the *Tol-huys* erected a strong Sconce. For the delivering up of *Grave Hemart* afterward suffered Death, for an Example and Terrour to others.

Grave besieged by the *Spaniard*.

Leicester sendeth to relieve it.

Supplies put into it.

Which yet is yielded up.

Leicester driveth the *Spaniards* out of the *Betuwe*.

A bold Adventure.

The Prince of *Parma* marched next into *Gelderland*, and encamped before *Venlo*; where *Skenk* a *Friesiander* and Sir *Roger Williams* a *Welshman*, two venturous men, undertook a desperate Exploit, to break through the Enemie's Camp at Midnight, and enter into the City: and indeed, after the Slaughter of some of their Enemies, they made their way as far as the Prince of *Parma*'s own Tent. But being there

there repelled, they retreated fruſtrate of their Hope, yet not without Commendations amongſt martial men for their bold Attempt: and *Venlo* was ſhortly after yielded up. 1586.

Venlo loſt.

In the mean time the Lord *Willoughbey*, Governour of *Bergen-op-Zoom*, intercepted the Enemie's Proviſion of Corn: whilſt in other parts Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Grave *Maurice* the Prince of *Orange* his Son, ſurprized *Axele*, a Town of *Flanders*. Encouraged with this Succeſs, *Sidney* made an Attempt by night upon *Gravelin*, being fed with Hopes and drilled on by ſome of the Garriſon, but found himſelf deluded: and having loſt ſome few of his men, ſlain by *La Motte* Governour of the Town, who had contrived the Plot, he eſcaped himſelf in Safety with the reſt. Sir *William Pelham*, General of the Engliſh Horſe, the whilſt ranged all over *Brabant*. From *Venlo* the Prince of *Parma* took his March to *Berck*, garriſon'd by 1200 *Engliſh* under the Command of Colonell *Morgan*, and laid Siege to it. To raiſe this Siege *Leiceſter* made haſte thither: but when he ſaw himſelf to be too weak in men, ill provided of Victuals, no place of Retreat near, and the Enemie's Camp very ſtrongly intrenched and fortified, to draw the Enemy from the Siege of it, he beſieged * *Duiſburg*; and after he had with his Ordnance made a Breach in the Walls, and was ready to give an Aſſault, they came to a Parley, and the City was yielded into his Hands before the Prince of *Parma* could be drawn from *Berck* to relieve it.

Axele taken.

Gravelin attempted in vain.

Parma beſieged *Berck*.

Leiceſter taketh *Duiſburg*.

*This ſhould be *Doesburg*, and not *Duiſburg*.

But the Prince of *Parma* miſdoubting *Zutphen*, a Town hard by, commanded a ſupply of Victuals to be conveyed thither. A ſecond Convoy being diſpatched thither in foggy Weather, the *Engliſh* in the Fog lighted upon the *Spaniards* that had convoyed it. Whereupon they fell to Skirmiſhing. The *Engliſh* being charged with 2 or 3 Volleys of Shot one after another from a ſtrong place of Advantage, yet ſtood their Ground, overthrew a Troup of Horſe under the leading of *George Creſſiac* an *Albanois*, and took him Priſoner after he had been unhorſed by the Lord *Willoughbey*, *Hannibal Gonzaga* with many others being ſlain. Of the *Engliſh* few were miſſing: but *Sidney*, one as good as many, having his Horſe killed under him, was ſhot into the Thigh as he was mounting again, and died the 25. day after, leaving behind him a great Miſs of him amongſt good men. He died in the very Flower of his Age, having outlived his Father ſcarce four months: for whom *Leiceſter* his Uncle, at his Return into *England*, made a ſplendid Funeral after the military Faſhion in Saint *Paul's* Church at *London*. *James* King of *Scots* honoured him with an Epitaph; both the Univerſities conſecrated their Tears, and *New Colledge* in *Oxford* ſet forth a moſt elegant Deſcription of his noble Acts. Theſe things, and far more then theſe, his great Vertue, excellent Wit, moſt exquiſite Learning, and ſweet Conditions, deſervedly merited.

A Fight with the *Spaniards*.

Sir *Philip Sidney* ſlain.

Leiceſter, though full of Sorrow and Heavineſs hereat, vigorouſly aſſaulted the Sconces near *Zutphen*: and the better to force the Town, he

Zutphen attempted by *Leiceſter*.

1586.

The valour of *Edward Stanley* of the *Stanleys* of *Elford*.

he took the Iſland in the River, and in it the principall Fort. Then ſetting upon the leſſer Fort, he took it through the Valour of *Edward Stanley*, who, catching hold of a *Spaniard*'s Pike wherewith he charged him, held it ſo faſt, that by the ſame he was drawn up into the Sconce: whereat the *Spaniards* were terrified, and in great Haſt and Fear quitted it. *Leiceſter* knighted *Stanley* for his Valour, gave him forty Pounds of Engliſh Money in hand, and a yearly Penſion of an hundred Marks during his Life. The Night following the *Spaniards* abandoned the great Sconce with all the Munition, and retired into *Zutphen*. *Leiceſter* thought it not good formally to beſiege the ſame, which (it being now the depth of Winter) he thought ſufficiently blocked up by the Garriſons in the Towns round about it. For at *Deventer*, within ſix Engliſh miles Northward, lay Sir *William Stanley* with 1200 Foot, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*; in the Sconces of *Zutphen* next *Deventer* lay *Rowland York* with 800 Foot and 100 Horſe; at *Doesburg*, within 6 miles Southward, lay Sir *John Boroughs* with 800 Foot and 200 Horſe; and to the Eaſtward were Garriſons put into *Lochem*, *Sherenberg*, and *Dotecum*.

Zutphen left blocked up.

The Eſtates Complaints againſt *Leiceſter*.

Leiceſter, after he had drawn the reſt of his men into Towns, and the Prince of *Parma* was departed farther off, returned to the *Hague*, where he was received by the Eſtates with theſe expoſtulatory Complaints: "That the Money was ill managed; That he liſtned "to corrupt and deſtructive Counſells; That the Engliſh Companies "were not full; That forrein Souldiers had been leavied without "Conſent of the Eſtates; That military Diſcipline was neglected, "Wagons and Pioniers were taken up by force, the Priviledges of "the Provinces diſregarded and ſlighted, and new kinds of Contri-"butions invented. Theſe things they pray him that he will pru-dently remedy in time. He, being now minded to goe over into *England*, putteth them in Hopes of Redreſs, and giveth them fair Words. But when the day came that he was to depart, he intruſted the Government of the Provinces to the Council of State; and the ſame day privately made another Act of *Reſtriction*, reſerving to himſelf all the Authority over the Governours of Provinces, Cities and Forts; alſo he took from the Council of State and the Preſidents of Provinces their wonted Jurisdictions; and ſo ſailed over into *England* the third day of *December*. Thus went the *Engliſh* Affairs in the *Netherlands* all this Year.

He returneth into *England*.

The Earl of *Arundell* fined.

But in *England*, *Philip* Earl of *Arundell*, who had now been Priſoner in the Tower a full year, was accuſed in the *Star-Chamber*, "That he had relieved ſeverall Prieſts, contrary to the Laws; That "he held Correſpondence by Letters with *Allen*, and *Parſons* the "*Jeſuite*, the Queen's Enemies; That he had publickly in Writing "queſtioned the Juſtice of the Kingdome; and That he had Inten-"tions of departing the Realm without Licence. The Earl proteſting his Obedience to the Queen, and his Love to his Country, modeſtly excuſed himſelf by his Affection to the Catholick Religi-

on,

on, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and, confeſſing his Fault, ſubmitted himſelf to the Cenſure of the Bench; who fined him in ten thouſand Pounds, and Impriſonment during the Queen's Pleaſure. But of theſe things I am to ſpeak more fully in the Year 1589. 1586.

The King of *Denmark* mediateth a Peace in the *Low-Countries*.

At this time came over into *England* from *Frederick* the Second King of *Denmark* *Henry Ramely*, Chancellour for *German* Affairs, in a military Equipage, and attended with a Guard of Musquetiers; who made a large Declaration of the King's good Affection towards the Queen and the Peace of Chriſtendome. For the procuring whereof with the *Spaniard* he promiſed his beſt Aſſiſtence; *leſt* (as he ſaid) *the Enemy of Mankind ſhould any longer water the Seed of War, which he had ſown in the* Netherlands, *with the Blood of men.* The Queen heard him very graciouſly, had often Conference with him, entertaining the man with ſingular Courteſie, and highly commended the King of *Denmark*'s pious Affection. But ſhe made him Anſwer by the Lord *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall, *Henry* Lord *Hunſdon* Lord Chamberlain, and Sir *Francis Walſingham* Secretary, *That ſhe deſired nothing more then to embrace a Peace with her Neighbour-Princes, provided there were no Fraud in it: but well underſtanding the Attempts of the* Spaniard *againſt her, ſhe could not but provide for her own Safety, the Defence of the true Religion of* Chriſt, *and the Preſerving of the Priviledges of her Confederate Neighbours inviolate.* Much after the ſame rate alſo was Anſwer given to *Bodellan*, whom the Prince of *Parma* had privily ſent into *England* to try if he could procure a Peace.

The Queen's Anſwer.

She ſupplieth the King of *Navarre* with Money.

In the mean time ſhe largely ſupplied the King of *Navarre* with Money by Sir *Horatio Pallavicini*, through whoſe Sides the *Guiſians* ſtruck at the Reformed Religion in *France*. But there was nothing ſhe was more carefull and intent about, then to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting Amity betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, and to joyn them in a *League of mutuall Defenſe and Offenſe*, thereby to cut off all Hopes, not onely from her forrein Enemies, but alſo from the Queen of *Scots* herſelf, of any Aſſiſtence out of *Scotland*. For ſhe ſuſpected that the ſaid Queen, being vexed in her Mind, did harbour dangerous Projects and Deſigns in her Breaſt ſince the time that thoſe Conditions which ſhe had offered were rejected, the *Aſſociation* entred into, and ſhe herſelf committed (as I ſaid before) to the Cuſtody of Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*. And certain it is, as evidently appeareth by the Adverſaries own Writings, that the *Jeſuites* on the one ſide, and the fugitive Noblemen on the other ſide, with different Affections and Purpoſes, ſuggeſted to her very dangerous Advice and Counſell. For the *Jeſuites*, when they ſaw no Hope remaining of Reſtoring the Romiſh Religion either by her or her Son, betook themſelves to new Strategems, and began to forge a new and pretended Title to the Succeſſion of the Kingdome of *England* for the *Spaniard*, (whoſe Grandeur alone they laboured to increaſe.) To this

She ſeeketh to hold Peace with the King of *Scots*. To what intent.

The Fugitives and *Jeſuites* give different Counſels to the Queen of *Scots*.

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end they sent into *England* (as *Pasquier* saith) one *Samier*, (if the name be not counterfeit,) a man of their Society, to draw Noblemen and Gentlemen to the *Spaniard*'s Party, and thrust her forward to her own Danger, by telling her, that *if she were troublesome, neither she nor her Son should reign*; and by exciting the *Guises*, her Kinsmen, to new Attempts against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, that being ingaged therein they might not be at leisure to help her.

The *French* go about to hinder the League betwixt *England* and *Scotland*.

But to conclude the League which was begun by *Wotton* (but interrupted by *Russell*'s Death, and now endeavoured to be hindred by *Desneval*, Embassadour from *France*, and *Corcellie*, a man of a turbulent and unquiet Spirit, who had of late been disgracefully turned out of *England*,) Mr. *Thomas Randolph* was sent into *Scotland*, whose Dexterity in Scotish matters was looked upon as prudent and fortunate, though to the King he were not very acceptable, in regard of those Tumults which he had of late been the Authour of in *Scotland*. *Randolph* propounded to the King the same Conditions of a League which *Wotton* had propounded before. The King would have to be added to them, and set down in the Draught of the League, the Articles touching the annuall Pension assigned him, and about the not prejudicing him in his Title to the Crown of *England*.

The King of *Scots* propoundeth some additional Conditions.

The Embassadour, according to his Instructions, promised that those 2 Points should be provided for in a particular Article by themselves, provided he would continue constant in maintaining Amity with *England*. The King also (out of his great Love to his Subjects) propounded farther, that the *Scots* might enjoy the same Priviledges and Immunities in *England* which the *English* themselves did. But when the Embassadour had shewed him that that could not be granted but by Act of Parliament, and that the Estates of *England* would not easily yield to it; he deliberately and particularly gave his Assent to the Articles propounded, and commanded the same to be imparted to the Nobility of his Realm, that they might be confirmed by their Suscriptions also, although the French Embassadour endeavoured to make him believe at first, that the Queen sought this League, not out of any Love or Respect to the King, but out of a just Fear lest ere long her Enemies which conspired against her should be too hard for her; and afterwards went about to terrify him with Threats, that the old Amity with the *French*, which had been so highly beneficiall to the *Scots*, would be by this means dissolved; and, lastly, besought him that nothing might be done herein without the Advice of the French King.

He assenteth to the Articles.

And is not terrified by the *French*.

But he could work nothing upon the King, who knew these to be nothing but vain Scar-crows, either to hinder or delay the matter. For he knew that by the late Confederacy with the *Netherlanders* the *English* were very much strengthened. He gave therefore this serious Answer, *That he had put his Confidence in the Goodness of God, and not in the Amity and Friendship of those who were Enemies to God's Glory:*

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Glory: and *That it was as lawful for him to make a League with the Queen without acquainting the French King, as for the French King to have made a League with the Queen of late without acquainting him.* And though the Queen, being somewhat sparing, sent him less Money then he expected, lest she might be thought to buy the League, and gave him no expres Assurance concerning the Succession: yet he, out of his Zeal to Religion, and his singular Affection and Inclination towards both her and the publick Peace, commanded both the League to be concluded, and (to satisfie her) the *Carrs* also, who were suspected of *Russel's* Death, to be sent into *England*. But they fled away and escaped the day before they were to be sent.

Shortly after, in the beginning of *June*, there met at *Berwick Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Evers*, and Master *Thomas Randolph*, Commissioners sent by the Queen of *England*; and *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *James Humes* of *Coldingknoll*, Commissioners appointed by the King of *Scots*: who concluded a *League of stricter Amity*, (as they termed it, the word *offensive* not so well pleasing the *Scots*,) which followeth in these words.

A League of stricter Amity concluded.

The Articles of it.

Whereas the Reign and Government of these Princes hath fallen into such uncertain and dangerous Times, wherein the Neighbour-Princes, who will needs be called Catholicks, *acknowledging the Pope's Authority, do enter into mutual Leagues and Confederacies for the rooting up and extirpating the true, pure and Evangelical Religion, not onely out of their own Territories and Dominions, but also out of the Kingdoms of other Princes, and thereunto do bind themselves by faithfull Vows and Promises: Lest those who profess the Evangelical Religion should seem to be less careful for the Defense and Protection thereof, then they who profess the Romish Religion are seriously labouring the Subversion of the same; the said Princes, for the greater Security of their own Persons, upon whose Safety dependeth the Safety of all their People, and for the Preservation of the true, ancient and Christian Religion, which they now profess, have thought meet that a stricter Alliance and mutual Confederacy be sincerely entred into then ever hitherto hath been between their Majesties Progenitours.*

First therefore, to the end that this so pious and necessary a Purpose and Intention of both Princes in this troublesome state of Affairs may be brought to its wished Effect for the publick Good and the Propagation of the Evangelical Truth, it is covenanted, agreed and concluded, That the said Princes shall by this Sociall and Sacred League provide for and endeavour the Defense and Preservation of the true, pure and Evangelical Religion, which they now profess, against all others whosoever, who shall enterprise, attempt or doe any thing against either of them in order to subverting the said Religion; and that they shall use their utmost Endeavour and Diligence that the rest of the Princes who embrace the same true Religion may be brought to associate with them in this so holy a Purpose and Confederacy, and with joynt Forces maintain the true Worship of God in their Countries and Dominions, and defend and govern their

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Item, it is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That this ſociall League for maintaining and upholding the Chriſtian and Catholick Religion, which at this time is embraced by both Princes, and by God's Bleſſing received and countenanced through their Kingdoms and Dominions, ſhall be a League both of Defenſe and Offenſe againſt all men whatever, who ſhall hinder, or any ways goe about to hinder, the free Exerciſe thereof in their Kingdoms and Dominions; all Treaties, Alliances and Confederacies whatſoever formerly entred into betwixt either of them and the Diſturbers or Adverſaries of the ſaid Religion, be they who they will, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And if at any time it ſhall happen that any Prince or State whatſoever, of what Condition ſoever they be, ſhall invade or infeſt the Kingdoms, Dominions or Territories of either of the ſaid Princes, or any part thereof, or ſhall any way hurt or injure their Majeſties Perſons or their Subjects, or attempt the ſaid things, or any of them; it is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That neither of theſe Princes, being certified from the Prince invaded, or ſuffering ſuch Injury or Hurt, ſhall at any time, openly or ſecretly, directly or indirectly, give or afford any Aid, Counſel or Favour to the ſaid Invaders or Inſeſtors, any Tie of Conſanguinity or Affinity, Alliance of Amities or Confederacies formerly entred into, or hereafter to be entred into, notwithſtanding: and this in what kind of Invaſion ſoever it be, and by whomſoever it ſhall be made or attempted.

It is agreed, accorded and concluded, That the aforeſaid Princes ſhall aſſiſt one another in manner as followeth: that is to ſay, The King of Scots, *in caſe the Realm of* England *be invaded or infeſted by a forrein Power in thoſe Parts thereof that are remote from the Kingdom of* Scotland, *ſhall, after Demand made by the Queen of* England, *without Delay ſend* 2000 *Horſe and* 5000 *Foot, or any leſſer number of men, at the Choice and Demand of the ſaid Queen, and ſhall cauſe the ſame to march, at the Queen's Charges, from the Borders of* Scotland *lying next unto* England *into any other Part of* England *whatſoever.*

Item, That the Queen of England, *in caſe the Realm of* Scotland *be invaded or infeſted by a forrein Power in thoſe parts thereof that are remote from the Kingdom of* England, *ſhall, after Demand made of the ſaid Queen by the King of* Scots, *without Delay ſend* 3000 *Horſe and* 6000 *Foot, or any leſſer number of men, at the Pleaſure and Choice of the ſaid King; and ſhall cauſe the ſame to march, at the Charges of the ſaid King, from the Borders of* England *next adjoyning to* Scotland *into any other Part of* Scotland *whatſoever.*

Item, it is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That if the Kingdom of England *be invaded by any man whatſoever in the Northern Parts, within* 60 *miles of the Borders of* Scotland, *then the moſt Illuſtrious King of* Scots, *being requeſted and called upon by the moſt Serene Queen of* England, *ſhall cauſe to be gathered, and ſhall without Delay effectually gather, all the Power and Strength he can make, and ſhall joyn the*

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the ſame with the Engliſh Forces, and in hoſtile manner purſue and proſecute the Invaders of the Realm of England, *and all their Abettors and Favourers whoſoever, for the ſpace of* 30 *Days together, and thoſe Days being expired, if Occaſion or Neceſſity require, of more, even for as long time as the Subjects of* Scotland *have anciently been accuſtomed, and at this day in right are bound, to give their Service and Help for the Defenſe of the Kingdom of* Scotland.

Item, That when the King of Scots *ſhall be certified by the Queen of* England *of any Invaſion or other Diſturbance whatſoever in her Kingdome of* Ireland, *he ſhall not onely forbid the Inhabitants of the County of* Argyle, *and the Iſles and Places to the ſame adjoyning, and of all other Parts of the Kingdome of* Scotland *whatſoever, to enter into the Kingdom of* Ireland, *and effectually hinder them from entring; but alſo, whenſoever it ſhall hereafter happen that the Inhabitants of any Part of the Kingdom of* Scotland *ſhall enter, contrary to the Meaning and Intent of this Treaty, with any extraordinary or unuſual number of men, in an hoſtile manner, into any Part of the Kingdom of* Ireland, *the ſaid King, being certified by the Queen of ſuch their Entrance, ſhall by publick Proclamation declare ſuch Infeſtors and Diſturbers, who ſhall in an hoſtile manner harraſſe that Kingdom, to be Rebels, Diſturbers of the publick Peace, and Traitours, and ſhall accordingly proſecute them as ſuch.*

Item, That neither Prince ſhall for the time to come aid, favour, ſuccour or relieve any Traitour, Rebel, or him that ſhall openly revolt from his Prince, or ſuffer them any way to be aided, ſuccoured and relieved by others, or permit them openly or ſecretly to make their Abode in his or her Dominions; but ſhall each of them, from the time of Notice or firſt Demand made by the Prince from whom they have revolted, without Delay or Procraſtination, deliver up, or cauſe to be delivered, the ſaid Traitours or Rebels, according to the Agreements expreſſed in former Treaties betwixt us and our Predeceſſours, or at leaſtwiſe ſhall compell them to retire from the Frontiers and Borders of their Dominions: and moreover, as long as the ſaid Rebels or Traitours ſhall make their Abode in their ſaid Dominions, ſhall make juſt and due Satisfaction for all Injuries and Miſchiefs which may be done by the ſaid Rebels.

Item, That for compounding and adjuſting of all and every the Injuries and Controverſies which have happened and ariſen on the Borders, upon account of the Borders, or amongſt the Borderers, from the time that the moſt Illuſtrious King of Scots *firſt took the Government of the Realm into his own Hands, and for the ſpace of four years going next before the ſaid term, the two Princes reſpectively ſhall within 6 months after the concluding of this League ſend able and fit Commiſſioners, well affected to the Peace, furniſhed and impowered with Inſtructions meet and ſufficient for that Purpoſe, to ſome convenient place on the Confines of both Kingdoms, who ſhall compound and determine all ſuch Cauſes and Controverſies by an honourable and friendly Treaty and Agreement.*

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Item, That neither of the ſaid Princes ſhall contract Amity, or enter into any League or Confederacy with any other Prince, State, or Society of men, to the Prejudice of this preſent League and Union, without the expreſs Conſent of the other Confederate Prince, by Letters of the ſaid Prince, ſubſcribed with his own Hand or ſealed with his Privy Seal, firſt had and obtained.

Item, That both Princes, when either of them ſhall be duly required by the Embaſſadours or Commiſſioners of the other Prince ſo to doe, ſhall both by their Oath and under their Great Seal, approve, confirm and ratifie this ſacred League and Alliance; and moreover, for the better Strengthening thereof, ſhall, within a certain time to be appointed by the mutual Conſent of both Princes, deliver, or cauſe to be delivered, their Royal Inſtruments or Letters Patents to the ſame purpoſe.

Item, That all former Treaties of Amities, Contracts and Agreements, made betwixt the Predeceſſours of the aforeſaid Princes, and their Kingdoms and Dominions, though they may ſeem to be antiquated and out of Date, ſhall ſtill continue in their Strength, Force and Vigour. As likewiſe, that this preſent Treaty of mutuall Confederacy and ſtricter Amity and Alliance ſhall in no ſort derogate from former Treaties and Confederacies entred into by the ſaid Princes with other their Confederates, or in any reſpect weaken or leſſen the Force and Authority thereof, (the Defenſe of the purer Religion, which the ſaid Princes do now maintain and embrace in their Kingdoms, onely excepted;) in which ſenſe and latitude we underſtand and intend that this preſent League of Defenſe and Offenſe ſhall remain in its full Strength, firm and inviolate.

Item, That the King of Scots *ſhall, when he arrives at the full age of* 25 *years, as ſoon as conveniently may be, approve and confirm the preſent Treaty, and cauſe it to be approved and confirmed, by a publick Aſſembly of the Eſtates of his Realm. And the ſame alſo ſhall the Queen's Majeſty doe and perform, and cauſe to be done and performed, in Parliament, by the Nobility and other States of her Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland.

A Conſpiracie againſt Q. *Elizabeth.*

The ſame month that this League was ratified a dangerous Conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt Queen *Elizabeth*; the Original and Progreſs whereof I will lay down as briefly as I can out of the voluntary Confeſſions of the Conſpiratours themſelves. In the Engliſh Seminary at *Rheims* ſome there were who, with a certain Aſtoniſhment admiring and reverencing the Omnipotency of the Biſhop of *Rome*, did believe that the Bull of *Pius Quintus* againſt Queen *Elizabeth* was dictated by the Holy Ghoſt: theſe men perſwaded themſelves, and others that eagerly deſired and itched after the Glory of Martyrdome, that it was a meritorious Act to kill ſuch Princes as were excommunicate, yea that they were Martyrs who loſt their Lives upon that account. Theſe things *Gifford* a Doctour of Divinity, *Gilbert Gifford* and *Hodgeſon* Prieſts, impreſſed ſo deeply upon one *John Savage*, (a Baſtard by report,) a man ready for any Undertaking, that he willingly and readily vowed to kill Queen *Elizabeth*.

Savage undertaketh to kill the Queen.

zabeth. At the ſame time they wrote a Book, (and that onely on purpoſe to lull the Queen and Councill fairly aſleep in Security, while they privily made way for their wicked Deſigns) wherein they admoniſhed the Papiſts in *England* not to attempt any thing againſt their Princeſs, but to fight againſt their Adverſaries onely with the Weapons of Chriſtians, viz. with Tears, ſpirituall Reaſonings, daily Prayers, Watchings and Faſtings: And withall they ſpred a falſe Rumour abroad by their Tale-bearers, that *George Gifford*, one of the Band of the Queen's Gentlemen-penſioners, had ſworn the Queen's Death, and in that reſpect had drawn a conſiderable Summe of Money from the Duke of *Guiſe*. 1586. The Plot cunningly concealed.

About Eaſter *John Ballard*, a Prieſt of the Seminary at *Rheims*, who had been viſiting many of the Papiſts in *England* and *Scotland*, and feeling their Pulſes, returned into *France* in company with one *Maud*, *Walſingham*'s Spy, (a notable crafty Diſſembler, who had egregiouſly deceived the unwary Prieſt) and tampered with Don *Bernardine de Mendoza*, the *Spaniard*'s Ordinary Embaſſadour then in *France*, and with *Charles Paget*, a man throughly devoted to the Queen of *Scots*, about Invading of *England*; judging it to be now a very fit time, whilſt the martiall-ſpirited men were abſent in the *Netherlands*: neither could they ever hope for a fairer Opportunity, foraſmuch as the Biſhop of *Rome*, the *Spaniard*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Prince of *Parma*, were all reſolved to ſet upon *England*, thereby to divert the War from the *Netherlands*. And though *Paget* demonſtrated clearly, that it was in vain to invade *England* as long as Queen *Elizabeth* lived; yet was *Ballard* ſent back again into *England*, having firſt been ingaged by Oath to procure Aſſiſtence with all Speed to joyn with the Invaders, and to effect the Queen of *Scots* Liberty.

Ballard returneth out of *England* into *France*.

A Deſign for invading *England*.

Ballard ſent back into *England*.

At Whitſontide arrived in *England* that ſilken Prieſt in Souldier's Habit, called commonly by the borrowed Name of Captain *Foſcu*. At *London* he brake the Buſineſs to *Anthony Babington* of *Dethick* in *Derbyſhire*, a young Gentleman of good Birth, rich, ripe-witted, and learned above moſt of his years: who, being addicted to the Romiſh Religion, had a little before gone over into *France*, unknown, without Licence, and grew familiarly acquainted with *Thomas Morgan*, one that retained to the Queen of *Scots*, and with the Biſhop of *Glaſcow* her Embaſſadour. Theſe two, by their continuall extolling the heroical Vertues of ſo great a Queen unto him, had put him into an aſſured Hope of acquiring great Honours by her Service: which the ambitious young Gentleman ſoon laid hold on. They recommended him alſo, when he little thought of it, by Letters to the Queen of *Scots*. For when he was returned into *England*, ſhe wrote ſeverall kind and loving Letters to him. And from that time *Morgan* made uſe of his Help in conveying Letters to her, till ſuch time as ſhe was committed to Sir *Amias Powlet*'s Keeping: for then the young Gentleman, perceiving the Danger, gave over. To this *Babington* (I ſay)

He meeteth with *Babington*.

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Ballard brake the Buſineſs aforeſaid. He was flatly of Opinion, that the Invaſion of *England* would ſignify nothing ſo long as Queen *Elizabeth* lived. But when *Ballard* had told him that ſhe would not live long, for *Savage* was now come into *England*, who had vowed to kill her; *Babington* was not ſatisfied that ſo weighty a Buſineſs ſhould be entruſted to *Savage* alone, leſt he ſhould fail of the Enterpriſe, but rather to ſix ſtout Gentlemen, of which number he would have *Savage* to be one, that ſo he might not break his Vow. *Babington* therefore contriveth a new Project for Invading the Realm by Forreiners, concerning the Havens where they ſhould land, the Aid that ſhould joyn with them, the Delivering of the Queen of *Scots*, and the *Tragicall Execution* of the Queen, as he termed it.

And acquainteth him with the Deſign. He approveth it, but not the way of carrying it on.

Whileſt his Mind was wholly intent upon this Buſineſs, he received Letters by an unknown Boy in a Cypher familiar betwixt the Queen of *Scots* and him, wherein ſhe gently blamed him for his long Silence, and deſired him to ſend her with all Speed a Packet of Letters come from *Morgan*, and delivered by the French Embaſſadour's Secretary. Which he did, and withall by the ſame Meſſenger ſent a Letter of his own unto her, wherein "he excuſeth his Silence, in regard "he wanted Opportunities of ſending any thing to her ever ſince "ſhe was committed to the Cuſtody of Sir *Amias Powlet* a Puritan, "a meer *Leiceſtrian*, and a moſt bitter Enemy of the Catholick Faith, (for ſo he called him.) "He relateth what Conference he had had with "*Ballard*; informeth her that Six Gentlemen were made choice of to "commit the *Tragicall Execution*; and that he himſelf with an hun- "dred more would at the ſame time ſet her at Liberty. He prayed "her that the heroicall Actours in this Buſineſs (for ſo he termed them) "might have Rewards aſſigned them, or elſe their Poſterity, "if they happened to periſh in the Attempt. To this Letter Anſwer was made the 27. of *July*; "*Babington*'s moſt entire Affection to the "Catholick Religion and to her is commended and applauded: but "he is adviſed to goe circumſpectly and wiſely to work. viz. That the "*Aſſociation* amongſt them ſhould be entred into upon Pretence that "they ſtood in fear of the *Puritans*. That there ſhould be no Riſing "before ſuch time as they were aſſured of forrein Aſſiſtence. That "ſome Diſturbance ſhould be raiſed in *Ireland* while the Stroak was "giving on this ſide. That *Arundell* and his Brothers and the Earl of "*Northumberland* ſhould be wrought over to her Party: and That "*Weſtmorland*, *Paget*, and others, ſhould be privily called home. The Way alſo for her Delivery was thus laid; viz. "either by Overthrow- "ing a Cart in the Gate, or ſetting Fire on the Stables, or by Inter- "cepting her as ſhe rode abroad for her Recreation in the Fields be- "twixt *Chartley* and *Stafford*. Laſtly, *Babington* is commanded to "paſs his Word to the Six Gentlemen and the reſt concerning their "Reward for their Service.

The Queen of *Scots* writeth to *Babington*.

His Letter back to her.

The Anſwer to his Letter.

He had now aſſociated to himſelf ſeverall Gentlemen who were very zealous for the Romiſh Religion: amongſt whom thoſe of moſt eminent

The partners in the Conſpiracy.

minent Note were, *Edward Windſore*, Brother to the Lord *Windſore*, a young man of a ſoftly Diſpoſition; *Thomas Salisbury*, of a Knightly Family in *Denbighſhire*; *Charles Tilney*, a Gentleman of an ancient Houſe, the onely Hopes of the Family, and one of the Band of Gentlemen-penſioners to the Queen, whom *Ballard* had lately reconciled to the Romiſh Church; both of them young Gentlemen of comely Perſonage; *Chidiock Tichburne*, of the County of *Southampton*; *Edward Abington*, whoſe Father had been Under-treaſurer or (as they commonly call him) Cofferer of the Queen's Houſhold; *Robert Gage*, of *Surrey*; *John Travers* and *John Charnock*, of *Lancaſhire*; *John Jones*, whoſe Father was Yeoman or Keeper of the Wardrobe to Queen *Mary*; *Savage*, whom I have ſpoken of already; *Barnwell*, of a noble Family in *Ireland*; and *Henry Dun*, Clark in the Office of Firſt-fruits and Tenths. One *Pollie* alſo inſinuated himſelf into their Company, a man who perfectly underſtood the Affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, a cunning Counterfeit and Diſſembler, who is thought to have revealed all their Conſultations from day to day to *Walſingham*, and to have egged on the young Gentlemen in this deſperate Undertaking, who were prone enough of themſelves to what was bad; though *Nawe*, the Queen of *Scots* Secretary, had given them ſecret Warning to beware of him. 1586.

To theſe men *Babington* breaketh the Deſign, but not all parts of it to every one of them. To *Ballard*, *Tichburne* and *Dun* he ſheweth his own Letters and the Scotiſh Queen's. *Tilney* and *Tichburne* he perſwadeth to be Executers of the Murther. They at firſt refuſe to imbrue their Hands in the Bloud of their Princeſs. *Ballard* and *Babington* labour to prove to them, that it is lawfull to kill Princes excommunicate; and if ever Equity and Juſtice be to be violated, it is to be done for the Promotion of the Catholick Religion. Being hereupon with much adoe perſwaded, they gave a kind of Conſent. *Abington*, *Barnwell*, *Charnock* and *Savage* take the Oath readily and chearfully to commit the Murther. *Salisbury* could by no means be perſwaded to have his Hand in Killing the Queen, but voluntarily promiſed his Help for ſetting the Queen of *Scots* at Liberty. Over and above thoſe before named, *Babington* pitcheth upon one *Tichenor* to make up the Crew, of whoſe Fidelity and Boldneſs he was well ſatisfied; but he was at preſent abſent a great way off. *Babington* chargeth them not to acquaint any man with the Buſineſs, but upon an Oath of Secrecy firſt taken. The Conſpiratours met ever anon to confer about theſe matters, either in Saint *Giles*'s Fields, or Saint *Paul*'s Church, or in Taverns, where they every day banquetted and feaſted, being puffed up with Hope of great Honours; now and then commending the Valour of thoſe Scotiſh Gentlemen who had not long before ſurprized the King at *Sterlin*; and of *Gerard* the *Burgundian*, who murthered the Prince of *Orange*. And to ſuch a height of fooliſh Vanity they proceeded, that they would needs have thoſe men that were appointed to be the Aſſaſſi-

Every man's part aſſigned him.

Conferences among them.

Their fooliſh Vanity.

1586. nates pictured to the life, and *Babington* in the midſt of them, with this Verſe,

Hi mihi ſunt Comites, quos ipſa Pericula ducunt.

Theſe men are my Companions, whom very Dangers draw. But foraſmuch as this Verſe pleaſed them not, as being too open and plain, they put in ſtead of it, *Quorſum hæc aliò properantibus?* that is, To what end are theſe things to men that haſten to another Purpoſe? Theſe Pictures (they ſay) were begun, and privately ſhewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by their Favour ſave onely *Barnwell*, who had often come to her about Buſineſs of the Earl of *Kildare*'s, to whom he retained: but being by other Tokens put in mind of him, ſhe remembred the man very well. Sure it is, that when upon a time ſhe walked abroad, and ſaw *Barnwell*, ſhe beheld him undauntedly, and turning herſelf to *Hatton*, Captain of the Guard, and others, ſhe ſaid, *Am not I fairly guarded, that have not a man in my Company that wears a Sword?* For ſo *Barnwell* himſelf related to the reſt of the Conſpiratours, and ſhewed them how eaſily ſhe might have been made away at that time, if the Conſpiratours had been there in readineſs. *Savage* alſo affirmed the ſame.

Babington careful for forrein Aſſiſtence.

Nothing now more perplexed *Babington*, then leſt the Promiſe made of forrein Aid ſhould not be performed. Therefore to make ſure thereof, he reſolved himſelf to goe over into *France*, and to that purpoſe to ſend *Ballard* privately before, for whom by his Money, under a counterfeit Name, he had procured a Licence to travell. And that there might not be the leaſt Suſpicion of himſelf, he inſinuated into *Walſingham* by means of *Pollie*, whom I ſpake of before, and earneſtly beſought him to procure him a Licence from the Queen to travell into *France*, promiſing to doe her extraordinary good Service in pumping out and diſcovering the ſecret Deſigns of the Fugitives in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*. *Walſingham* commended the young Gentleman's Purpoſe, and promiſed him not onely a Licence to travell, but alſo many and great matters if he performed what he undertook. Yet did he linger and delay him, ſifting out in the mean time, by his own and other mens Cunning and Diligence, the whole Plot, when they thought that the very Sun was a Stranger to it: but this he did principally through the Diſcovery of *Gilbert Gifford* a Prieſt.

He intendeth to ſend Ballard to France about it.

He inſinuateth into Walſingham.

Walſingham cunningly deceiveth the Deceiver.

Gifford revealeth the Conſpiracy.

This *Gifford* was born of a good Family at *Chellington* in the County of *Stafford*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of *Scots* was Priſoner; and was ſent about this time into *England* by the Fugitives, under the counterfeit Name of *Luſon*, to put *Savage* in mind of his Vow, and privately to lurk here as a Meſſenger to convey Letters betwixt them and the Queen of *Scots*: for ſo dangerous was that Service, that they could draw neither the Counteſs of *Arundell*, nor the Lord *Lumley*, nor the Lord *Henry Howard*, nor yet *George Shirley*, to undertake it.

He is intruſted to convey Letters betwixt the Fugitives and the Queen of Scots.

The Fugitives, to make Trial whether *Gifford* would be faithfull in

in the ſafe conveying of their Letters, ſent at firſt ſeveral empty Papers, (which we call Blanks,) made up like Letters; which when they found, by the Anſwers they received, to have been delivered, they grew then more confident of him, and ſent frequently other Letters written in Cyphers concerning their Buſineſs. But *Gifford*, whether pricked in Conſcience, or formerly corrupted with Mony, or terrified with Fear, had before this come to *Walſingham* privately, informed him what he was, and to what purpoſe ſent into *England*, offered him his beſt Service in Love to his Prince and Country, and promiſed to impart unto him all the Letters he ſhould receive either from the Fugitives, or from the Queen of *Scots*. *Walſingham*, laying hold on the Opportunity offered, entertained the man kindly, ſent him into *Staffordſhire*, and wrote to *Powlet*, that he ſhould connive at the corrupting of one of his men by *Gifford*. *Powlet*, unwilling that any of his own Servants ſhould (as he ſaid) become a Traitour by ſuch diſſembling, denied it; yet permitted he him to corrupt a Brewer or ſome ſuch man who dwelt hard by. *Gifford* with a few Pieces of Gold ſoon corrupted the Brewer, who privately put in the Letters, and received Anſwers of them, through an Hole in the Wall, which was ſtopped with a looſe Stone; which Letters forthwith came to *Walſingham*'s Hands by Meſſengers ready on purpoſe to carry them. *Walſingham* opened them, wrote them out, found out the Cyphers by the ſingular Art and Skill of *Thomas Phelipps*, and by the Direction of *Arthur Gregory* ſealed them up again ſo cunningly, that no man could ever judge they had been opened, and ſo ſent them to thoſe to whom they were directed by the Superſcriptions. Thus were intercepted thoſe foremention'd Letters of the Queen of *Scots* to *Babington*, and his in Anſwer to her, and another of hers to him, (wherein was cunningly added (after the opening) a Poſtſcript in the ſame Characters, deſiring him to ſet down the Names of the 6 Gentlemen, and its likely other things too;) alſo the Letters which were written the ſame day and Date to *Mendoza* the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, to *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, and Sir *Francis Ingleſield*: all which were firſt copied out, and then ſent over Sea.

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He ſendeth all the Letters he receiveth to *Walſingham*. They are tranſcribed, and then ſent according to their Directions.

Queen *Elizabeth*, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood by theſe Letters that ſo dreadfull a Storm hung over her Head, on the one ſide from her own Subjects at Home, and on the other ſide from Strangers abroad, gave Command, for the timely Suppreſſing of the Conſpiracy, that *Ballard* ſhould forthwith be apprehended. Him therefore they ſeized on before he was aware in *Babington*'s Houſe at the very moment when he was ready to ſet forward on his Journey for *France*. Hereupon *Babington* grew very much troubled and penſive, toſſed with a thouſand Uncertainties of an unreſolved Mind: and while his Thoughts ran now this way now that way, at length he betook himſelf to *Tichburne*, and adviſed with him what was beſt to be done. *Tichburne*'s Counſell was, that the Conſpiratours ſhould forthwith

Ballard apprehended as he was ready to goe for *France*.

Babington thereupon perplexed.

1586. diſperſe themſelves and fly. But *Babington* thought it the beſt Courſe, to ſend *Savage* and *Charnock* preſently to execute the Murther: but firſt, that they might get the better Acceſs, he thought good to provide *Savage* of more handſome and courtly Apparel, and hereof he diſcourſed with them the ſame day in S. *Paul*'s Church. But preſently his Mind altered, and, concealing the inward Anguiſh of his troubled Breaſt, he preſſed *Walſingham* (then abſent at Court) by Letters and earneſt Intreaties, that he might now at length have his Licence granted to travel into *France*; and withall ſolicited him for the Delivery of *Ballard*, who would be of ſpecial Uſe and Service to him in the Buſineſs he had undertaken. *Walſingham* feedeth him with fair Promiſes from day to day. That *Ballard* was apprehended, he layeth the Blame upon *Young*, that ſubtil Diſcoverer of Papiſts, and upon the Purſivants; and, as it were out of Love and Friendſhip, warneth *Babington* to beware of that kind of men: and now he eaſily perſwadeth the young Gentleman to lodge in his Houſe at *London* till the Queen had ſigned his Licence, and till himſelf could return to *London*, that they might have the more ſecret and ſecure Conference about matters of ſuch Moment and Conſequence, and that there might no Suſpicion ariſe of him amongſt the Fugitives when he ſhould come into *France* upon account of his frequent Repair to his Houſe. In the mean time *Scudamore*, *Walſingham*'s man, was commanded to have a diligent and watchful Eye upon him, and to keep him company in all places, under Pretence of ſecuring him from Purſivants.

He ſoliciteth for *Ballard*'s Delivery. *Walſingham*'s Policy.

A ſtrict and watchfull Eye upon *Babington*.

Thus far had *Walſingham* ſpun this Thread alone, without acquainting the reſt of the Queen's Council: and longer he would have drawn it, but the Queen would not ſuffer it, *Leſt* (as ſhe ſaid herſelf) *by not heeding and preventing the Danger while ſhe might, ſhe ſhould ſeem rather to tempt God, then to truſt in God.* A Note was therefore ſent from the Court from *Walſingham* to his Man, that he ſhould more ſtrictly obſerve *Babington*. This Note being unſealed, was delivered ſo to him that *Babington*, ſitting at the Board next him, read it along with him. Hereupon his Conſcience accuſing him, and ſuſpecting that all was come to light, the next Night, when he and *Scudamore* and one or two more of *Walſingham*'s men had ſupped plentifully in a Tavern, he aroſe from the Board as if he intended to pay the Reconing, and, leaving his Cloak and Sword behind him, made all the Haſt he could in the dark to *Weſtminſter*, where *Gage* changed Cloaths with him, who preſently ſtripped himſelf again in *Charnock*'s Chamber, and put on *Charnock*'s Cloaths; and immediately they withdrew themſelves into *Saint John*'s Wood near the City, whither alſo *Burnwell* and *Dun* made their Retreat. In the mean time they were publickly proclaimed Traitours all over *England*. They were now fain to lurk in Woods and blind Corners; and having in vain tried to borrow Money of the French Embaſſadour, and Horſes of *Tichburne*, cut off *Babington*'s Hair, diſguiſed and ſullied the

He ſlinketh away.

He and others lurk in the Woods.

the natural Beauty of his Face with the Rind of green Walnuts, and being hardly put to it by Hunger, they went to an Houſe of the *Bellamies* near *Harrow on the Hill*, which *Bellamies* were ſtrongly addicted to the Romiſh Religion. There were they hid in Barns, there were they fed, and cloathed in rude Country Habit. But the tenth day after they were diſcovered and brought up to *London*, the City teſtifying their publick Joy by ringing of Bells, making of Bone-fires, and ſinging of Pſalms; inſomuch as the Citizens were highly commended and thanked by the Queen for theſe Teſtimonies of their good Affection. 1586.

They are diſcovered and taken.

The reſt of the Conſpiratours were taken ſoon after, moſt of them in places near the City; *Salisbury* in *Cheſhire*, having his Horſe run through by thoſe that purſued him, and with him *Travers*, after they had ſwam over the River *Wever*. *Jones* was taken in *Wales*, who, being privy to the deſigned Invaſion, had concealed them in his Houſe after he knew them to be proclaimed Traitours; and had horſed *Salisbury* in his Flight, and changed Cloaks with his man, which was a Prieſt. Onely *Windſore* was not to be found. Many days were ſpent in Examining of them, who cut one anothers Throats by their Confeſſions, and diſcovered the whole Truth of the Buſineſs.

The reſt taken alſo.

They diſcover all, and impeach one another.

All this while was the Queen of *Scots* and her Servants kept by *Powlet* with ſo ſtrict a Watch and ſo cloſely obſerved, that ſhe was utterly ignorant of all theſe Occurrences, though they were commonly known and talked of all over *England*. But as ſoon as theſe Conſpiratours were apprehended, Sir *Thomas Gorges* was ſent to give her a brief Account thereof: which News he ſurprized her with, and that of ſet purpoſe, juſt as ſhe had taken Horſe to ride a-Hunting. Neither was ſhe permitted to return to the place of her Cuſtody, but was led about (under a Shew of doing her Honour) from one Gentleman's Houſe to another's dwelling thereabouts. In the mean time Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aſton*, Sir *Richard Bagot*, and Maſter *William Waad*, (who was lately ſent into thoſe parts, and wholly ignorant of the matter,) by Authority granted them under the Queen's Warrant and Letters, committed *Nawe* and *Curle*, her two Secretaries, to ſeveral Keepers, that they might have no Conference either with one another, or with the Queen. And then breaking open the Doors of her private Cloſet, they ſent all her Cabinets wherein her Papers were kept, ſealed up with their own Seals, to the Court. Then *Powlet* (as he was commanded) ſeized upon all her Money, leſt ſhe ſhould corrupt any body with Bribes, and paſſed his word for the true reſtoring the ſame. Her Cabinets being ſearched before Queen *Elizabeth*, there were found many Letters from perſons beyond Sea, as alſo Copies of Letters written to ſeveral, Breviaries, and about 60 Indexes or Tables of private Cyphers and Characters; Letters alſo from ſome Engliſh Noblemen to her, full of expreſſions of Love and Reſpect. Which notwithſtanding Queen

The Queen of *Scots* led about the Country.

Nawe and *Curle*, her Secretaries, ſecured.

Her Cabinets of Papers ſent to the Queen.

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Elizabeth diſſembled and concealed in Silence, according to that Motto which ſhe uſed, *Video, & taceo*, that is, I ſee, but ſay nothing. But they having got ſome Inkling thereof, began from that time to ſhew themſelves deadly Adverſaries to the Queen of *Scots*, leſt they might ſeem to have favoured her before.

Gifford ſent back into *France*.

Now *Gifford*, having acted his Part thus far in this Scene, was ſent away back into *France* as if he had been baniſhed hence; but firſt he left behind him with the French Embaſſadour in *England* an indented Paper, with Direction that he ſhould deliver the Letters he received from the Queen of *Scots*, or from the Fugitives, to no other perſon but him that ſhould ſhew the Counterpane thereof; which Counterpane was privily ſent by him to *Walſingham*. This

Where he dieth miſerably.

Gifford, being returned into *France*, was after ſome months caſt into Priſon for incontinent and diſhoneſt living; and being withall ſuſpected there of theſe things, he died miſerably, freely confeſſing moſt of the Paſſages already mentioned, which were alſo found penned down in ſome Papers he had by him in his Coffers.

The Conſpiratours arraigned,

On the 13. of *September* ſeven of the Conſpiratours were arraigned, confeſſed themſelves guilty, and were condemned of High treaſon. The next day but one after ſeven others were in like manner arraigned, pleaded *Not guilty*, and ſubmitted themſelves to be tried by *God and the Countrey*, as the manner is; who were all found guilty out of their own Confeſſions, and condemned. *Pollie* onely of the number, though he were privy to all the Buſineſs, yet becauſe he affirmed that he had revealed ſeveral things to *Walſingham*, was not arraigned.

and executed.

On the 20. of the ſame month (a Gallows and a Scaffold being ſet up for that purpoſe in Saint *Giles*'s Fields, where they were wont to meet,) the firſt ſeven were hanged, cut down, their Privities cut off, their Bowels taken out before their Faces while they were alive, and their Bodies quartered, not without ſome note and touch of Cruelty.

Their Carriage at their Death.

Ballard, the Arch-plotter and Contriver of this Treaſon, craved Pardon of God, and of the Queen if ſo be he had ſinned againſt her. *Babington* (who beheld *Ballard*'s Execution without being the leaſt daunted, while the reſt turned away their Faces, and fell to Prayers upon their Knees,) ingenuouſly acknowledged his Offence. Being taken down from the Gallows, and now ready to be cut up, he cried aloud ſeveral times in Latin, *Parce mihi, Domine Jeſu*, that is, Spare or Forgive me, O Lord *Jeſus*. *Savage* brake the Rope, and fell down from the Gallows, and was preſently ſeized on by the Executioner, his Privities cut off, and his Bowels taken out alive. *Barnwell* extenuated his Crime upon the account of Religion and Conſcience. *Tichburne* humbly acknowledged his Fault, and moved the Multitude to Pity and Commiſeration of his Caſe. As in like manner did *Tilney*, a man of a modeſt Diſpoſition and comely Perſonage. *Abington*, a man of a turbulent Spirit, ſought to terrifie them with Menaces and Threats of Bloud which ſhould, he ſaid, be ſpilt ere long in *England*.

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The next day the other ſeven were drawn to the ſame place, and ſuffered the ſame kind of death; but ſomewhat more favourably, by the Queen's expreſs Command, who deteſted the former Cruelty: for they all hung till they were quite dead before they were cut down and bowelled.

Salisbury was the firſt, who died very penitent, admoniſhing the Catholicks not to attempt to reſtore Religion by Force and arms. In like manner did *Dun*, who next followed him. *Jones* proteſted that he diſſwaded *Salisbury* from the Attempt, and utterly condemned *Babington's* proud and raſh Headineſs, and the Deſign for Invaſion. *Charnock* and *Travers*, having their Minds wholly fixed on Prayer, recommended themſelves to God and the Saints. *Gage* extolled the Queen's great Grace and Bounty to his Father, and deteſted his own perfidious Ingratitude towards his Princeſs, to whom he was ſo deeply engaged. *Hierom Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was openly proclaimed Traitour, (whoſe Brother was guilty of the ſame Crime, and ſtrangled himſelf in Priſon,) with Confuſion and deep Silence brought up the Rere.

The Queen of *Scots* Secretaries examined.

Theſe being thus executed, *Nawe* a French-man and *Curle* a *Scot*, who were the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, being examined about the Letters, Copies of Letters, Notes and Cyphers found in the Queen's private Cloſet, voluntarily acknowledged, and ſubſcribed to it, that the Letters were of their Hand-writing, as they were dictated from the Queen's own Mouth in French to *Nawe*, and tranſlated into Engliſh by *Curle*, and ſo wrote in Cyphers. Neither did they deny but ſhe had received Letters from *Babington*, and that by her Command they had written back to him to the ſame purpoſe as I have before related. Whether theſe Secretaries were bribed to confeſs this I cannot ſay: Yet this appears out of ſome Letters, that when *Curle* about this time claimed Promiſe of *Walſingham*, *Walſingham* taxed him as unmindfull of the extraordinary Favour he had done him, and told him he had confeſſed nothing but what he could not deny, becauſe *Nawe* his Fellow juſtified it to his Face.

The ſincerity of their Confeſſion ſuſpected.

The French King informed of all by Q. *Elizabeth*.

Shortly after was Sir *Edward Wotton* ſent into *France*, to inform the King of the whole Management of the Conſpiracy, and to ſhew him the Copies of the Letters of the Queen of *Scots* and others, atteſted by the Depoſitions of certain Noblemen of *England*, to juſtify the Truth thereof; that ſo the French King might ſee into what great Dangers the Queen of *England* had been brought by the Practices of *Morgan*, *Charles Paget*, and others in *France*.

Different Opinions what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots*.

And now what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots* the Councill were of ſeverall Minds and Opinions. Some thought that no new rigourous Courſe was to be taken with her, but onely that ſhe was to be committed to cloſer Cuſtody, both becauſe ſhe was not the Authour of the Miſchief, but onely Acceſſary to it; as alſo becauſe ſhe was ſickly, and not like to live long. Others were of opinion that, for the Security and Preſervation of Religion, ſhe was forthwith to be

1586. be put to death, and that by Law. *Leiceſter* thought rather by Poiſon, and ſent a Divine privately to *Walſingham* to ſatisfy him that it was lawfull. But *Walſingham* proteſted he was ſo far from conſenting that any Violence ſhould be done unto her, that he had of late croſſed *Morton*'s Counſell, who adviſed that ſhe ſhould be ſent back into *Scotland*, and put to death in the very Frontiers and Borders of both Kingdomes. Then they differed in opinion by what Law ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt, whether by the Statute of the 25. year of *Edward* the Third, (whereby *he is made guilty of Treaſon who ſhall compaſs or imagine the Deſtruction of the King or Queen, raiſe War in his or her Kingdome, or adhere to his or her Enemies,*) or by the late Act in the 27. of Q. *Elizabeth*, whereof I have made mention before. At length it was carried by thoſe who thought ſhe was rather to be tried by this laſt Act, as being made for this very Purpoſe and Occaſion, and therefore to be put in Execution. To the end therefore that Proceſs might be made and Sentence pronounced according to this Act, made the laſt Year againſt all ſuch as ſhould raiſe Rebellion, invade the Realm, or attempt any Violence towards the Queen, ſeverall of the Privy Council and other Noblemen of *England* were made Commiſſioners by the Queen's Patent for her Triall. Whoſe Names (becauſe it may concern Poſterity to know the Rank and Titles of the Noblemen of *England*) I have thought good to ſet down out of the very Originall, which runneth thus in the ordinary Form of the Court.

And by what Law ſhe ſhould be tried.

Reſolved to try her by the late Act of Treaſon.

Commiſſioners appointed to try her.

The Commiſſion, and Commiſſioners names.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Lord Chancellour.

Lord Treaſurer.

Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*.

Earl of *Oxford*.

Shrewſbury.

Kent.

Derby.

Worceſter.

Rutland.

Warwick.

Pembroke.

Leiceſter.

"*Elizabeth* by the Grace of God, of *England*, *France* and *Ireland* "Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the moſt Reverend Father "in *Chriſt*, *John* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropoli- "tan of all *England*, and one of our Privy Council; and to our tru- "ſty and well-beloved Sir *Thomas Bromely* Knight, Chancellour of "*England*, and one of our Privy Council; and alſo to our truſty "and well-beloved *William* Lord *Burghley*, Lord Treaſurer of *Eng*- "*land*, another of our Privy Council; and alſo to our moſt dear "Couſin *William* Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, one of the Lords "of the Parliament: To our moſt dear Couſin *Edward* Earl of "*Oxford*, great Chamberlain of *England*, another of the Lords of "the Parliament; and alſo to our moſt dear Couſin *George* Earl of "*Shrewſbury*, Earl-Marſhall of *England*, another of our Privy Coun- "cil; and to our moſt dear Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, another of the "Lords of the Parliament; and alſo to our moſt dear Couſin *Henry* "Earl of *Derby*, another of our Privy Council; and to our moſt dear "Couſin *William* Earl of *Worceſter*, another of the Lords of the Par- "liament; and alſo to our moſt dear Couſin *Edward* Earl of *Rut*- "*land*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and to our moſt "dear Couſin *Ambroſe* Earl of *Warwick*, Maſter of our Ordinances, "another of our Privy Council; and to our moſt dear Couſin *Henry* "Earl of *Pembroke*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and "alſo to our moſt dear Couſin *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Maſter of

our

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"our Horſe, another of our Privy Council; and to our moſt dear
"Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln*, another of the Lords of the Parlia-
"ment; and alſo to our moſt dear Couſin *Antony* Viſcount *Monta-*
"*gue*, another of the Lords of the Parliament: And to our tru-
"ſty and well-beloved *Charles* Lord *Howard*, our high Admirall of
"*England*, another of our Privy Council; and to our truſty and
"well-beloved *Henry* Lord of *Hunſdon*, our Lord Chamberlain, ano-
"ther of our Privy Council; and alſo to our truſty and well-belo-
"ved *Henry* Lord *Abergavenny*, another of the Lords of the Parlia-
"ment; and to our truſty and well-beloved *Edward* Lord *Zouch*,
"another of the Lords of the Parliament; and alſo to our truſty and
"well-beloved *Edward* Lord *Morley*, another of the Lords of the
"Parliament; and to our truſty and well-beloved *William* Lord
"*Cobham*, Lord Warden of our Cinque-ports, another of our Privy
"Council; and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *Edward* Lord
"*Stafford*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and alſo to our
"truſty and well-beloved *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, another of
"the Lords of the Parliament; and alſo to our truſty and well-
"beloved *John* Lord *Lumley*, another of the Lords of the Parlia-
"ment; and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *John* Lord *Stour-*
"*ton*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and to our truſty
"and well-beloved *William* Lord *Sandes*, another of the Lords of
"the Parliament; and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *Henry*
"Lord *Wentworth*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; to our
"truſty and well-beloved *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, another of the
"Lords of the Parliament; and to our truſty and well-beloved *John*
"Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletneſho*, another of the Lords of the Parlia-
"ment; and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *Thomas* Lord
"*Buckhurſt*, another of our Privy Council; and to our truſty and
"well-beloved *Henry* Lord *Compton*, another of the Lords of the
"Parliament; and alſo to our truſty and well-beloved *Henry* Lord
"*Cheiney*, another of the Lords of the Parliament: To our truſty
"and beloved Sir *Francis Knolles* Knight, Treaſurer of our Houſ-
"hold, another of our Privy Council; and alſo to our truſty and
"beloved Sir *James Croftes* Knight, Controller of our ſaid Houſhold,
"another of our Privy Council; and to our truſty and beloved Sir
"*Chriſtopher Hatton* Knight, our Vice-chamberlain, another of our
"Privy Council; and alſo to our truſty and beloved Sir *Francis*
"*Walſingham* Knight, one of our principall Secretaries, another of
"our Privy Council; and alſo to our truſty and beloved *William*
"*Daviſon* Eſquire, another of our principal Secretaries, and of our
"Privy Council; and to our truſty and beloved Sir *Ralph Sadleir*
"Knight, Chancellour of our Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, another of our
"Privy Council; and alſo to our truſty and beloved Sir *Walter*
"*Mildmay* Knight, Chancellour of our Exchequer, another of our
"Privy Council; and to our truſty and beloved Sir *Amias Powlet*
"Knight, Captain of our Iſle of *Jerſey*, another of our Privy Coun-
"cill;

Lincoln. Viſcount *Montague.* *Howard* Lord Admiral. *Hunſdon.* *Abergavenny.* *Zouch.* *Morley.* *Cobham.* *Stafford.* *Grey.* *Lumley.* *Stourton.* *Sandes.* *Wentworth.* *Mordant.* *Saint-John of Bletneſho.* *Buckhurſt.* *Compton.* *Cheiney.* Sir *Francis Knolles.* Sir *James Croftes.* Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton.* Sir *Francis Walſingham.* Secretary *Daviſon.* Sir *Ralph Sadleir.* Sir *Walter Mildmay.* Sir *Amias Powlet.*

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Secretary *Wolley.* Judges, *Wray. Anderson. Manwood. Gawdy.*

Periam.

"cil; and to our trusty and beloved *John Wolley* Esquire, our Se-
"cretary for the Latine Tongue, another of our Privy Council:
"And also to our trusty and beloved Sir *Christopher Wray*, Knight,
"Chief Justicer assigned for the Pleas to be holden before us; and
"to our trusty and beloved Sir *Edmond Anderson*, Knight, our
"Chief Justicer of the Bench; Sir *Roger Manwood*, Knight, our Chief
"Baron of our Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Gawdy*, Knight, one of our Ju-
"sticers assigned for the Pleas to be holden before us; and *William*
"*Periam*, one of our Justicers of the Bench, Greeting, &c. Then,
(not to write it all down *verbatim*) after the Recitall of the Law or
Act (as our Lawyers term it) made the last Year, thus it followeth:
"Whereas since the end of the Session of Parliament, viz. since the
"first day of *June* in the 27. Year of our Reign, divers things have
"been compassed and imagined tending to the Hurt of our Royall
"Person, as well by *Mary* Daughter and Heir of *James* the Fifth
"King of *Scots*, and commonly called Queen of *Scots*, and Dowager
"of *France*, pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of *Eng-*
"*land*, as by divers other persons, *cum scientia* (in English, *with the*
"*Privity*) of the said *Mary*, as we are given to understand; And
"whereas we do intend and resolve, that the aforesaid Act shall be in
"all and every part thereof duly and effectually put in Execution
"according to the Tenour of the same, and that all Offenses above-
"said, in the Act abovesaid mentioned, as afore is said, and the Cir-
"cumstances of the same, shall be examined, and Sentence or Judge-
"ment thereupon given, according to the Tenour and Effect of the
"said Act: To you, and the greater part of you, we do give full
"and absolute Power, Licence and Authority, according to the Te-
"nour of the said Act, to examine all and singular matters compas-
"sed and imagined tending to the Hurt of our Royall Person, as
"well by the aforesaid *Mary*, as by any other person or persons
"whatsoever *cum scientia* (in English, *with the Privity*) of the said
"*Mary*, and all Circumstances of the same; and all other Offenses
"whatsoever abovesaid, in the Act abovesaid (as afore is said) men-
"tioned, and all Circumstances of the same, and of every of them;
"And thereupon, according to the Tenour of the Act aforesaid, to
"give Sentence or Judgement, as upon good Proof the Matter shall
"appear unto you. And therefore we command you, that you do
"at such certain days and places, which you or the greater part of
"you shall for that Purpose set and agree upon, diligently proceed
"upon the Premisses in form aforesaid, *&c.*

They meet at *Fotheringhay* Castle.

The greatest part of these Commissioners met on the 11. of *Octo-*
ber at *Fotheringhay* Castle in the County of *Northampton*, seated up-
on the Bank of the River *Nen*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then
in Custody. The next day the Commissioners sent unto her Sir *Wal-*
ter Mildmay, *Powlet*, and *Edward Barker* publick Notary, who deli-
vered into her Hands Queen *Elizabeth*'s Letters: which when she
had read, with a Countenance composed to Royal Dignity, and with

"a quiet

a quiet and untroubled Mind, ſhe thus delivered herſelf: "It grieveth "me much that the Queen, my moſt dear Siſter, is miſinformed of me; "and that I, after ſo many years ſtreight Durance in Priſon, and my "being grown lame in my Limms, have lain wholly neglected, though "I have offered ſo many reaſonable Conditions for my Liberty. "Though I have given her full and faithfull Notice of ſeveral Dan-"gers that threatned, yet hath no Credit been given to me, but I have "been ſtill contemned and ſlighted, though I be ſo nearly allied unto "her in Bloud. When the Aſſociation was entred into, and the Act of "Parliament made thereupon, I foreſaw that whatſoever Danger "ſhould happen, either from forrein Princes abroad, or from ill-"diſpoſed people at Home, or for Religion's ſake, I muſt bear the "whole Blame, having ſo many mortal Enemies in the Court. Cer-"tainly I might take it very ill, and that not without juſt Reaſon, that "a League hath been lately made with my Son without my Know-"ledge or Privity: but ſuch matters I omit. As for this Letter, it ſee-"meth ſtrange to me, that the Queen ſhould command me, as a Sub-"ject, to ſubmit myſelf to a Trial. I am an abſolute Queen, and will "doe nothing which may be prejudicial either to Royal Majeſty, or "to other Princes of my Place and Rank, or my Son. My Mind is "not yet ſo far dejected, neither will I faint or ſink under this my "Calamity. I refer myſelf to what I have formerly proteſted be-"fore *Bromley*, now Chancellour, and the Lord *La ware*. The Laws "and Statutes of *England* are to me altogether unknown, I am de-"ſtitute of Counſellours, and who ſhall be my Peers I cannot tell. My "Papers and Notes are taken from me, and no man dareth appear "to be my Advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any thing a-"gainſt the Queen, I have ſtirred up no man againſt her, and am not "to be charged but upon mine own Words or Writings, which I "am ſure cannot be produced againſt me. Yet can I not deny but "I have recommended myſelf and my Condition unto forrein "Princes.

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The Queen of *Scots* anſwereth *extempore* to the Queen's Letters.

The next day *Powlet* and *Barker* returned to her from the Commiſſioners, to let her know that this Anſwer of hers was put in Writing, and ask her whether ſhe would own it and ſtand to it. When ſhe had heard it diſtinctly read, ſhe acknowledged it to be rightly and truly taken, and ſaid ſhe would ſtand to it. "But this (ſaid ſhe) "I have quite forgotten, which I would now have to be added. "Whereas the Queen writes that I am ſubject to the Laws of *Eng-"land*, and to be tried and judged by them, becauſe I have lived under "the Protection of them; I anſwer, that I came into *England* to crave "her Aid and Aſſiſtence, and have been ever ſince detained in Pri-"ſon, ſo that I could not enjoy the Protection or Benefit of the "Laws of *England*; nay, I could never yet underſtand from any "man what manner of Laws thoſe were.

She addeth to her Anſwer.

In the Afternoon came to her ſome that were choſen and deputed from amongſt the reſt of the Commiſſioners, together with men learned

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The Commissioners advise her to appear to her Trial.

She refuseth.

ned in the Civil and Canon Law. The Lord Chancellour and the Lord Treasurer justified their Authority by their Patent and Commission, and shewed, that neither her Imprisonment nor her Prerogative of Royal Majesty could exempt her from Answering in this Kingdom, with fair words advising her to hear what should be objected against her: otherwise they threatned, that by Authority of the Law they both could and would proceed against her, though she were absent. She answered, *That she was no Subject, and rather would she die a thousand Deaths then acknowledge herself a Subject, considering that by such an Acknowledgment she should both wrong the Sublimity of Regal Majesty, and withall confess herself to be bound by all the Laws of* England, *even in matter of Religion. Nevertheless she was ready to answer all things in a free and full Parliament: as for this Meeting and Assembly, it was (for ought she knew) devised against her (being already condemned and forejudged to die) purposely to give some Shew and Colour of a just and legal Proceeding. She warned them therefore to look to their Consciences, and to remember that the Theater of the whole World is much wider then the Kingdom of* England. Then she began to complain of the Injuries done her. But the Lord Treasurer, interrupting her, began to recon up Queen *Elizabeth*'s Kindnesses towards her: namely, That she had punished divers who had opposed and denied her Title to the Crown of *England*; and had been a means to keep her from being condemned by the Estates of the Realm for endeavouring Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, for the Rebellion in the North, and several other matters. All which when she seemed to make little Esteem and Account of, they returned back to the rest of their Fellows.

She excepteth against the new Law.

Within few hours after they sent her by *Powlet* and the Solicitour the Contents of their Commission, and the Names of the Commissioners, that she might see they were to proceed according to Equity and Reason, and not upon any cunning Niceties of Law, or take any extraordinary Course. She took no Exceptions against the Commissioners, but objected strongly against the late-made Law, upon which the Authority of their Commission solely depended, as that it was unjust, devised of purpose against her, that it was without Example, and such whereunto she would never subject herself. She asked by what Law they intended to proceed. If by the Civil or Canon Law, then (said she) you must send for Interpreters of it from *Pavia*, or *Poitiers*, or some other forrein Universitie, for in *England* are none to be found fit for it. She added also, that it was manifest by the plain words of the Queen's Letters, that she was already fore-judged to be guilty of the Crime, before she was heard; and therefore there was no reason why she should appear before them.

She scruples some things in the Queen's Letters.

She farther required to be satisfied touching some Scruples she had concerning several things in those Letters, which she had for her own Satisfaction confusedly and in haste taken Notice of, but would not deliver them in writing: for it stood not

(she

(ſhe ſaid) with her Royal Dignity to play the Scrivener. 1586.

Touching this matter the formerly-deputed Commiſſioners were ſent unto her again: whom ſhe told, that ſhe did not well underſtand what thoſe words meant, *Seeing ſhe is under the Queen's Protection.* The Lord Chancellour anſwered, *That this was plain to every one that underſtood any thing; yet was it not for Subjects to interpret what the Queen's Meaning was, neither were they made Commiſſioners for that Intent and Purpoſe.* Then ſhe required to have her Proteſtation, which ſhe had formerly made, ſhewed and allowed. It was anſwered, That it never had been, nor now could be, allowed, becauſe it was prejudicial to the Crown of *England.* She asked by what Authority they would proceed. It was anſwered, By Authority of their Commiſſion, and by the Common Law of *England.* *But* (ſaid ſhe) *ye make Laws at your Pleaſure, whereunto I have no reaſon to ſubmit myſelf, conſidering that the* Engliſh *in times paſt refuſed to ſubmit themſelves to the Salick Law in* France. *And if they would proceed by the Common Law of* England, *they ſhould produce Precedents and like Caſes, foraſmuch as that Law conſiſteth much of Caſes and Cuſtome. And if by the Canon Law, none elſe ought to interpret the ſame but the Makers thereof.* It was anſwered, *That they would proceed neither by the Civil nor Canon Law, but by the Common Law of* England: *That it might nevertheleſs be proved both by the Civil and Canon Law, that ſhe ought to appear before them, if ſhe would not refuſe to hear it.* And indeed ſhe refuſed not to hear it, provided (as ſhe ſaid) it were by way of *Interlocution* and Diſcourſe, not *judicially.*

She requireth to have her Proteſtation admitted. Which is denied. She queſtions by what Authority and what Law they would proceed.

After that ſhe fell into other Speeches: "That ſhe never had any "Thoughts tending to the Deſtruction of the Queen; That ſhe had "been provoked and incenſed with ſeveral Injuries and Indignities; "That ſhe ſhould be a Stone of Offenſe to others, if ſhe were ſo un- "worthily handled; That by *Nawe* ſhe had offered her beſt Aſſi- "ſtence for revoking the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Bull; That ſhe would have "juſtified her Innocency by Letters, but ſhe was not allowed to doe "it; and finally, That all the Offices of Kindneſs and Good will "which ſhe had tendred theſe 20 years had been rejected and ſligh- "ted. While ſhe thus wandred from the Buſineſs by theſe Digreſ- ſions, they recalled her back, and prayed her to ſpeak plainly, whether ſhe would anſwer before the Commiſſioners or not. She replied, That the Authority of their Commiſſion was founded up- "on a late Law made to intrap her; That ſhe could by no means a- "way with the Queen's Laws, which ſhe had good reaſon to ſuſpect: "That ſhe had ſtill a good Heart full of Courage, and would not "derogate from her Progenitours the Kings of *Scotland*, by owning "herſelf a Subject to the Crown of *England*; for this were nothing "elſe but openly to confeſs them to have been Rebels and Trai- "tours. Yet ſhe refuſed not to anſwer, provided ſhe were not re- "duced to the Rank of a Subject. But ſhe had rather utterly pe- "riſh then to anſwer as a Criminal perſon.

She juſtifies herſelf; and ſtill refuſeth to appear.

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Hatton perswadeth her to it.

To this *Hatton*, Vice-chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, answered: "You are accused (but not condemned) to have conspired the Destruction of our Lady and Queen anointed. You say you are a "Queen: be it so: however in such a Crime as this the Royal Dignity itself is not exempted from Answering, neither by the Civil or "Canon Law, nor by the Law of Nations, nor of Nature. For if such "kind of Offenses might be committed without Punishment, all Justice "would stagger, yea fall to the ground. If you be innocent, you wrong "your Reputation in avoiding Trial. You protest yourself to be innocent, but Queen *Elizabeth* thinketh otherwise, and that not without ground, and is heartily sorry for the same. To examine therefore your Innocency, she hath appointed Commissioners, honourable Persons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear "you according to Equity with Favour, and will rejoyce with all "their Hearts if you shall clear yourself of what you are charged "with. Believe me, the Queen herself will be transported with "Joy, who affirmed unto me at my coming from her, that never any "thing befell her that troubled her more, then that you should be "charged with such Misdemeanours. Wherefore laying aside the "bootless Claim of Priviledge from your Royal Dignity, which "now can be of no use unto you, appear to your Trial, and shew your "Innocency; lest by avoiding Trial you draw upon yourself a Suspicion, and stain your Reputation with an eternal Blot and Aspersion.

She stands off.

"I refuse not (said she) to answer in a full Parliament before "the Estates of the Realm lawfully assembled, provided I may "be declared the next in Succession; yea before the Queen and her "Council, so that my Protestation may be admitted, and I may be "acknowledged the next of Kin to the Queen. To the Judgement "of mine Adversaries, with whom I know all Defense of mine Innocency will signifie nothing, I will by no means submit myself. The Lord Chancellour asked her whether she would answer if her Protestation were admitted. "I will never (said she) submit myself to "the late Law mentioned in the Commission. Hereupon the Lord Treasurer concluded, "We notwithstanding will proceed in the "Cause to morrow, although you be absent and continue refractary. "Examine your Consciences, (said she) be tender of your Honour; God reward you and yours according to your Judgement "upon me.

She is content to appear.

On the morrow, which was the 14. of the month, she sent for certain of the Commissioners, and praid them that her Protestation might be admitted and allowed. The Lord Treasurer asked her whether she would appear to her Trial, if her Protestation were onely received and entred in writing, without Allowance. She yielded at last, but with much adoe and an Ill will, lest she should seem (as she said) to derogate from her Predecessours or Successours; but was very desirous to clear herself of the Crimes objected against her, being

being perſwaded by *Hatton*'s Reaſons, which ſhe had ſeriouſly weighed and conſidered. 1586.

Soon after thoſe Commiſſioners that were there aſſembled themſelves in the Preſence-chamber. At the upper end of the Chamber was placed a Chair of State for the Queen of *England* under a Canopy of State. Over againſt it, below and at ſome diſtance, near the Tranſome or Beam that ran croſs the Room, ſtood a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*. By the Walls on both ſides were placed Benches, upon which ſate, on the one ſide the Lord Chancellour of *England*, the Lord Treaſurer of *England*, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, and the Lord Viſcount *Montacute*; on the other ſide, the Barons *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Stourton*, *Sandes*, *Wentworth*, *Mordant*, *Saint-John* of *Bletneſhoe*, *Compton*, and *Cheiney*. Nigh unto theſe ſate the Knights that were of the Privy Council, Sir *James a Croftes*, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walſingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Powlet*. Right before the Earls ſate the two chief Juſticers, and the chief Baron of the Exchequer; and on the other ſide two Barons, the other Juſticers, *Dale* and *Ford*, Doctours of the Civil Law: and at a little Table in the midſt ſate *Popham* the Queen's Atturney, *Egerton* the Queen's Solicitour, *Gawdy* the Queen's Serjeant at Law, the Clark of the Crown, and two Notaries. The form of Seſſion in the Court.

When ſhe was come in, and had placed herſelf in her Seat, after Silence commanded, *Bromley* Lord Chancellour, turning towards her, ſpake briefly to this effect: *The moſt Serene Queen* Elizabeth, *being informed (not without great Grief and Trouble to her Mind) that you have conſpired the Deſtruction of her Perſon and the Realm of* England, *and the Subverſion of Religion, hath according to her Place and Duty, leſt ſhe might ſeem to neglect God, herſelf, and her People, and out of no Malice of Heart at all, appointed theſe Commiſſioners to hear the matters which ſhall be objected againſt you, and how you can clear yourſelf of them, and make your Innocency appear to the World.* The Lord Chancellour's Speech to her.

She then roſe up and ſaid, "That ſhe came into *England* to crave "the Aid which had been promiſed her, and yet had ſhe been ever "ſince detained in Priſon. She proteſted "That ſhe was no Subject of "the Queen's, but had been and was a free and abſolute Queen, not "to be conſtrained to appear before Commiſſioners, or any other "Judge whatſoever, for any Cauſe whatſoever, but before God a-"lone, the higheſt Judge; leſt ſhe ſhould derogate from her own "Royall Majeſty, the King of *Scots* her Son, her Succeſſours, and o-"ther abſolute Princes. Yet that ſhe now appeared perſonally, to "refute and wipe off the Crimes objected againſt her. And hereof ſhe prayed her own Attendants to bear Witneſs. She maketh her Proteſtation.

The Lord Chancellour, not acknowledging that any Aid had been promiſed her, anſwered, "That this Proteſtation was in vain, for "whoſoever (of what Place, Quality and Degree ſoever he be) ſhould The Chancellour's Anſwer.

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"ſhould offend againſt the Laws of *England* in *England*, he was ſub-
"ject to the ſaid Laws, and was to be examined and tried by the late
"Act. The ſaid Proteſtation therefore, being made in Derogation of
"the Laws and Queen of *England*, was not to be admitted. The Commiſſioners nevertheleſs commanded that as well her Proteſtation, as the Lord Chancellour's Anſwer, ſhould be recorded.

Her Proteſtation recorded.

She excepteth againſt the Act.

After the Commiſſion was openly read, which was grounded upon the Act ſo often already mentioned, ſhe boldly and reſolutely offered her Proteſtation againſt the ſaid Act, as made directly and purpoſely againſt herſelf; and herein ſhe appealed to their own Conſciences.

The Treaſurer's Anſwer.

When Anſwer was made by the Lord Treaſurer, That every perſon in the Kingdome was bound by the Laws though never ſo lately made, and that ſhe ought not to ſpeak againſt the Laws; and that the Commiſſioners were reſolved to proceed according to that Law, what Proteſtations or Appeals ſoever ſhe interpoſed: ſhe ſaid at length, that ſhe was ready to hear and anſwer touching any Fact whatſoever committed againſt the Queen of *England*.

She ſubmitteth to her Trial.

The Proceſs.

Gawdy now opened the Statute from Point to Point, affirming that ſhe had offended againſt the ſame; and hereupon he made an hiſtoricall Diſcourſe of *Babington's* Conſpiracy, and concluded, *That ſhe knew of it, approved it, aſſented unto it, promiſed her Aſſiſtence, and ſhewed the way and means for effecting it.*

She denieth the things objected.

She anſwered with a ſtout Courage, *That ſhe knew not* Babington; *that ſhe never received any Letters from him, nor wrote any to him: That ſhe never plotted the Deſtruction of the Queen; and that to prove any ſuch thing, her Subſcription under her own Hand was to be produced: That for her part ſhe never ſo much as heard a word thereof: That ſhe knew not* Ballard, *nor ever relieved him: but underſtanding by ſome that the Catholicks in* England *took many things very hardly, ſhe had adverti-ſed the Queen by Letters of it, and beſought her to take Pity on them: That divers who were utterly unknown to her had offered her their Help and Aſſiſtence, yet had ſhe excited or encouraged no man to any unlawfull Attempt; and, being ſhut up in Priſon, ſhe could neither know nor hinder what they went about.*

She anſwereth *Babington's* Confeſſion about Letters betwixt them.

Hereupon it was urged out of *Babington's* Confeſſion, that there had been Intercourſe of Letters betwixt her and *Babington*. She confeſſed that there had paſſed Letters betwixt her and many men, yet could it not be thence gathered that ſhe was privy to all their wicked Deſigns. She required that her Subſcription under her own Hand might be produced; and asked what hurt it were for her to demand the Letters again which had been kept from her almoſt a whole Year. Then were read the Copies of *Babington's* Letters to her, wherein the whole Conſpiracy was contained.

Copies of *Babington's* Letters produced.

Her Anſwer.

As for theſe Letters, (ſaid ſhe) *it may be that* Babington *wrote them, but let it be proved that I received them. If* Babington *or any other affirm it, I ſay plainly, They lie. Other mens Faults are not to be thrown upon me. A Packet of Letters which had been kept from me al-*

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moſt a whole year came to my Hands about that time, but by whom it was ſent I know not.

To prove that ſhe had received *Babington*'s Letters, there were read out of *Babington*'s Confeſſion the chief Heads of certain Letters which he had voluntarily confeſſed that ſhe wrote back to him. Wherein when mention was made of the Earl of *Arundell* and his Brothers and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Tears burſt forth, and ſhe ſaid, *Alas! what hath that noble Houſe of the* Howards *endured for my ſake?* And preſently, having wiped away the Tears, ſhe anſwered, *That* Babington *might confeſs what he liſt, but it was a flat Lie that ſhe had contrived any ſuch means to eſcape: That her Adverſaries might eaſily get the Cyphers which ſhe had made uſe of to others, and with the ſame write many things forgedly and falſly: That it was not likely ſhe ſhould make uſe of* Arundel's *Help, whom ſhe knew to be ſhut up in Priſon; or* Northumberland's, *who was ſo very young, and to her altogether unknown.*

Some things urged out of *Babington*'s Confeſſion.

She denieth them.

There were read alſo ſeverall things picked out of *Savage*'s and *Ballard*'s Confeſſions, who had confeſſed that *Babington* communicated to them ſeverall Letters which he had received from the Queen of *Scots.*

She is preſſed with *Savage*'s and *Ballard*'s Confeſſions.

She affirmed, *That* Babington *received none from her; nay, that ſhe was very angry and offended with ſome who had ſecretly given her Advice concerning the Invading of* England, *and had charged them to beware what they did.*

Her Anſwer.

Next was produced a Letter wherein *Babington*'s Plot was commended and approved. Hereof ſhe required a Copy, and affirmed, *That it came not from her, but haply might be written by her Alphabet of Cyphers in* France. *That ſhe had uſed her beſt Endeavours for the Recovery of her Liberty, as very Nature itſelf alloweth and dictateth, and had ſolicited her Friends to get her Deliverance: yet to ſome, whom ſhe liſted not to name, when they offered her their Help for her Delivery, ſhe gave not the leaſt Anſwer. Neverthleſs ſhe had a great Deſire to divert the Storm of Perſecution from the Catholicks, and for this ſhe had been an earneſt Suitour to the Queen. For her part, ſhe would not purchaſe the Kingdome with the Death of the meaneſt ordinary man, much leſs of the Queen. That there were many which attempted dangerous Deſigns without her Knowledge; and by a Letter which ſhe had very lately received, ſhe was asked Pardon by ſome, if they ſhould enterpriſe any thing without her Privity. That it was an eaſie matter to counterfeit the Cyphers and Characters of others; as a Young man did very lately in* France, *who gave himſelf out to be her Son's baſe Brother. That ſhe was alſo afraid this was done by* Walſingham, *to bring her to her End, who (as ſhe heard) had practiſed both againſt her Life and her Son's. She proteſted that ſhe never ſo much as thought of the Deſtruction of the Queen: That ſhe would gladly and freely rather loſe her own Life, then that the Catholicks ſhould be ſo afflicted and perſecuted in Hatred of her, and undergoe ſo heavy Puniſhments for her ſake.* And here the Tears guſhed forth abundantly.

And with her Letters to *Babington*. She denieth them.

She taxeth *Walſingham.*

Pitieth the Catholicks.

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But (ſaid the Lord Treaſurer) *no man that hath ſhewed himſelf a good Subject was ever yet put to Death for his Religion; ſome indeed have been for Treaſon, while they maintained and avouched the Pope's Bull and Authority againſt the Queen. Yet I* (ſaid ſhe) *have heard otherwiſe, and have read it alſo in Books ſet forth in print. The Authours* (replied he) *of ſuch Books as thoſe write alſo that the Queen hath forfeited her Royall Dignity.*

Walſingham defendeth himſelf.

Walſingham, who found himſelf juſt before ſo openly taxed by her, took his Opportunity, and, riſing up, proteſted that his Heart was free from all Malice. *I call God* (ſaid he) *to Witneſs, that as a private perſon I have done nothing unbeſeeming an Honeſt man, neither in my publick Condition and Quality have I done any thing unworthy of my Place. I confeſs that, out of my great Care for the Safety of the Queen and Realm, I have curiouſly endeavoured to ſearch and ſift out all Plots and Deſigns againſt the ſame. If* Ballard *had offered me his Aſſiſtence, I ſhould not have refuſed it, yea I would have rewarded him for his Pains and Service. If I have tampered any thing with him, why did he not diſcover it, to ſave his Life?*

With this Anſwer ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſatisfied. She praied him "not to "be angry that ſhe had ſpoken ſo freely what ſhe had heard reported; "and that he would give no more Credit to thoſe that ſlandered her, "then ſhe did to ſuch as accuſed him. Spies (ſhe ſaid) were men of "doubtfull and little Credit, who make ſhew of one thing, and "ſpeak another: and deſired him "that he would not in the leaſt be-"lieve that ever ſhe had conſented to the Queen's Deſtruction. And now again ſhe burſt forth into Tears; "I would never (ſaid ſhe) make "Shipwreck of my Soul by conſpiring the Deſtruction of my dea-"reſt Siſter. It was anſwered by the Lawyers, that this ſhould ſoon be proved by Witneſſes. Thus far in the Forenoon.

A Letter of *Charles Paget* produced.

In the Afternoon, to prove this, was openly produced the Copy of a Letter which *Charles Paget* had written, and *Curle* one of her Secretaries teſtified ſhe had received, concerning a Conference betwixt *Mendoza* and *Ballard* about the Deſign for Invading of *England*, and ſetting her at Liberty.

Her Anſwer.

"This (ſhe ſaid) was nothing to the pur-"poſe, and proved not that ſhe had conſented to the Deſtruction of "the Queen.

Babington's Confeſſion, and Letters to her.

The Lawyers proceeded to prove farther, that ſhe was both privy to the Conſpiracy, and alſo actually conſpired the Deſtruction of the Queen; and that by *Babington's* Confeſſion, and by Letters that had paſſed betwixt her and him, wherein he had called her *his moſt dread and Sovereign Lady and Queen.* And by the way they took notice of a Plot that was laid for conveying the Kingdome of *England* to the *Spaniard*.

Her Anſwer.

She confeſſed that a Prieſt came to her, and ſaid, "that if ſhe would not concern herſelf in the Buſineſs, ſhe and her "Son both ſhould be excluded from the Inheritance. But the Prieſt's name ſhe would not tell. She added, *that the* Spaniard *did lay Claim to the Kingdome of* England, *and would give place to no Title but hers.*

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Then they preſſed her with the Teſtimonies of her Secretaries, *Nawe* and *Curle*, out of *Babington*'s Confeſſion, and the Letters and Anſwers betwixt her and *Babington*; the intire Credit of which Proofs reſted upon their ſole Teſtimony, yet were they never brought face to face before her. "*Curle* ſhe acknowledged to be an "Honeſt man, but not a competent Witneſs againſt her. As for "*Nawe*, he had been for ſome time a Secretary (ſhe ſaid) to the Car- "dinall of *Lorrain*, and recommended to her by the French King, "and might eaſily be drawn, either by Reward, or Hope, or Fear, "to give a falſe Teſtimony, for he had ſeverall times taken raſh "Oaths; and *Curle* was ſo pliable to him, that at his Beck he would "write whatſoever he bade him. It might be (ſhe ſaid) that theſe "two might inſert ſome things into her Letters which ſhe ne- "ver dictated to them: It might alſo be that ſuch Letters came to "their Hands, which notwithſtanding ſhe might never ſee. And then ſhe brake forth into ſuch Expreſſions as theſe: "As well the "Majeſty as the Safety of all Princes muſt fall to the Ground, if they "depend upon the Writings and Teſtimonies of Secretaries. I dic- "tated nothing to them but what Nature prompted me to, that I "might at laſt recover my Liberty. And I am not to be convicted "but by mine own Words or Hand-writing. If they have written "any thing prejudicial to the Queen my Siſter, they have written it "altogether without my Knowledge, and let them bear the Puniſh- "ment of their inconſiderate Boldneſs. Sure I am, if they were "here preſent, they would clear me of all Blame in this caſe. And, "if my Notes were in my Hands, I could anſwer particularly to "theſe things.

The Teſtimonies of her Secretaries produced.

She extenuateth their credit.

Whilſt ſhe was thus ſpeaking, the Lord Treaſurer charged her, that ſhe had Intentions to ſend her Son into *Spain*, and to convey her Title and Claim in the Kingdome of *England* to the *Spaniard*. To this ſhe anſwered, "That ſhe had no Kingdome to diſpoſe of or con- "vey; yet was it lawfull for her to give thoſe things which were "hers at her Pleaſure, and not to be accountable to any for what ſhe "did.

She is charged about conveying the Kingdome to the *Spaniard*.

Her Anſwer.

When her Alphabets of Cyphers, which were ſent over to *Babington*, the Lord *Lodowick* and *Fernihurſt*, were objected to her out of *Curle*'s Teſtimony; ſhe denied not "but ſhe had written out many, and "amongſt others that for the Lord *Lodowick*, when ſhe recommended "him and another to the Dignity of Cardinall, and that (ſhe truſted) "without Offenſe: ſince it was as lawfull for her to hold Corre- "ſpondence by Letters and to negotiate her Concernments with "men of her Religion, as for the Queen to doe it with the Profeſ- "ſours of another Religion.

The Cyphers ſhe ſent beyond Sea.

Her Anſwer.

Then they again urged her cloſer with the Teſtimonies of *Nawe* and *Curle*, which agreed together. And ſhe returned her former Anſwers, or elſe refelled their Teſtimonies by a flat Deniall; proteſting again that ſhe neither knew *Babington* nor *Ballard*.

She is urged again with the Teſtimonies of her Secretaries.

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She owneth her allowing a Penſion to *Morgan*.

And retorteth Penſions granted to the *Scots*.

She anſwereth about Letters ſent to *Paget*, &c.

She proteſteth again with a Complaint.

The Lord Treaſurer here ſaying that ſhe knew *Morgan* well enough, who had ſent *Parry* over privately to murther the Queen, and that ſhe had aſſigned him a yearly Penſion; ſhe replied, *That ſhe knew not whether* Morgan *had ſo done, but ſhe knew that* Morgan *had loſt all for her ſake, and therefore it concerned her in Honour to relieve him; and ſhe was not bound to revenge an Injury done to the Queen by a Friend that had deſerved ſo well at her hands: however ſhe had endeavoured to deterre him from any ſuch wicked Attempts. On the other ſide,* (ſaid ſhe) *I am ſure Penſions have been allowed in* England *to* Patrick Gray *and other* Scots *my Adverſaries, as alſo to my Son.* The Lord Treaſurer anſwered; *When the Revennes of the Kingdom of* Scotland *were by the Negligence of the Regents much diminiſhed and impaired, the Queen conferred ſomewhat out of her noble Bounty upon your Son the King, her near Kinſman.*

Afterwards were produced the principal Heads of ſeveral Letters ſent to *Ingleſield*, to the Lord *Paget*, and to *Bernardine de Mendoza*, about forrein Aſſiſtence. But when ſhe had anſwered, *That theſe things tended not to the Deſtruction of the Queen; and if Forreiners endeavoured to ſet her at Liberty, it was not to be laid to her Charge; and that ſhe had ſeveral times plainly let the Queen know that ſhe would ſeek to procure her own Releaſement:* the matter was put off till the next day following.

The next day ſhe inſiſted upon her former Proteſtation, and required to have it recorded, and a Copy thereof delivered to her; lamenting *that thoſe ſo reaſonable Conditions which ſhe had many times propounded to the Queen were ſtill rejected, even then when ſhe promiſed to deliver her Son and the Duke of* Guiſe's *Son for Hoſtages, that the Queen or Kingdom of* England *ſhould receive no Prejudice nor Detriment by her; by which ſhe then ſaw herſelf quite out of all Hope of obtaining her Liberty. But now ſhe was moſt unworthily dealt withall, whileſt her Honour and Reputation was called in Queſtion before ordinary Lawyers, who by wreſted Concluſions drew every Circumſtance into a Conſequence; whereas Princes anointed and conſecrated are not ſubject to the ſame Laws that Private men are. Moreover, whereas the Power granted to the Commiſſioners was, to examine* matters tending to the Hurt of the Queen's Perſon; *the Cauſe was now ſo handled, and Letters ſo wreſted, that the Religion which ſhe profeſſed, the Immunity and Majeſty of forrein Princes, and the private Intercourſe betwixt Princes, were called into Queſtion, and ſhe herſelf made to ſtoop and deſcend beneath her Royal Dignity, and to appear as a Criminal before a Tribunal-ſeat; and all this to no other purpoſe, but that ſhe might be quite excluded from the Queen's Favour, and her own Right to the Succeſſion: whereas ſhe onely made a voluntary Appearance, to clear herſelf of the Matters objected againſt her, leſt ſhe might ſeem to neglect the Juſtification of her own Honour and Innocency.* She called alſo to their minds, *how Queen* Elizabeth *herſelf was formerly brought in Queſtion about* Wiat's *Conſpiracy, whereof notwithſtanding ſhe was perfectly*

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perfectly innocent: religiously affirming, *that though she wished with all her Heart the Safety of the Catholicks might be provided for, yet she desired not that it should be brought to pass by the Death and Blood though but of one man. For her part, she had rather act the Part of* Hester *then of* Judith; *make Intercession to God for the People, then deprive the meaneſt of the People of his Life.* She expoſtulated that her Enemies had divulged abroad that ſhe was irreligious. *But time was* (ſaid ſhe) *when I would have been inſtructed in the Proteſtant Religion, but ſome would not ſuffer me to be ſo, as if they cared not what became of my Soul.* And now concluding, *When ye have done all ye can* (ſaid ſhe) *againſt me, and have excluded me from my Right, ye may chance fail of your Hope and Expectation.* And withall making her Appeal to God, and to the Princes who were her Kinſmen, and again renewing her Proteſtation, ſhe prayed that there might be another Meeting about this matter, and that an Advocate might be allowed her to plead her Cauſe, and that, ſeeing ſhe was a Princeſs, ſhe might be believed upon the word of a Princeſs. *For it were extreme folly* (ſhe ſaid) *to ſtand to their Judgment whom ſhe ſaw ſo evidently and notoriouſly to be armed with Prejudice againſt her.*

She appealeth, and proteſteth again.

To this the Lord Treaſurer anſwered: *Whereas I bear a double Perſon and Quality, one of a Commiſſioner, the other of a Counſellour, hear me firſt a few words as I am a Commiſſioner. Your Proteſtation is recorded, and a Copy thereof ſhall be delivered you. Our Authority is granted us under the Queen's Hand and the Great ſeal of* England, *from which there lies no Appeal: neither do we come with Prejudice, but to judge according to the exact Rule of Juſtice. The Queen's learned Counſell do aim at nothing elſe but that the Truth may come to light how far you have offended againſt the Queen's Perſon. Full Power is given us to hear and examine the matter, although you were abſent: yet were we deſirous you ſhould be preſent, leſt we might ſeem to have derogated from your Honour. We purpoſed not to charge you with any thing elſe but what you were privy to, or have yourſelf attempted, againſt the Queen's Perſon. The Letters which have been read were read to no other Purpoſe, but to make out your Offenſe againſt the Queen's Perſon, and the things relating to it, which are ſo interlaced with other matters, that they cannot be ſevered. The whole and intire Letters therefore, and not Parcels picked out here and there, have been openly read, becauſe the Circumſtances do make appear what things you dealt with* Babington *about.*

The Lord *Burghley* anſwereth.

Here ſhe interrupted him and ſaid, *The Circumſtances might be proved, but never the Fact. That her Integrity depended not upon the Credit and Memory of her Secretaries, though ſhe knew them to be honeſt and ſincere men. Yet if they had confeſſed any thing out of Fear of Torments, or Hope of Reward and Impunity, it was not to be admitted, and that for juſt Reaſons, which ſhe would ſhew elſewhere. Mens minds* (ſhe ſaid) *are variouſly moved and led with Affections: and thoſe men would never have confeſſed ſuch things againſt her but for their own*

She interrupteth him.

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own Advantage or Hopes. Letters may be directed to others then those to whom they are written, and many things have been often inserted which she never dictated. If her Papers had not been taken away, and she had her Secretary with her, she could the easilier confute the things objected against her.

He proceedeth.

But nothing (said the Lord Treasurer) *shall be objected but since the nineteenth day of* June: *neither would your Papers doe you any good, seeing your Secretaries, and* Babington *himself, without putting to the Rack, have affirmed that you sent those Letters to* Babington: *which though you deny, yet whether more Credit be to be given to an Affirmation then to a Negation, let the Commissioners judge. But to return to the matter. This which followeth I speak to you as a Counsellour. Many things you have propounded time after time concerning your Liberty. That they have failed of Success, it is long of you, or of the* Scots, *and not of the Queen. For the Lords of* Scotland *flatly refused to deliver the King in Hostage. And when the last Treaty was holden concerning your Liberty,* Parry *was sent privily by* Morgan, *a Dependent of yours, to murther the Queen.*

Ah! (said she) *you are my Adversarie.* *Yea,* (said he) *I am Adversary to all Queen* Elizabeth's *Adversaries. But enough of these things: let us now proceed to Proofs.* Which when she refused to hear; *Yet we* (said he) *will hear them.* *And I also* (said she) *will hear them in another place, and defend myself.*

Her Letters again produced.

Now were her Letters to *Charles Paget* read again, wherein she shewed him that there was no other way for the *Spaniard* to reduce the *Netherlands* to Obedience, but by setting up such a Prince in *England* as might be usefull and serviceable to him: also her Letters to the Lord *Paget*, to hasten his auxiliary Forces for the Invasion of *England*; and Cardinal *Allen*'s Letter, wherein he called her his *most dread Sovereign Lady*, and told her that the Business was recommended to the Prince of *Parma*'s Care.

She interposeth.

As these Letters were reading, she interposed the following Expressions. "That *Babington* and her Secretaries had accused her to "excuse themselves. That she never heard of the Six Murtherers; "and that all the rest was nothing to the Purpose. As for *Allen*, she "held him for a reverend Prelate; and she acknowledged no other "Head of the Church but the Bishop of *Rome*. In what Rank and "Quality she was had and reputed by him and forrein Princes she "well knew; neither could she hinder it, if in their Letters they "called her Queen of *England*. As for her Secretaries, seeing they "had done contrary to their Duty and Allegeance sworn unto her, "they deserved no Credit. They who have once forsworn them-"selves, though they swear the next time with never so serious "Oaths and Protestations, are not to be credited. Neither did these "men think themselves bound by any Oath whatsoever in Court of "Conscience, inasmuch as they had sworn Fidelity and Secrecy to "her before, and were no Subjects of *England*. That *Nawe* had ma-"ny times written otherwise then she had dictated to him, and *Curle*

She impaireth the Credit of her Secretaries.

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" wrote whatſoever *Nawe* bade him. But, for her part, ſhe was " willing to bear the Blame of their Miſcarriage in all things but what " might lay a Blot and Stain upon her Honour. And haply alſo " they confeſſed theſe things to ſave themſelves, ſuppoſing that they " could doe her no Hurt by confeſſing, who they thought would be " more favourably dealt withall, as being a Queen. As for *Ballard*, ſhe " never heard of any ſuch man, but of one *Hallard*, who had offered " her his Service; which notwithſtanding ſhe refuſed, becauſe ſhe had " heard that he had alſo engaged his Service to *Walſingham*.

She is accuſed again of conveying the Kingdom to the *Spaniard*.

Afterwards, when ſome ſhort Paſſages out of her Letters to *Mendoza* (which *Curle* had confeſſed himſelf to have written in Cyphers) were read, and from thence ſhe was charged as if ſhe had purpoſed to convey her Right in the Kingdome to the *Spaniard*, and that *Allen* and *Parſons* lay now at *Rome* for that Purpoſe; ſhe, ſtill complaining that her Secretaries had broken their Allegeance whereto they were bound by Oath, anſwered as followeth: Her Anſwer.

" I being a cloſe " Priſoner, oppreſſed and languiſhing with Cares and penſive " Thoughts, and without all Hope of Liberty, no Probability ap- " pearing of effecting thoſe things which many people expected by " my means, who declined daily through Age and Indiſpoſition of " Body; it ſeemed good to ſome, that the Succeſſion to the Crown " of *England* ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the *Spaniard*, or elſe ſome En- " gliſh Catholick. And a Book was ſent me to juſtify the *Spaniard's* " Title; which not being approved of by me, I incurred Diſplea- " ſure with ſome men. But now, all my Hopes in *England* being " deſperate, I am fully reſolved not to reject forrein Help.

The Solicitour put the Commiſſioners in mind what would become of them, their Honours, Eſtates and Poſterities, if the Kingdome were ſo conveyed. But the Lord Treaſurer ſhewed that the Kingdome of *England* could not at all be conveyed, but was to deſcend by Right of Succeſſion according to the Laws; and asked her, if ſhe had any more to ſay.

She required to be heard in a full Parliament, or that ſhe might in perſon ſpeak with the Queen (who would, ſhe hoped, have regard of a Queen,) and the Councill. And now riſing up with great Preſence of Countenance, ſhe had ſome Conference with the Lord Treaſurer, *Hatton*, *Walſingham*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, apart by themſelves.

The Court adjourned.

Theſe things being done, the Court was adjourned till the 25. of *October* to the *Star-chamber* at *Weſtminſter*. Thus far touching this Matter out of the Commentaries and Memorialls of *Edward Barker*, principall Regiſter to the Queen's Majeſty, *Thomas Wheeler*, publick Notary, Regiſter of the Audience of *Canterbury*, and other perſons of Credit which were there preſent.

They meet in the *Star-Chamber*.

On the ſaid 25. day of *October* all the Commiſſioners met, except the Earls of *Shrewſbury* and *Warwick*, which were both of them ſick at that time. And after *Nawe* and *Curle* had upon Oath, *vivâ voce*, volun-

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Sentence pronounced againſt her.

voluntarily, without Hope or Reward, avowed, affirmed and juſtified all and every the Letters and Copies of Letters before produced to be true and real. Sentence was pronounced againſt the Queen of *Scots*, and confirmed by the Seals and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners, and recorded in theſe words. "By their unanimous Aſſents "and Conſents they do pronounce and deliver this their Sentence "and Judgement, at the Day and Place laſt above recited, and "ſay, That ſince the Concluſion of the aforeſaid Seſſion of Parliament in the Commiſſion aforeſaid ſpecified, namely, ſince the "aforeſaid firſt day of *June* in the 27. year aforeſaid, and before the "Date of the ſaid Commiſſion, divers Matters have been compaſſed "and imagined within this Realm of *England*, by *Anthony Babington* "and others, *cum ſcientia*, in Engliſh, with the privity——of "the ſaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of "*England*, tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of the Royall Perſon of our ſaid Lady the Queen. And alſo, that ſince "the aforeſaid firſt day of *June* in the 27. year aforeſaid, and before "the Date of the Commiſſion aforeſaid, the aforeſaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of *England*, hath compaſſed and imagined within this Realm of *England* divers Matters "tending to the Hurt, Death and Deſtruction of the Royall Perſon "of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, contrary to the Form of the "Statute in the Commiſſion aforeſaid ſpecified.

The Credit of the Secretaries doubted of.

This Sentence (which depended wholly upon the Credit of the Secretaries, and they not brought face to face, according to the firſt Act of the 13. Year of Queen *Elizabeth*) begot much Talk and various Diſcourſe amongſt People, while ſome thought them perſons to be believed, and ſome unworthy of any Credit. I have ſeen *Nawe's* Apology to King *James*, written in the year 1605. wherein with a ſolemn Proteſtation he excuſeth himſelf, that he was neither the Authour, nor Perſwader, nor the firſt Revealer of the Deſign that was undertaken; neither failed he of his Duty through Negligence or want of Diſcretion: yea, that he did that day ſtoutly oppoſe the principall Articles of Accuſation againſt his Lady and Miſtreſs. Which notwithſtanding appeareth not by the Records. The ſame day a Declaration was publiſhed by the Commiſſioners and the Judges of the Land, "That the ſaid Sentence did nothing derogate from "*James* King of *Scots* in his Title or Honour, but that he was in the "ſame Place, Degree and Right, as if the ſaid Sentence had never "been pronounced.

Nawe his Apologie.

Her Son declared not to be prejudiced.

A Parliament holden.

Some few days after a Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, begun by a deputative Commiſſion granted by the Queen to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Derby*, and that not without former Precedents. In which Parliament the Proſcription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Ingleſield*, *Francis Throckmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chidiock Tichburne*, *Charles Tilney*, and the reſt of the Conſpi-

Traitours proſcribed.

Conſpiratours, was confirmed, and their Goods and Poſſeſſions confiſcate. The Eſtates alſo of the Realm, having by their Votes approved and confirmed the Sentence given againſt the Queen of *Scots*, did with unanimous Aſſent preſent their Petition to the Queen by the Hands of the Lord Chancellour, wherein they inſtantly beſought her, that, for the Preſervation of *Chriſt*'s true Religion, the Quiet and Security of the Realm, the Preſervation of the Queen's Perſon, and the Safety of themſelves and their Poſteritie, the Sentence given againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots* according to the Law might be publiſhed. Their Reaſons were drawn from the Dangers that threatned Religion, the Queen's Perſon and the Realm, by means of her, who, having been bred up in the Popiſh Religion, and ſworn a Confederate in the *Holy League* for the Extirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, had now for a long time arrogated unto herſelf the Kingdome while the Queen lived, whom, as being Excommunicate, ſhe held it lawfull to doe Miſchief to as far as lay in her Power, and to take away her Life a thing meritorious; one who had overthrown and ruined ſundry flouriſhing Families in the Kingdome, and cheriſhed all the treaſonable Deſigns and Rebellions in *England*. To ſpare her therefore were nothing elſe but to ſpill the People, who would take all Impunity in this caſe very much to Heart, and would not think themſelves diſcharged of their Oath of *Aſſociation*, unleſs ſhe were puniſhed according to her Deſerts. Laſtly, they called to her Remembrance, how fearfull the Examples of God's Vengeance were upon King *Saul* for ſparing *Agag*, and upon King *Ahab* for ſparing the Life of *Benhadad*. Theſe things the Eſtates of the Parliament urged to her.

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The Eſtates petition for a publicaton of the Sentence.

The Queen with great Majeſty both of Countenance and Speech anſwered to this purpoſe. "So many and ſo great are the unmeaſu- "rable Graces and Benefits beſtowed upon me by the Almighty, that "I muſt not onely moſt humbly acknowledge them as Benefits, but "admire them as Miracles, being in no ſort able to expreſs them. "And though none alive can more juſtly acknowledge himſelf "bound to God then I, whoſe Life he hath miraculouſly preſerved "from ſo many Dangers: yet am I not more deeply bound to give "him Thanks for any one thing, then for this which I will now tell "you, and which I account as a Miracle, namely, That as I came to "the Crown with the hearty Good will of all my Subjects, ſo now, "after 28 Years Reign, I perceive in them the ſame, if not greater, "Affection towards me; which if I ſhould once loſe, I might per- "haps find myſelf to breathe, but never could I think that I were a- "live. And now though my Life hath been dangerouſly ſhot at, yet "I proteſt there is nothing hath more grieved me, then that one who "differs not from me in Sex, one of like Quality and Degree, of the "ſame Race and Stock, and ſo nearly related to me in Bloud, ſhould "fall into ſo great a Miſdemeanour. And ſo far have I been from "bearing her any Ill will, that upon the Diſcovery of ſome treaſo- "nable Practices againſt me, I wrote privately to her, that if ſhe would

Queen *Elizabeth*'s Anſwer.

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"And as touching theſe Treaſonable Attempts, I will not ſo far "wrong myſelf or the Laws of my Kingdome, as not to think but "that ſhe, having been the Contriver of the ſaid Treaſons, was "bound and liable to the ancient and former Laws, though the late "Act had never been made; which notwithſtanding was in no ſort "made to prejudice her, as divers who are inclined to favour her "have imagined. So far was it from being made to intrap her, that "it was rather intended to forewarn and deter her from attempting "any thing againſt it. But ſeeing it had now the Force of a Law, I "thought good to proceed againſt her according to the ſame. But "you Lawyers are ſo curious in ſcanning the nice Points of the "Law, and proceeding according to Forms, rather then Expoun- "ding and Interpreting the Laws themſelves, that if your way were "obſerved, ſhe muſt have been indicted in *Staffordſhire*, and have hol- "den up her Hand at the Bar, and have been tried by a Jury of "Twelve men. A proper way, forſooth, of Trying a Princeſs. To "avoid therefore ſuch Abſurdities, I thought it better to refer the "Examination of ſo weighty a Cauſe to a ſelect number of the no- "bleſt Perſonages of the Land and the Judges of the Realm: and all "little enough. For we Princes are ſet as it were upon Stages in "the Sight and View of all the World: the leaſt Spot is ſoon ſpied "in our Garments, the ſmalleſt Blemiſh preſently obſerved in us at a "great Diſtance. It behoveth us therefore to be carefull that our "Proceedings be juſt and honourable. But I muſt tell you one "thing, that by this laſt Act of Parliament you have reduced me to

"ſuch

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"ſuch Streights and Perplexities, that I muſt reſolve upon the Puniſhment of her who is a Princeſs ſo nearly allied to me in Bloud, "and whoſe Practices againſt me have ſo deeply affected me with "Grief and Sorrow, that I have willingly choſen to abſent myſelf "from this Parliament, leſt I ſhould increaſe my Trouble by hearing "the Matter mentioned; and not out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempts againſt me, as ſome think. But I will now tell "you a farther Secret, (though it be not uſual with me to blab forth "in other caſes what I know.) It is not long ſince theſe Eyes of "mine ſaw and read an Oath wherein ſome bound themſelves to kill "me within a Month. Hereby I ſee your Danger in my Perſon, "which I will be very carefull to prevent and keep off.

"The Aſſociation you entred into for my Safety I have not forgotten, a thing I never ſo much as thought of, till a great number "of Hands and Seals to it were ſhewed me. This hath laid a perpetual Tie and Obligation upon me to bear you a ſingular Good "will and Love, who have no greater Comfort then in your and "the Commonwealth's Reſpect and Affection towards me. But forаſmuch as the matter now in hand is very rarely exampled and of "greateſt Conſequence, I hope you do not look for any preſent "Reſolution from me: for my manner is, in matters of leſs Moment "then this, to deliberate long upon that which is but once to be reſolved. In the mean time I beſeech Almighty God ſo to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I may ſee clearly what may be beſt "for the Good of his Church, the Proſperity of the Commonwealth, "and your Safety. And that Delay may not breed Danger, we will "ſignifie our Reſolution to you with all Conveniency. And whatever the beſt of Subjects may expect at the Hands of the beſt Princeſs, that expect from me to be performed to the full.

She prayeth them to find out ſome other Expedient.

On the 12. day after, when ſhe had throughly weighed the matter in her Mind, being diſtracted with doubtfull Cares and Thoughts, and as it were in ſome Conflict with herſelf what to doe in ſo important a Buſineſs, ſhe ſent the Lord Chancellour to the Higher Houſe, and *Puckering* to the reſt in the Lower Houſe, adviſing them to enter anew into the ſerious Conſideration of ſo weighty an Affair, and to find out a more pleaſing Expedient, whereby both the Queen of *Scots* Life might be ſpared, and her own Security provided for.

Their Anſwer.

After long and ſerious Deliberation, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of the Prince concerned all the Subjects, they unanimouſly concurred again in their former Opinion; and that for theſe Reaſons. "The Queen's Safety (they ſaid) could no way be "ſecured as long as the Queen of *Scots* lived, unleſs ſhe ſhould either "ſeriouſly repent and acknowledge her Offence; or were kept with "a cloſer and ſtricter Guard, and ſufficient Security given by Bond "and Oath for her good Demeanour; or delivered Hoſtages; or "elſe departed the Realm. As for her Repentance, they were "out of all Hopes of it, conſidering that ſhe had ſo ill requited

1586. "the Queen who had ſaved her Life, and would not yet acknow-
"ledge her Fault. As for a ſurer Guard, ſtricter Cuſtody, Bonds,
"Oath, and Hoſtages, they eſteemed them all as nothing worth,
"becauſe if the Queen's Life were once taken away, all theſe would
"preſently vaniſh. And if ſhe ſhould depart the Realm, they fea-
"red leſt ſhe ſhould preſently take up Arms and invade the ſame.

These Reaſons the Lord Chancellour, and *Puckering* Speaker of the Lower Houſe, explained and opened more at large, preſſing hard that the Sentence might be put in Execution: "becauſe, as it were "Injuſtice to deny Execution of the Law to any one of her Subjects "that ſhould demand it; ſo much more to the whole Body of her "People of *England* unanimouſly and with one voice humbly and "inſtantly ſuing for the ſame. The Queen anſwered as followeth.

Her Reply. "Very unpleaſing is that Way, where the Setting out, Progreſs "and Journey's End yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I "have this day been in greater Conflict with myſelf then ever I was "in all my Life, whether I ſhould ſpeak, or hold my peace. If I "ſhould ſpeak, and not complain, I ſhall diſſemble: if I ſhould be ſi-"lent, all your Labour and Pains taken were in vain: and if I ſhould "complain, it might ſeem a ſtrange and unuſual thing. Yet I con-"feſs that my hearty Deſire was, that ſome other means might have "been deviſed to provide for your Security and my own Safety, then "this which is now propounded. So that I cannot but complain, "though not of you, yet to you, ſince I perceive by your Petition "that my Safety dependeth wholly upon the Ruine of another. If "there be any that think I have ſpun out the time of purpoſe to get "Commendation by a ſeeming Shew of Clemency, they doe me "Wrong undeſervedly, as he knoweth who is the Searcher of the "moſt ſecret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if there be any that are "perſwaded the Commiſſioners durſt pronounce no other Sentence, "for Fear they ſhould thereby diſpleaſe me, or ſeem to fail of their "Care for my Preſervation, they do but burthen and wrong me "with ſuch injurious Conceits. For either thoſe whom I put in "Truſt have failed of their Duties: or elſe they acquainted the "Commiſſioners in my Name, that my Will and Pleaſure was, that "every one ſhould act freely according to his Conſcience; and what "they thought not fit to be made publick, that they ſhould com-"municate to me in private. It was of my favourable Inclination to-"wards her, that I deſired ſome other way might be found out to "prevent this Miſchief. But ſince it is now reſolved, that my Se-"curity is deſperate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy "and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my time pardoned "ſo many Rebels, winked at ſo many Treaſons, or neglected them "by Silence, ſhould now ſeem to ſhew myſelf cruel towards ſo "great a Princeſs.

"I have, ſince I came to the Government of this Realm, ſeen ma-"ny defamatory Libels and Pamphlets againſt me, taxing me to be

"a Ty-

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"a Tyrant. Well fare the Writers hearts; I believe their meaning
"was to tell me News. And News indeed it was to me to be bran-
"ded with the note of Tyranny. I would it were as great News to
"hear of their Wickedneſs and Impiety. But what is it which they
"will not venture to write now, when they ſhall hear that I have
"given my Conſent that the Executioner's Hands ſhould be imbrued
"in the Bloud of my neareſt Kinſwoman? But ſo far am I from
"Cruelty, that, though it were to ſave mine own Life, I would not
"offer her the leaſt Violence: neither have I been ſo carefull how
"to prolong mine own Life, as how to preſerve both hers and mine:
"which that it is now impoſſible to doe I am heartily troubled. I am
"not ſo void of Senſe and Judgement, as not to ſee mine own Dan-
"ger before mine Eyes; nor ſo indiſcreet, as to ſharpen a Sword to
"cut mine own Throat; nor ſo egregiouſly careleſs, as not to pro-
"vide for the ſafety of mine own Life. This I conſider with myſelf,
"that many a man would hazzard his own Life to ſave the Life of a
"Princeſs: but I am not of their Opinion. Theſe things have I
"many times thought upon ſeriouſly with myſelf.

"But ſince ſo many have both written and ſpoken againſt me,
"give me leave, I pray you, to ſay ſomewhat in mine own Defenſe,
"that ye may ſee what manner of Woman I am, for whoſe Safety
"and Preſervation you have taken ſuch extraordinary Care.
"Wherein as I do with a moſt thankfull heart diſcern and reade
"your great Vigilancy; ſo am I ſure I ſhall never requite it, had I as
"many Lives as all you together.

"When firſt I took the Scepter into my Hand, I was not unmind-
"full of God the Giver, and therefore I began my Reign with Se-
"curing his Service, and the Religion I had been both born in, bred
"in, and I truſt ſhall die in. And though I was not ignorant how
"many Dangers I ſhould meet withall at Home for my altering Reli-
"gion, and how many great Princes abroad of a contrary Profeſſion
"would in that reſpect bear an Hoſtile mind towards me: yet was I
"no whit diſmayed thereat, knowing that God, whom alone I eyed
"and reſpected, would defend both me and my Cauſe. Hence it is
"that ſo many Treacheries and Conſpiracies have been attempted
"againſt me, that I might well admire to find myſelf alive at this pre-
"ſent day, were it not that God's holy Hand hath ſtill protected me
"beyond all Expectation. Next, to the end I might make the bet-
"ter Progreſs in the Art of Ruling well, I had long and ſerious Co-
"gitations with myſelf what things were moſt worthy and becoming
"Kings to doe: and I found it abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould
"be completely furniſhed with thoſe prime capital Vertues, Juſtice,
"Temperance, Prudence, and Magnanimity. Of the two latter
"I will not boaſt myſelf, my Sex doth not permit it, they are
"proper to Men. But for the two former and leſs rough, I dare
"ſay, (and that without Oſtentation) I never made a Difference of
"Perſons, but high and low had equally Right done them: I never

"pre-

1586. "preferred any for Favour whom I thought not fit and worthy: I "never was forward to believe Stories at the firſt telling; nor was "I ſo raſh as to ſuffer my Judgment to be foreſtalled with Prejudice "before I had heard the Cauſe. I will not ſay but many Reports "might haply be brought me too much in Favour of the one Side or "the other: For a good and a wary Prince may ſometimes be bought "and ſold, whileſt we cannot hear all ourſelves. Yet this I dare "ſay boldly, My Judgment (as far as I could underſtand the Caſe) "ever went with the Truth. And as *Alcibiades* adviſed his Friend, "not to give any Anſwer till he had run over the Letters of the "whole Alphabet; ſo have I never uſed raſh and ſudden Reſoluti-"ons in any thing.

"And therefore as touching your Counſells and Conſultations, I "acknowledge them to have been with ſuch Care and Providence, "and ſo advantageous for the Preſervation of my Life, and to pro-"ceed from Hearts ſo ſincere and devoted to me, that I ſhall endea-"vour what lies in my Power, to give you cauſe to think your "Pains not ill beſtowed, and ſtrive to ſhew myſelf worthy of ſuch "Subjects.

"And now for your Petition, I deſire you for the preſent to con-"tent yourſelves with an Anſwer without Anſwer. Your Judgment "I condemn not, neither do I miſtake your Reaſons: but I muſt de-"ſire you to excuſe thoſe thoughtfull Doubts and Cares which as "yet perplex my Mind; and to reſt ſatisfied with the Profeſſion of "my thankful Eſteem of your Affections, and the Anſwer I have gi-"ven, if you take it for any Anſwer at all. If I ſhould ſay I will not "doe what you requeſt, I might ſay perhaps more then I intend: and "if I ſhould ſay I will doe it, I might plunge myſelf into as bad In-"conveniences as you endeavour to preſerve me from: which I am "confident your Wiſedoms and Diſcretions would not that I ſhould, "if ye conſider the Circumſtances of Place, Time, and the Manners "and Conditions of men.

After this the Aſſembly of the Eſtates was prorogued.

Notice of the Sentence given to the Queen of *Scots*.

About this time were the Lord *Buckhurſt* and *Beale* ſent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her know that Sentence was pronounced againſt her; and that the ſame was approved and confirmed by Authority of Parliament as juſt and lawfull, and the Execution thereof inſtantly deſired by the Eſtates, out of a due Regard of Juſtice, Security, and Neceſſity: and therefore to perſwade her to acknowledge her Offenſes againſt God and the Queen, and to expiate them before her Death by Repentance; letting her underſtand, that as long as ſhe lived, the Religion received in *England* could not be ſecure.

She heareth it with Joy.

Hereat ſhe ſeemed to triumph with a more then wonted Alacrity, giving God Thanks, and rejoycing in her Heart, that ſhe was taken to be an Inſtrument for the re-eſtabliſhing of Religion in this Iſland. And earneſtly ſhe beſought that ſhe might have a Catholick Prieſt allowed her to direct her Conſcience, and adminiſter the Sacra-

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Sacraments unto her. A Biſhop and a Dean whom they commended to her for this purpoſe ſhe utterly rejected, and ſharply taxed the Engliſh Nation, ſaying, *That the* Engliſh *had many times put their own Kings to Death; no Marvell therefore if they now alſo ſhew their Cruelty upon me, who am iſſued from the Bloud of their Kings.*

The Publication of the Sentence was ſtayed for ſome time by the Interceſſion of *L' Aubeſpine* the French Embaſſadour: but in the month of *December*, through the earneſt Inſtance of ſome Courtiers, it was publickly proclaimed all over the City of *London*, the Lord Mayour, the Aldermen and principall Officers and Citizens being preſent; and afterward throughout the whole Realm. In this Proclamation the Queen ſeriouſly proteſted, that this Publication was extorted from her, to the exceeding Grief of her Mind, by a kind of Neceſſity, and at the earneſt Prayers and Intreaties of the Eſtates of the Realm: though there were ſome that thought this to proceed from the Art and Guiſe of Women, who, though they deſire a thing never ſo much, yet will always ſeem rather to be conſtrained and forced to it.

The Sentence againſt her proclaimed.

The Publication of this Sentence of Death being made known to the Queen of *Scots*, ſo far was ſhe from being diſmayed thereat, that with a ſettled and ſtedfaſt Countenance, lifting up her Eyes and Hands towards Heaven, ſhe gave Thanks to God for it. And though ſhe were by *Powlet* her Keeper deveſted of all the Badges of Dignity and Royalty, and made no more account of then the pooreſt Woman of the meaneſt Condition; yet ſhe endured it with great Patience of Mind. And having with much adoe obtained Leave of him to write, ſhe by a Letter ſent to Queen *Elizabeth* the 19. of *December* endeavoured to clear herſelf "from all hoſtile Malice againſt her; "and thanked God for the Sentence of her Condemnation, who was "now pleaſed to put a Period to her wofull and lamentable Pilgri- "mage in this Life. She prayed her that for the Kindneſſes and Fa- "vours following ſhe might be beholden to herſelf, and to none elſe, "(for from thoſe zealous *Puritans* who now bare the chief Sway in "*England* ſhe could expect no good.) Firſt, That when her Adverſa- "ries were glutted and ſatiated with her innocent Bloud, her Body "might be conveyed by her Servants into ſome Holy Catholick Land "to be buried; ſhe would willingly into *France*, where her Mother's "Soul reſted in Peace. For in *Scotland* the Sepulchres of her Anceſtours "were violated, and the Churches either demoliſhed or prophaned: "and in *England*, among the ancient Kings, the common Progenitours "of them both, ſhe could have no Hope to be interred with Catho- "lick Rites and Ceremonies. So might her Body at length reſt in "Peace, which as long as it was joyned with the Soul could never "find any Reſt or Quiet. Secondly, (in regard ſhe feared the ſecret "Tyranny of ſome,) That ſhe might not be put to Death in pri- "vate, without Queen *Elizabeth*'s Knowledge, but in the Sight of "her Servants and others, who might give a true Teſtimony of her "Faith in *Chriſt*, her Obedience toward the Church, and her Chriſti- "an

She taketh it with a compoſed ſpirit.

She writeth to Queen *Elizabeth*.

And craveth certain Favours of her.

1586. "an Departure, to prevent thoſe falſe Reports which her Adverſa-
"ries might otherwiſe throw out and aſperſe her with. And, thirdly,
"That her Servants might freely and peaceably depart whither they
"pleaſed, and injoy thoſe Legacies which ſhe had bequeathed
"them by her Will and Teſtament. Theſe things with moſt ear-
"neſt Prayers ſhe intreated of her in the name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, by
"their near Kindred, by the Soul and Memory of *Henry* the Seventh
"the common Progenitour of them both, and by the Royal Dignity
"which ſhe had born. Then ſhe complained, "That all her Regall Or-
"naments were taken from her by Command of ſome of the Coun-
"cill, by which ſhe ſuſpected that their Malice might break forth to
"greater matters. She added, "That if they had ſhewed her Letters
"and Papers which were taken from her, fairly and without any
"Fraud, it might have plainly appeared by them, that there was no o-
"ther Cauſe of her Ruine but the over-Carefulneſs and Solicitude of
"ſome for Queen *Elizabeth*'s Safety. Laſtly, ſhe earneſtly beſought
"her, that ſhe would write back a few words to her touching theſe
"matters with her own Hand.

Variety of Judgements concerning her Caſe.

Whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Hands I cannot ſay. But divers Diſcourſes were raiſed about this Affair, according to the ſeverall Affections and Diſpoſitions of men; to ſay nothing of the Declamations and Exclamations of the Eccleſiaſticall ſort of people on both ſides, who for the moſt part are very fiery and vehement.

For her.

Some indifferent Cenſurers there were who thought ſhe was too ſharply dealt withall, and had hard Meaſure, "in regard ſhe was a
"free and abſolute Princeſs, and had no Superiour but God alone:
they ſaid, "ſhe was Queen *Elizabeth*'s very near Kinſwoman, who
"had alſo by *Henry Midlemore* made her a large Promiſe, on the
"Word of a Prince, of all Courteſy and kind Hoſpitality, as ſoon as
"ſhe was arrived in *England*, being thrown out of her Kingdome by
"her Rebels; and yet on the contrary had kept her ſtill in Priſon,
"and violated the ſacred Rights of Hoſpitality: that ſhe could not
"be otherwaies reputed then as a Priſoner taken in War; and it
"was alwaies lawfull for ſuch as were taken Priſoners in War, to uſe
"what means they could to work their own Safety and Liberty:
"that ſhe could not commit Treaſon, becauſe ſhe was no Subject,
"and *Par in parem non habet poteſtatem*, that is, *Princes of equall De-
"gree have no Power or Sovereignty one over another*; and thereupon
"the Sentence of the Emperour againſt *Robert* King of *Sicily* was
"diſannulled, becauſe he was no Subject of the Empire: that Embaſ-
"ſadours, who are Princes Servants, if they conſpire againſt the
"Kings to whom they are ſent in Embaſſy, are not to be charged as
"guilty of Treaſon, much leſs Princes themſelves: and, that the
"Purpoſe or Intention is not to be puniſhed, unleſs the Effect follow.
"Moreover, that it was a thing never heard of, that a Prince ſhould
"be ſubjected to the Stroak of an Executioner. Alſo, that ſhe was

"condemned

"condemned contrary to the Law of God, the Civill Law of the "*Romans*, and the Common Law of *England*; yea, contrary also to "the first Act of Parliament made in the 13. Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, by which it is enacted, *That no man is to be arraigned for intending the Destruction of his Prince's Life, but by the Testimony and Oath of two lawfull Witnesses to be produced Face to Face before him*; where- "as in this Triall no Witness was produced, but she was overborn "with the Testimony of her Secretaries, who notwithstanding were "absent from the Triall. Much arguing also there was about the Credit and Validity of the Testimony of Servants, Prisoners, and Domesticks: and that Saying of the Emperour *Hadrian* was commended, *Witnesses, not Witnessings, are to be believed.* 1586.

These men muttered and complained, "That Spies and Emissaries "were employed, by crafty Dissimulation, counterfeit Letters, and "other cunning Devices, to circumvent her, (being a Woman easily "to be wrong'd and abused, and very desirous of her Liberty,) to fish "out her secret Counsells, and to encourage and put her on to dange- "rous Designs, which never would have entred into her Thoughts, if "she had been kept with that Care as was requisite, and such cun- "ning Fellows had not been privily sent to her of set Purpose to in- "trap her. That in all Ages it hath still been ordinary with great "Courtiers, to thrust forward those whom they hate, even against "their Wills and Inclinations, to such Attempts as shall bring them "within the compass of Treason, and treacherously to plunge the "suspectless Innocent, if once imprisoned, into inextricable Dan- "gers.

Against her.

Others there were who took her "not to be a free and absolute "Queen, but a Titular Queen onely, because she had resigned her "Kingdome, and when she first came into *England* had put herself "under the Protection of the Queen of *England*; after which, as by "Carrying herself well she enjoyed the Benefit of the Laws, so by "Misdemeanour she was subject to the Equity and Justice thereof, "according to that Rule of the Lawyers, *He deserveth not the Benefit "of the Law who offendeth against the Law.* Otherwise, better were "the Condition of a forrein Prince, if he might doe what he listed in "another Prince's Kingdome, then his that reigneth never so well. "They reputed her also to be a Subject, though not originally, yet "*pro tempore*, because two absolute Princes with Regall Authority "cannot be in the same Kingdome at one time. That it was a recei- "ved Opinion of the Learned in the Laws, *A King out of his own Do- "minions (except it be upon a warlike Expedition) is but a private Per- "son, and therefore can neither confer Honours, nor exercise any Royal- "tie.* Moreover, That she by her Misdemeanours had lost *merum "Imperium*, her absolute and just Power and Sovereignty; and that "such as are Subjects by their Abode onely and place of Habitation "might commit Treason. As for her Kindred, That no Kindred is "nearer nor dearer then our Country: Our Country is to us as

1586. "another God, and our first and greatest Parent. And as touching "the promised Offices of Civility and Hospitality, That they could "not priviledge her to offer Wrongs and Mischiefs afterward with "Impunity: that those Promises were to be understood, *things con-*"*tinuing in the same state, and not altered.* He which shall afterwards "commit a Crime deserves not to enjoy the Security which was be-"fore promised him. Sacred indeed are the Laws of Hospitality, "but more sacred are the Laws of our Country. That Princes, as "well as the Pope, do never bind their own Hands. And all men "are more strongly tied and engaged to the Commonwealth then to "their own Promises. And for her being dealt withall as a Priso-"ner taken in the Wars, they alleaged, out of I know not what Au-"thour, *That onely such Prisoners of War are to be spared, from whom* "*we need to fear no Disturbance of the Peace; others not:* and, *That a* "*Prince hath Power and Jurisdiction over another Prince that is his E-*"*quall, whenever that other Prince makes himself subject to the Judge-*"*ment of his Equall, either by expres Words, or private Contract, or by* "*trespassing within the Jurisdiction of his Equall.* That the Pope re-"pealed the Emperour's Sentence against *Robert* King of *Sicily*, be-"cause the Fact was not committed within the Emperour's, but "within the Pope's, Territories. That Embassadours are by the "Law of Nations priviledged in respect of the Necessity of their "Embassy to be free from Violence; but so are not Kings that shall "attempt Mischief and Disturbance in another King's Dominions. A-"gain, That in case of Treason the Purpose and Intention is to be "punished, though it never be brought to Effect: and that to at-"tempt the Death of the Prince, yea to know of such an Attempt "and conceal it, comes within the compass and Guilt of Treason, "That many Kings have been condemned and put to Death; name-"ly, *Rhescuporis* King of *Thrace* by *Tiberius*, *Licinius* and *Maximia-*"*nus* by *Constantine* the Great, *Bernard* of *Italy*, and *Conradine* of *Si-*"*cily*, &c. And, to conclude, (which is as much as all the rest,) "That the Safety of the People is the highest Law; and no Law is "more sacred then the Safety of the Commonwealth. That God "himself hath given and ordained this Law, That all things which "are good and profitable for the Commonwealth should be accoun-"ted just and lawfull. Yea, that the very Bishops of *Rome*, not so much "for the publick as their own Security, have put to Death severall "Ecclesiastical Princes: as *Boniface* the Eighth caused *Celestine* the "Fifth, after his Deposing from the Popedome, to be put to death, "fearing lest for his singular Piety he should be called again to the "Papacy; and *Urban* the Sixth caused five Cardinals to be sowed "up in Sacks and thrown into the Sea, others he beheaded, and the "Bodies of two he commanded to be dried in an Oven and carried a-"bout upon Mules, for a Terrour to others. Furthermore, that "her Secretaries were not to be accounted of as Servants; and that "domestick Evidences were to be admitted concerning those things

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"that were done privately and ſecretly at Home. That it was a mere "Nicety to make Queſtion whether thoſe Accuſers that were vo- "luntarily ſworn, and themſelves acceſſary to the Crime, were to be "brought Face to Face to maintain their Accuſation in criminal Ca- "ſes. To be ſhort, that there was no great and notable Example "extant which did not carry with it ſome Colour and Appearance of "Injuſtice. Theſe things and like to theſe we then heard familiarly bandied to and fro.

The King her Son maketh Interceſſion for her.

In the mean time the King of *Scots* (ſuch was his ſingular Piety towards his Mother) laboured all that poſſibly he could by *William Keith* to ſave her Life, and omitted nothing that became a moſt dutifull and pious Son, and a prudent King. But without any Succeſs at all; for the *Scots* were rent into Factions amongſt themſelves, and more there were that favoured Q. *Elizabeth* then the captive Queen: inſomuch as ſome of them ſecretly ſolicited Queen *Elizabeth* by Letters to haſten her Execution: and the Scotiſh Miniſters, being commanded by the King to recommend his Mother's Preſervation to God in their Prayers at Ghurch, peremptorily refuſed to doe it; ſuch was their Hatred to the Religion which ſhe profeſſed. Nevertheleſs the King, as he had before by frequent Meſſages and as frequent Letters made Interceſſion for her to the Queen, ſo now by repeated and more importunate Letters and Meſſages he again ſolicited for her. Wherein he complained, "That it was great Injuſtice and In- "dignity, that the Nobility, Council and Subjects of *England* ſhould "give Sentence againſt a Queen of *Scots*, that was alſo deſcended "of the Bloud Royal of *England*: and no leſs Injuſtice to think that "the Eſtates of *England* can by Authority of Parliament exclude "the true and undoubted Heirs from their Right of Succeſſion and "lawfull Inheritance; (as ſome for a Terrour now and then threat- ned.)

Some *Scots* labour the contrary.

He dealeth both by Letters and Meſſengers in her behalf.

He ſent alſo *Patrick Gray* and *Robert Melvin*, to let the Queen know, *That out of his ſingular Love and Friendſhip he could not believe but ſhe, who had by her Vertues, and ſpecially by her Clemency, purchaſed herſelf all over the World ſo renowned a Name, free from all Blot and Imputation of Cruelty, would ſtill preſerve the ſame, and not by any means ſtain it now with the Bloud of his dear Mother, who was of the ſame Regal State and Condition, of the ſame Bloud, the ſame Sex with herſelf, and whom (foraſmuch as he was bound in Conſcience to have a pious and religious Care of his Mother's Life) he could not forſake, or leave to the Cruelty of thoſe who had now for a long time gaped after his Deſtruction as well as his Mother's.* In other Letters to her, after he had at large declared with what thoughtfull Care and Anguiſh of Heart he was perplexed about ſo weighty a Buſineſs, which nearly concerned and touched him in regard both of Nature and Honour, and into what Streights and Hazzard of his Reputation amongſt his own People he ſhould be plunged, if any Violence ſhould be offered to his Mother; out of an inward ſenſe of Sorrow and his filiall Affection he pro-

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He propounds certain things to be considered by Q. *Elizabeth.*

pounded to Queen *Elizabeth* these things following to be seriously weighed and considered by her. *How much it concerned him in Honour, who was both a King and a Son, if his dearest Mother, and she an absolute Princess, should be put to an infamous Death by her who was so nearly allied and engaged to her both in Bloud and League of Amity. Whether by the Law of God there could be any just proceeding by Law against those whom God hath appointed to be his supreme Ministers of Justice, whom he hath called* Gods on earth, *whom he hath anointed, and once anointed hath forbidden to be touched, and will not suffer them to go unpunished that shall doe them Violence. How strange and monstrous a thing it would be, to subject an absolute Prince to the Judgement of Subjects. How prodigious, if an absolute Prince should be made so dangerous a Precedent for the prophaning and vilifying her own and other Princes Diadems. And moreover, what should drive her to this Rigour and Severity? Honour, or Profit? If Honour, she would purchase more Honour by sparing her: for so would she, with eternal Commendations of her Clemency, oblige unto her by this Favour both himself, and all the Princes of Christendome, whose Affections otherwise she could not but alienate from her, with the loss of her Fame, and incur the Brand of Cruelty. And if Profit were the thing that moved her to it, it was to be considered, whether any thing were profitable which was neither just nor honest.* He concluded with this Request, *That his Embassadours might bring him back such an Answer as might beseem a most Religious Queen to give, and not be unfit for a King and a loving Kinsman to receive.* But his Embassadours unseasonably mingling Threatnings with Intreatings, they were not very welcome, and indeed after a few days were dismissed with small Hope of speeding in what they came about.

The French King also intercedeth by his Embassadours.

Monsieur *Pompon de Bellieure*, who was sent from the French King upon this Occasion, having got Access to the Queen in Company with *L'Aubespine a Chasteau-neuf* the Ordinary Embassadour, and briefly signified with what contrary Affections the French King was distracted, on the one side out of his singular Respects towards her, and on the other side by reason of the streight Alliance betwixt him and the Queen of *Scots*, propounded these and the like Considerations in writing several times to the Queen in her behalf.

Monsieur de *Bellieure* his Reasons for the Queen of *Scots.*

That it very much concerned the most Christian King of France, *and all other Kings, that a Queen, a free and absolute Princess, should not be put to Death.*

That the Queen's Safety would be more endangered by the Death of Queen Mary, *then it would be by her Life: That if she were delivered out of Prison, she could probaby attempt nothing against the Queen, being now in a sickly Condition, and having but a short time to live.*

That although she had laid Claim to the Crown of England, *she was not to be blamed for it, but it was wholly to be imputed to her young and tender years and to bad Counsellours.*

That she came at first a Supplicant into England, *and therefore having been unjustly detained, she was now at length to be either ransomed, or mercifully*

mercifully dealt withall. Moreover, that an abſolute Prince was not to be called in Queſtion; which made Tully *ſay*, So unuſual a thing is it for a King to be put to Death for any Crime, that before this time it was never ſo much as heard of. 1586.

That if ſhe were innocent, ſhe was not to be puniſhed; if guilty, ſhe was to be ſpared. For this would turn to far greater Honour and Advantage, and would be recorded eternally as an Example of the Engliſh Clemency: That the Story of Porſenna *in this Caſe was to be remembred, who ſnatched the Right hand of* Mutius Scævola *out of the Fire, and ſet him at Liberty, though he had conſpired his Death.*

That it was a prime Rule and Precept for well Governing, To be ſparing of Bloud: That Bloud crieth for Bloud: That to uſe the Extremity of Rigour towards her could not but ſeem a cruel and bloudy part.

That the French King would doe his beſt to repell and fruſtrate the Attempts of all men whatſoever who ſhould offer Violence to the Queen: and That the Guiſes, *the Queen of* Scots *near Kinſmen, would engage themſelves to doe the like by Oath and Covenant under their Hands; who, in caſe ſhe ſhould be put to Death, would take it very hardly, and haply not leave her unrevenged.*

Laſtly, they required that ſhe might not be proceeded againſt according to ſo rigorous *and* extraordinary *a Sentence: Otherwiſe, the French King could not but take very great Diſpleaſure thereat, howſoever other Princes ſhould hap to reſent it.*

To theſe Reaſons Anſwer was made from Point to Point in the Margent as followeth.

Anſwers to his Reaſons.

That the Queen of England *truſted, the moſt Chriſtian King of* France *would have no leſs a Regard and Reſpect for her then he had for the Queen of* Scots, *who had practiſed the Deſtruction of an innocent Princeſs, her near Kinſwoman, and a Confederate with the French King. That it was expedient and neceſſary for Kings and Commonwealths, that wicked Attempts (eſpecially againſt Princes) ſhould not go unpuniſhed.*

That the Engliſh, *which acknowledge the Sovereign Authority of Queen* Elizabeth *onely in* England, *could not acknowledge two ſupreme, free and abſolute Princes in* England *at one time; or account any other whomſoever equal to her in* England *as long as ſhe lived. Neither indeed did they ſee, how the Queen of* Scots, *and her Son who at preſent reigneth, can be reputed both at one time for ſupreme and abſolute Princes.*

Whether the Queen's Safety would be expoſed to greater Danger upon her being executed, depended upon future Accidents and Contingencies: the Eſtates of England, *upon ſerious Deliberation of the matter, thought otherwiſe. There would never be Occaſions wanting for bad Attempts, eſpecially when the matter was now come to that paſs, that the one had no Hope of Safety unleſs the other were ruined: and this Saying they might call to mind,* Aut ego illam, aut illa me, *Either I muſt take away her Life, or ſhe will take away mine. The ſhorter the time to come of her*

Life

1586. *Life was, the sooner and more eagerly would the Conspiratours hasten the Queen's Danger.*

That the Title which she claimed to the Crown of England *she would not yet renounce, and therefore she was with good Reason detained in Prison, and so to be detained (though she came a Supplicant into* England*) till she had renounced the same. And the Crimes which she had committed since she was a Prisoner she ought to suffer for, whatever were the Cause of her first casting into Prison.*

That the Queen had formerly most graciously spared her Life, when by unanimous Consent of the Estates she was condemned for a Rebellion raised about an intended Marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk: *and to spare her again were but unadvised and cruel Pity. That no man was ignorant of that Saying of the Lawyers,* A man offending in another's Territory, and there found, is punished in the place of his Offence, without regard of his Dignity, Honour, or Priviledge: *And that this was both justifiable by the Laws of* England, *and by the Examples of* Licinius, Robert *King of* Sicily, Bernard *King of* Italy, Conradine, Elizabeth *Queen of* Hungary, Joan *Queen of* Naples, *and* Dejotarus; *for whom* Tully *pleading, said, It was no unjust thing that a King should be found guilty and put to Death, though it were not usual. For thus the words run,* Which I speak first touching a King's Forfeiture of Life and Estate. Which thing though it be not unjust, especially when thy Life is in Danger from him, yet is it so unusual, &c.

Several Princes that have been put to death.

That she ought to be punished, having been found Guilty upon a just and legall Trial; considering that what is just, the same is honest, and what is honest, is also profitable and expedient.

That the Story of Porsenna *suited not with the present Case; unless a man should imagine a numerous Combination of men to have laid Wait for the Queen's Life, and should thereupon perswade her to set the Queen of* Scots *at Liberty without any Hurt, out of a Fear of them, and with some Regard to her own Honour, but none to her Safety, as* Porsenna *discharged* Mutius *after he had affirmed that* 300 *like himself had conspired and vowed his Death. Moreover,* Mutius *attempted this against* Porsenna *in a just and declared War; and when* Mutius *was let goe,* Porsenna *verily perswaded himself that all the Danger was over: but the Case here is quite otherwise.*

That Bloud indeed is to be spared, but it must be innocent Bloud: This God hath commanded. True it is indeed, that the Voice of innocent Bloud crieth for Bloud: And this can France, *both before and since the Massacre at* Paris, *well witness and testifie.*

That Death that is justly inflicted cannot seem bloudy; as neither is Physick, prepared duly and as it ought to be, esteemed violent.

That howsoever the Guises, *the Queen of* Scots *Kinsmen, might take the matter, yet it highly concerned the Queen to regard rather the Safety of herself, the Nobility and People of* England, *(upon whose Love and Affection she wholly depended,) then the Displeasure of any whosoever. That the matter was come to that pass, that what was said of old concerning*

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ning two Princes, Conradine of Sicily and Charles of Anjou, might now be ſpoken of two Queens; it might now be truly ſaid, The Death of Mary is the Life of Elizabeth, and the Life of Mary is the Death of Elizabeth.

That the French King's or the Guiſes Promiſes could not ſecure the Queen and Realm, much leſs make Satisfaction for her Life if ſhe ſhould be made away.

That the French King could neither diſcover nor hinder ſecret Plots againſt himſelf at Home; much leſs would he like to hinder thoſe againſt the Queen of England: For Treaſon is plotted in ſecret, and therefore hard to be prevented. If the Fact were once committed, what would it avail to claim their Promiſes? How ſhould an incomparable Prince's Death be made Amends for? And in ſo ſad and woful a Confuſion of all things, what Remedy could be found for the languiſhing Commonwealth?

That the Obligations and Oaths of the Guiſes were of ſmall Value, who judged it meritorious to kill the Biſhop of Rome's Adverſaries, and could very eaſily procure Diſpenſations for their Oaths. And what Engliſh-man, if Queen Elizabeth were ſlain, and the Queen of Scots of the Houſe of Guiſe advanced to the Crown, durſt accuſe them of the Murther? And if any ſhould accuſe them, could they thereby make her alive again?

And the Embaſſadours in calling this a rigorous and extraordinary Sentence have ſpoken raſhly and unadviſedly, (foraſmuch as they have ſeen neither Proceſs nor Proofs) and have more ſharply then is fitting taxed the Eſtates of the Realm of England, choice men for their Nobility, Vertue, Prudence, and Piety: yea, they have very inconſiderately uttered ſuch words in the French King's Name, as if they meant by Threats to terrifie the Queen and the Eſtates of the Land. The Engliſhmen uſe not to be terrified by the French-mens Threats from taking Courſes to ſecure their own Tranquillity, when they in the mean time could direct them no proper way to avoid the inſtant and threatning Dangers.

The Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

Ann. Domini 1587.

WHile theſe things, either out of Hatred or Affection, were curiouſly and copiouſly argued according to mens Apprehenſions of things, *L' Aubeſpine*, the French Embaſſadour Leiger in *England*, a man wholly devoted to the *Guiſian* Faction, ſuppoſing it the beſt way to provide for the captive Queen's Safety and Preſervation, not by Arguments, but by underhand Practices and Artifices, tampered about taking away Queen *Elizabeth*'s Life (at firſt more cloſely) with *William Stafford* a young Gentle-

The French Embaſſadour plotteth the Queen's Death.

He dealeth with *Stafford* about it.

1586. Gentleman, and ready to catch at new Hopes of Advancement, whose Mother was one of the Queen's honourable Bed-chamber, and his Brother at that time Embassadout Leiger in *France*; and afterwards more plainly and openly, by *Trappy* his Secretary, who promised him, if he would effect it, not onely infinite Glory and a vast deal of Money, but also speciall Favour with the Bishop of *Rome*, the Duke of *Guise*, and generally with all the Catholicks. *Stafford*, as detesting the Fact, refused to doe it; yet recommended one *Moody*, a notable Hackster, one ready for any Mischief, as a man who for Money would without doubt resolutely doe the Business. This *Moody* lying then in the common Gaol of *London*, *Stafford* gave him to understand that the French Embassadour would very glady speak with him. He answered, he was very ready so to doe, in case he were once out of Prison: in the mean time he desired that *Cordalion*, the Embassadour's other Secretary, with whom he was well acquainted, might be sent unto him. The next day *Trappy* was sent, accompanied by *Stafford*. *Trappy*, after *Stafford* was removed a little aside, conferreth with *Moody* about the best way of Killing the Queen. *Moody* propoundeth either to doe it by Poison, or by a Bag of Gun-powder of twenty pound weight to be put under the Queen's Bed, and secretly fired. These two waies pleased not *Trappy*, who wished that such another resolute Fellow could be found as that *Burgundian* who murthered the Prince of *Orange*.

And with *Moody*.

Stafford revealeth the matter.

These things were soon after revealed to the Queen's Council by *Stafford*. Whereupon *Trappy*, intending suddenly to goe for *France*, was seized upon, and being questioned touching these matters, confessed what I have said. Upon this the Embassadour himself was sent for the 12. of *January* to *Cecyl* House, whither he came in the Evening, where were present by the Queen's Appointment *Cecyl* Lord *Burghley*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-chamberlain to the Queen, and *Davison* one of her Secretaries. They let him know, that they had sent for him to inform him for what Reason they had apprehended *Trappy* his Secretary as he was going for *France*: and they acquainted him with all things particularly which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappy* himself, had confessed, and commanded them to be called in to witness the same to his Face. The Embassadour, having heard all the Story with great Impatience and a frowning Countenance, now rose up and said, "That he, being the King's Embassadour, would not hear any Accu-"sation to the Prejudice of the King his Master, and against the Pri-"viledges of Embassadours. When it was answered, "That they "were not produced as Accusers, but that he might see these things "not to be feigned and pretended, and that he himself might have li-"berty to charge *Stafford* with Falshood, he was satisfied. As soon as *Stafford* was brought in, and began to speak, he interrupted him, railing upon him, and affirming that *Stafford* was the first man that propounded the matter; and that he had threatned him, unless he would desist,

The French Embassadour sent for, and told of it.

The Embassadour denieth it.

deſiſt, to ſend him bound Hand and Foot to the Queen; but yet had ſpared him out of his ſingular Love to *Stafford*'s Mother, Brother and Siſter. *Stafford*, falling upon his Knees, deeply proteſted upon his Salvation, that the Embaſſadour firſt propounded the matter to him. The Embaſſadour being now more vehemently moved, *Stafford* was commanded to withdraw, and *Moody* was not brought in. 1587.

And when *Burghley* had gently reproved the Embaſſadour, as conſcious or acceſſary to the plotting of ſo foul a Fact, both by his own words and *Trappy*'s Confeſſion; he anſwered, "Although he had "been acceſſary to it, yet ſeeing he was an Embaſſadour, he ought "not to diſcover the ſame to any but the King his Maſter onely. When *Burghley* replied, "That if it be not for an Embaſſadour to "make any ſuch Diſcovery when a Prince's Life is by wicked Con- "trivances brought into Danger, (which notwithſtanding is a thing "controverted,) yet is it the Duty of a Chriſtian to repell and hinder "ſuch Injuries, and that where the Safety not onely of a Prince, but "alſo of any private Chriſtian, is concerned. This he ſtrongly denied, and withall told him how a French Embaſſadour not long ſince in *Spain*, having Knowledge of a Deſign againſt the King of *Spain*'s Life, diſcovered it, not to the King of *Spain*, but to the King his Maſter, and was therefore commended by the King and his Councill. But *Burghley* gravely adviſed him to beware how he committed Treaſon any more, or forgat the Duty of an Embaſſadour, and the Queen's Clemency, who ſhould not by puniſhing a bad Embaſſadour prejudice the good: and that he was not acquitted from the Guilt of the Offenſe, though he eſcaped the Puniſhment,

He is lightly rebuked.

Whether an Embaſſadour ought to reveal Treaſon againſt a Prince.

By means of this Attempt ſuch as bare a mortall Hatred againſt the Queen of *Scots* took Occaſion to haſten her Death. And to ſtrike the greater Terrour into the Queen, (knowing that where a man's own Safety lies at the Stake, there Fear excludeth all Pity,) they cauſed falſe Rumours and terrifying Reports daily to be ſpread all over *England*: viz. *That the Spaniſh Fleet was already arrived at* Milford *Haven*; *That the* Scots *were broken into* England; *That the Duke of* Guiſe *was landed in* Suſſex *with a ſtrong Army*; *That the Queen of* Scots *was eſcaped out of Priſon, and had raiſed an Army*; *That the Northern parts were up in Rebellion*; *That there was a new Conſpiracy on foot to kill the Queen, and ſet the City of* London *on Fire*; *yea, That the Queen was dead*; with other ſuch like Stories, which men either crafty for their own Ends or really fearfull are wont to feign to themſelves, and to make worſe out of a naturall Propenſity they have to cheriſh and increaſe Rumours, and Princes lightly credulous do eaſily entertain.

Theſe things with falſe Rumours excite Queen *Elizabeth* againſt the Queen of *Scots*.

With ſuch Scar-crows and affrighting Arguments as theſe they drew the Queen's wavering and perplexed Mind to that paſs, that ſhe ſigned a Warrant for putting the Sentence of Death in Execution. And one of the principall Perſwaders to it (as the *Scots* report) was *Patrick Gray* a *Scot*, ſent purpoſely by the King of *Scots* to diſſwade the

The falſeneſs of *Gray* a *Scot*.

1587. Queen from putting his Mother to Death; who many times buzzed into the Queen's ear that Saying, *Mortua non mordet*, that is, *A dead Woman biteth not.*

Q. *Elizabeth* conſidereth the matter ſeriouſly. Dangers if ſhe ſhould be executed.

Yet ſhe, being a Woman naturally ſlow in her Reſolutions, began to conſider in her Mind, whether it were better to put her to Death, or to ſpare her. As for putting her to Death theſe things were againſt it: "Her own innate Clemency, leſt ſhe ſhould ſeem to ſhew "herſelf cruel to a Woman, and that a Princeſs, and her Kinſwo-"man; Fear of Infamy with Poſterity in after Hiſtories; And im-"minent and certain Dangers as well from the King of *Scots*, who "would now be advanced a Step higher in his Hopes of *England*, as "from the Catholick Princes and deſperate men, who would now "adventure upon any thing. And if ſhe ſhould ſpare her, ſhe foreſaw

Dangers if ſpared.

that no leſs Danger threatned her. "The Noblemen that had given "Sentence againſt the Queen of *Scots* would endeavour underhand "to get into Favour with her and her Son, not without manifeſt "Hazzard to herſelf; The reſt of her Subjects, who had been ſo "carefull for her Safety, ſeeing ſhe had fruſtrated their Pains and "Care, would take it very ill, and for time to come neglect her Pre-"ſervation; Many would turn Papiſts, and entertain greater Hopes, "when they ſhould ſee her preſerved as it were by Fate to a Probabi-"lity of enjoying the Crown; The *Jeſuites* and Seminaries, whoſe Eyes "are upon her onely, ſeeing her ſickly, and fearing that ſhe would "not live long, would leave no means untried to haſten Queen "*Elizabeth*'s Death, that ſo their Religion might be reſtored.

The Courtiers put her forward for Execution. By Reaſons.

The Courtiers alſo continually ſuggeſted unto her theſe things following, and the like: "Why ſhould you ſpare her, when ſhe is "guilty and juſtly condemned, who, though ſhe ſubſcribed to the "Aſſociation for your Safety, yet preſently after reſolved unmerci-"fully to ruine you who were altogether innocent, and by deſtroy-"ing you to deſtroy Religion, the Nobility, and People? Clemency "and Mercy is a Royall Vertue, but not to be extended to the merci-"leſs. Let the vain Shew of Mercy give place to wholſome Severity. "Have a Care that your unſeaſonable Mercy and Favour involve "you not in the greateſt Miſery. It is Commendation enough of "your Clemency, to have ſpared her once: to ſpare her again were "nothing elſe but to pronounce her guiltleſs, condemn the Eſtates of "the Realm of Injuſtice, encourage her Favourers to haſten their "wicked Deſigns, and diſcourage your faithfull Subjects from Ca-"ring for the Commonwealth. Religion, the Commonwealth, your "own Safety, the Love of your Country, the Oath of Aſſociation, "and the Care of Poſterity, do all with their joynt Prayers beſeech "you, that ſhe which endangereth the Subverſion of all theſe may "forthwith be put to Death: and except they may prevail, Safety "itſelf will never be able to ſave this Commonwealth; and Hiſtori-"ans will leave it recorded to ſucceeding Ages, that the bright Sun-"ſhining and glorious Daies of *England* under Queen *Elizabeth* ended

in

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"in a foul, cloudy and dark Evening, yea in an eternal Night. Po-
"ſterity will blame us for lack of Wiſedome, that could foreſee theſe
"Miſchiefs, (which adds to the Miſery thereof,) and yet could not
"prevent them; and will impute the Maſs and Heap of future Ca-
"lamities not ſo much to the Adverſaries Malice, as to the groſs
"Careleſneſs of theſe Times. The Life of one Scotiſh and Titular
"Queen ought not to weigh down the Safety of all *England*. In
"ſo important a matter there ought to be no Delay; for Delay
"bringeth Danger: nor any ſpace of time allowed to Plotters of
"Miſchief, who will now have their laſt Refuge and Recourſe to
"bold Attempts, ſince beſides Impunity they will be in Hope of Re-
"ward for their Labour. He that doeth not what lies in his power
"to avoid Dangers, doth rather tempt God, then truſt in God. The
"Miſchiefs which threaten from Forreiners, the Cauſe being once
"taken away, will be all taken away with it: neither can they doe
"*England* any Harm but by her. Whatſoever Mind or Power the
"Biſhop of *Rome* hath to hurt us will all fall to the ground with
"her. The *Spaniard* can have no juſt Cauſe to be offended, who
"for his own Security put to Death his onely Son *Charles*, and now
"for ambitious Ends layeth wait for the Life of Don *Antonio* of
"*Portugal*. The French King moſt religiouſly maintaineth Amity
"with *England*, and him it highly concerneth that by the timely
"Death of the Queen of *Scots* the Hopes of the *Guiſians* ſhould be
"quaſhed, who, preſuming upon the expected future Power of their
"Kinſwoman, do at preſent inſolently inſult over their King. The
"King of *Scots* indeed may by the very force of natural Affection, and
"out of a Reſpect to his Honour, be deeply troubled for his Mother:
"But his Wiſedome will carry him rather to expect the coming for-
"ward of things of themſelves leiſurely and with Security, then to be
"over-haſty in compaſſing them with Danger. And the nearer he
"is to the Height of his Hope, the farther will forrein Princes be
"from aſſiſting him; it being a thing uſual with them, by any means
"to hinder the growing Power of another.

And by Examples.

They produced alſo Examples at Home in our own Countrey, (for whatever is done by Example is done more excuſably,) *how the Kings of* England *for their own Security have carried themſelves toward their Kinſmen and Competitours: namely*, Henry *the Firſt toward* Robert *his eldeſt Brother*; Edward *the Third, or rather his Mother, toward* Edward *the Second*; Henry *the Fourth toward* Richard *the Second*; Edward *the Fourth toward* Henry *the Sixth and his Son the Prince of* Wales, *and toward his own Brother* George *Duke of* Clarence; Henry *the Seventh toward* Warwick, *the Duke of* Clarence *his young Son*; *and* Henry *the Eighth toward* De la Poole *Earl of* Suffolk, Margaret *Counteſs of* Salisbury, *and* Courtney *Marqueſs of* Exceſter: *All which were for light Cauſes (if their Faults be compared with hers) made away.* And not onely did the Courtiers uſe theſe Perſwaſions with the Queen, but ſome Preachers alſo more tartly

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then was fit, and ſome of the Vulgar ſort (either out of Hope or Fear) more ſaucily then became them, exerciſed their Wits at their pleaſure upon this Subject.

Yet ſhe ſtandeth in doubtful Suſpenſe.

In the midſt of theſe doubtfull and perplexed Thoughts, which ſo troubled and ſtaggered the Queen's mind, that ſhe gave herſelf wholly over to Solitarineſs, ſate many times melancholick and mute, and frequently ſighing muttered this to herſelf, *Aut fer, aut feri*, that is, Either bear with her, or ſmite her, and, out of I know not what Emblem, *Nè feriare, feri*, that is, Strike, leſt thou be ſtricken; ſhe delivered a Writing to *Daviſon*, one of her Secretaries, ſigned with her own Hand, commanding a Warrant under the Great Seal of *England* to be drawn up for the Execution, which ſhould lie in readineſs if any Danger chanced to break forth in that time of Jealouſie and Fear; and commanded him to acquaint no man therewith. But the next day, while Fear ſeemed to be afraid of her own Counſels and Deſigns, her Mind changed, and ſhe commanded *Daviſon* by *William Killegrew* that the Warrant ſhould not be drawn. *Daviſon* came preſently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under Seal already. She was ſomewhat moved at it, and blamed him for making ſuch Haſt. He notwithſtanding acquainted the Council both with the Warrant and the whole matter, and eaſily perſwaded them, who were apt to believe what they deſired, that the Queen had commanded it ſhould be executed. Hereupon without any Delay *Beale* (who in reſpect of Religion was of all others the Queen of *Scots* moſt bitter Adverſary) was ſent down, with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, to ſee her executed according to the Law; and this without any Knowledge of the Queen at all. And though ſhe at that very time told *Daviſon* that ſhe would take another Courſe with the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not he for all that call *Beale* back.

She commandeth a Warrant to be drawn up for her Execution.

But changeth her mind too late.

The Council ſend it away privily.

As ſoon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringhay*, they, together with Sir *Amias Powlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whoſe Cuſtody ſhe was committed, came unto her, told her the Cauſe of their coming, reading the Warrant, and in few words admoniſhed her to prepare herſelf for Death, for ſhe was to die the next day. She undauntedly and with a compoſed Spirit made this Anſwer: *I did not think the Queen my Siſter would have conſented to my Death, who am not ſubject to your Law and Juriſdiction: but ſeeing her Pleaſure is ſo, Death ſhall be to me moſt welcome: neither is that Soul worthy of the high and everlaſting Joys above, whoſe Body cannot endure one Streak of the Executioner.* She prayed them that ſhe might have Conference with her Almoner, her Confeſſour, and *Melvin* the Maſter of her Houſhold. For her Confeſſour, it was flatly denied that he ſhould come at her: and the Earls recommended to her the Biſhop or the Dean of *Peterborough* to comfort her; whom ſhe refuſing, the Earl of *Kent*, in an hot burning Zeal to Religion, turning towards her, brake forth into theſe

The Scotiſh Queen prepareth herſelf to die.

Her Confeſſour denied her.

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theſe words amongſt other Speeches; *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, as contrariwiſe your Death will be the Life thereof.* Mention being made of *Babington*, ſhe conſtantly denied his Conſpiracy to have been at all known to her, and the Revenge of her Wrong ſhe left to God. Then enquiring what was become of *Nau* and *Curle*, ſhe asked whether ever it were heard of before, that Servants were ſuborned and accepted for Witneſſes againſt their Maſter's Life. When the Earls were departed from her, ſhe commanded Supper to be haſtened, that ſhe might the better diſpoſe of her Concernments. She ſupped temperately and ſparingly, as her manner uſually was. Being at Supper, and ſpying her Servants, both men and women, weeping and lamenting, ſhe comforted them with great Courage and Magnanimity, bade them leave Mourning, and rather rejoyce that ſhe was now to depart out of a world of Miſeries. Turning to *Burgoin* her Phyſician, ſhe asked him whether he did not now find the Force of Truth to be great. *They ſay* (quoth ſhe) *that I muſt die becauſe I have plotted againſt the Queen's Life; yet the Earl of* Kent *tells me that there is no other Cauſe of my Death, but that they are afraid for their Religion becauſe of me. Neither hath my Offenſe againſt the Queen, but their Fear becauſe of me, drawn this End upon me, while ſome under the Colour of Religion and the Publick good aim at their own private Reſpects and Advantages.* Towards the end of Supper ſhe drank to all her Servants, who pledged her in order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with the Wine, and begging Pardon for their Neglect of their Duty; as ſhe alſo in like manner did of them. After Supper ſhe peruſed her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed every Particular. To ſome ſhe diſtributed Money with her own Hand. To her Confeſſour ſhe wrote a Letter that he would make Interceſſion for her to God in his Prayers. She wrote alſo Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the French King and the Duke of *Guiſe*. At her wonted time ſhe went to Bed, ſlept ſome Hours; and then awaking, ſpent the reſt of the Night in Prayer.

Her Carriage towards her Servants.

The fatal Day now being come, which was the 8. of *February*, ſhe dreſſed herſelf as gorgeouſly and curiouſly as ſhe was wont to doe upon Feſtival-days; and, calling her Servants together, commanded her Will to be read, prayed them to take their Legacies in good part, for her Ability would not extend to giving them any greater matters. Then fixing her mind wholly upon God in her Oratory or ordinary place of Prayer, with Sighs, Groans and Prayers ſhe begged his Divine Grace and Favour, till ſuch time as *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her that ſhe muſt now come forth. And forth ſhe came with State, Countenance and Preſence majeſtically compoſed, a chearful Look, and a matron-like and modeſt Habit; her Head covered with a linen Veil, and that hanging down to the Ground; her Prayer-beads hanging at her Girdle, and carrying

The Sheriff calleth for her to Execution.

1587. rying a Crucifix of Ivory in her Hands. In the Porch she was received by the Earls and other Noblemen, where *Melvin* her Servant, falling upon his Knees, and pouring forth Tears, bewailed his hard Hap, that he was to carry into *Scotland* the wofull Tidings of the unhappy Fate of his Lady and Mistress. She thus comforted him,

Her words to *Melvin*.

Lament not, but rather rejoyce; thou shalt by and by see Mary Stuart *freed from all her Cares. Tell them that I die constant in my Religion, and firm in my Fidelity and Affection towards* Scotland *and* France. *God forgive them who have thirsted after my Bloud as Harts do after the Fountain. Thou, O God, who art Truth itself, and perfectly and truly understandest the inward Thughts of my Heart, knowest how greatly I have desired that the Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland *might be united into one. Commend me to my Son, and assure him that I have done nothing which may be prejudicial to the Kingdom of* Scotland; *admonish him to hold in Amity and Friendship with the Queen of* England; *and see thou doe him faithfull Service.*

To the Earls in behalf of her Servants.

And now the Tears trickling down, she bade *Melvin* several times Farewell, who wept as fast as she. Then turning to the Earls, she prayed them *That her Servants might be civilly dealt withall; That they might injoy the Legacies she had bequeathed them by Will and Testament; That they might stand by her at her Death; and might be sent back into their own Countrey with Letters of Safe conduct.* The former Requests they granted: but that they should stand by her at her Death, the Earl of *Kent* shewed himself somewhat unwilling, fearing some Superstition. *Fear it not,* (said she) *these harmless Souls desire onely to take their last Farewell of me. I know my Sister* Elizabeth *would not have denied me so small a matter, that my Women should be then present, were it but for the Honour of the Female Sex. I am her near Kinswoman, descended from* Henry *the Seventh, Queen Dowager of* France, *and anointed Queen of* Scots.

She cometh to the Scaffold.

When she had said thus much, and turned herself aside, it was at last granted that such of her Servants as she should name should be then present. She named *Melvin*, *Burgoin* her Physician, her Apothecary, her Chirurgeon, two Waiting-women, and others; of whom *Melvin* bare up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls and the Sheriff of the Shire going before her, she came to the Scaffold, which was built at the upper end of the Hall; on which was placed a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all covered with black Cloath. As soon as she was set down, and Silence commanded, *Beale* read the Warrant: she heard it attentively, yet as if her Thoughts were taken up with somewhat else. Then *Fletcher* Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech to her touching the Condition of her Life past, present, and to come. She interrupted him once or twice as he was speaking, prayed *him not to trouble himself, protesting that she was firmly fixed and resolved in the ancient Catholick Roman Religion, and for it was ready to shed her last Bloud.* When he earnestly perswaded her to true Repentance, and to put her whole Trust in *Christ* by

Passages betwixt her and the Dean of *Peterborough*, &c.

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an aſſured Faith; ſhe anſwered, that *in that Religion ſhe was both born, bred, and now ready to die.* The Earls ſaid they would pray for her: to whom ſhe ſaid, *That ſhe would give them hearty Thanks if they would pray with her; but to joyn* (ſaid ſhe) *in Prayer with you who are of another Profeſſion, would be in me a hainous Sin.* Then they appointed the Dean to pray: with whom while the Multitude that ſtood round about were praying, ſhe fell down upon her Knees, and, holding the Crucifix before her in her Hands, prayed in Latin with her Servants out of the *Office of the Bleſſed Virgin* Mary. 1587.

Her words at her death.

After the Dean had made an end of Praying, ſhe in Engliſh words recommended the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth*, to God, beſeeching him to turn away his Wrath from this Iſland; and profeſſing that ſhe repoſed her Hope of Salvation in the Bloud of *Chriſt*, (lifting up the Crucifix,) ſhe called upon the celeſtiall Quire of Saints to make Interceſſion to him for her: ſhe forgave all her Enemies, and kiſſing the Crucifix, and ſigning herſelf with the Croſs, ſhe ſaid, *As thy Arms, O* Chriſt, *were ſpred out upon the Croſs, ſo receive me with the ſtretched-out Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive my Sins.* Then the Executioners asked her Forgiveneſs, which ſhe granted them. And when her Women-ſervants had taken off her upper Garments, (which ſhe was eager and haſty to have done) wailing and lamenting the while, ſhe kiſſed them, and ſigning them with the Croſs, with a chearfull Countenance bade them forbear their womaniſh Lamentations; *For now ſhe ſhould reſt from all her Sorrows.* In like manner turning to her Men-ſervants, who alſo wept, ſhe ſigned them likewiſe with the Croſs, and ſmiling bade them Farewell. And now having covered her Face with a linen Handkerchief, and laying herſelf down to the Block, ſhe recited that Pſalm, *In thee, O Lord, do I truſt, let me never be confounded.* Then ſtretching forth her Body, and repeating many times, *Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*, her Head was ſtricken off at two Stroaks: the Dean crying out, *So let Queen* Elizabeth's *Enemies periſh*; the Earl of *Kent* anſwering, *Amen*; and the Multitude ſighing and ſorrowing. Her Body was embalmed, and ordered with due and uſuall Rites; and afterwards interred with a Royall Funerall in the Cathedrall-Church of *Peterborough*. A pompous Obſequies was alſo performed for her at *Paris* by Procurement of the *Guiſes*, who, to their great Commendations, performed all the higheſt Offices of Kindneſs to their Kinſwoman both alive and dead.

Her Character and Commendations.

This lamentable End had *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, Daughter to *James* the Fifth King of *Scots*, Great-grand-daughter to *Henry* the Seventh King of *England* by his eldeſt Daughter, in the ſix and fortieth year of her Age, and the eighteenth of her Impriſonment. A Lady fixed and conſtant in her Religion, of ſingular Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wiſedome above her Sex, and admirable Beauty; a Lady to be reckoned in the Liſt of thoſe Princeſſes which have changed their Felicity for Miſery and Calamity. While

yet

1587. yet an Infant, ſhe was earneſtly deſired by *Henry* the Eighth King of *England* for his Son Prince *Edward*, and by *Henry* the Second King of *France* for *Francis* the Daulphin; both of them ſtriving who ſhould have her to his Daughter-in-law. At five years old ſhe was conveyed into *France*, and at fifteen married to the Daulphin. She was Queen of *France* a Year and four Months. After the Death of her Husband ſhe returned into *Scotland*, was married again to *Henry Stuart* Lord *Darly*, and bare *James*, the Firſt Monarch of Great *Britain*. By *Murray* her baſe Brother, and other her ungratefull and ambitious Subjects, ſhe was much toſſed and diſquieted, depoſed from her Throne, and driven into *England*. By ſome Engliſh-men who were carefull for preſerving their Religion, and providing for the Queen' Safety, ſhe was (as indifferent Cenſurers have thought) circumvented; and by others, that were deſirous to reſtore the Romiſh Religion, thruſt forward to dangerous Undertakings; and overborn by the Teſtimonies of her Secretaries, who ſeemed to be bribed and corrupted with Money. Near her Tombe this Epitaph following was ſet up, but ſoon after taken away.

An

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An Epitaph.

MARY *Queen of* Scots, *a King's Daughter, the King of* France *his Widow, the Queen of* England's *Kinſwoman and next Heir, a Princeſs accompliſhed with Royall Vertues and a Royall Soul, having many times (but in vain) demanded her Royall Priviledge, is by barbarous and tyrannicall Cruelty extinct, who was the Ornament of our Age, and a Light truly Royall; and by one and the ſame wicked Sentence is both* Mary *Queen of* Scots *doomed to a naturall Death, and all ſurviving Kings, being made as Common people, are ſubjected to a civill Death. A new and unexampled kind of Tombe is here extant, wherein the Living are incloſed with the Dead: for know, that with the Sacred Aſhes of* Saint Mary *here lieth violate and proſtrate the Majeſty of all Kings and Princes. And becauſe (Reader that travelleſt this way) the unrevealable Secret of Kings doth moſt ſufficiently admoniſh Kings of their Duty, I ſay no more.*

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The Divine Providence manifeſted.

BY this ſo lamentable a Fate of this great Princeſs appeared moſt conſpicuouſly (as ſome underſtanding perſons have obſerved,) the wiſe Diſpoſition and Ordering of the Divine Providence. For thoſe things which both the Queens, *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, moſt of all deſired, and in all their Counſells propounded to themſelves, were hereby attained. Queen *Mary* (as ſhe ſaid juſt before her Death) deſired nothing more ardently, then that the divided Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* might be united in the Perſon of her dear Son: and there was nothing which Queen *Elizabeth* wiſhed for more earneſtly, then that the true Religion might be preſerved in *England* together with the Safety and Security of the People. And that the high and great God granted them both their Prayers *England* now ſeeth with unexpected Felicity, and moſt joyfully acknowledgeth the ſame.

Q. *Elizabeth* much troubled at the news of her Death.

As ſoon as the Report was brought to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ears, who little thought of ſuch a thing, that the Queen of *Scots* was put to Death, ſhe heard it with great Indignation, her Countenance altered, her Speech faultered and failed her, and through exceſſive Sorrow ſhe ſtood in a manner aſtoniſhed; inſomuch as ſhe gave herſelf over to paſſionate Grief, putting herſelf into mourning Habit, and ſhedding abundance of Tears: her Councill ſhe ſharply rebuked, and commanded them out of her Sight, cauſing them to be examined: *Davi-ſon* ſhe commanded to appear and be tried in the *Star-chamber*. And as ſoon as Grief would give her Leave, ſhe wrote this following Letter in haſte with her own Hand to the King of *Scots*, and ſent it by *Robert Cary*.

She is offended with her Councill.

She excuſeth herſelf by a Letter to the King of *Scots*.

"My deareſt Brother, I would to God thou kneweſt (but not "that thou felteſt) the incomparable Grief my Mind is perplexed "with upon this lamentable Accident, which is happened contrary "to my Meaning and Intention, which, ſince my pen trembleth to "mention it, you ſhall fully underſtand by this my Kinſman. I re-"queſt you, that as God and many others can witneſs my Inno-"cency in this matter, ſo you will alſo believe, that if I had comman-"ded it, I would never deny it. I am not ſo faint-hearted, that for "Terrour I ſhould fear to doe the thing which is juſt; or to own it "when it is once done: no, I am not ſo baſe nor ignobly minded. "But as it is no Princely part, with feigned Words to conceal and "diſguiſe the reall Meaning of the Heart; ſo will I never diſſemble "my Actions, but make them appear in their true and proper Co-"lours. Perſwade yourſelf this for Truth, that as I know this is "happened deſervedly on her part, ſo if I had intended it, I would "not have laid it upon others: but I will never charge myſelf with "that which I had not ſo much as a Thought of. Other matters you "ſhall underſtand by the Bearer of this Letter. As for me, I would "have you believe, there is not any which loveth you more dearly, "or taketh more Care for the Good of you and your Affairs. If "any man would perſwade you the contrary, you may conclude

"he

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"he favoureth others more then you. God preſerve you long in "Health and Safety.

Whileſt *Cary* was upon his way with this Letter, *Daviſon* was brought into the *Star-chamber* before certain Commiſſioners choſen for that purpoſe: namely, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* Knight, Chief Juſticer in the King's Bench, who for that Occaſion was made Lord Privy-Seal; the two Archbiſhops, of *Canterbury* and *Tork*; the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*; the Barons *Grey* and *Lumley*; Sir *James Croſtes*, Controller of the Queen's Houſhold; Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellour of the Exchequer; Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Maſter of the Rolls; Sir *Edmund Anderſon*, Chief Juſticer at the Common Pleas; and Sir *Roger Manwood*, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Before theſe Commiſſioners *Popham* the Queen's Atturney charged *Daviſon* with Contempt toward the Queen's Majeſty, Breach of his Allegeance, and Neglect of his Duty, in that, "whereas the Queen "(according to her innate Clemency) never intended that the Queen "of *Scots*, though condemned, ſhould have been put to Death, for "Cauſes beſt known to herſelf alone, and not to be ſearched into by "others, nor could by any means be perſwaded to conſent thereto, "either by the Eſtates of the Realm, or by the repeated Inſtances and "Reaſons of the Councill, notwithſtanding that ſhe had, for preven-"ting of Dangers, commanded a Warrant for her Execution to be "drawn up, and committed it to *Daviſon*'s Truſt and Secrecy: He "nevertheleſs, being her ſworn Secretary, forgetting his Allegeance "and Duty, and in Contempt of her Majeſty, contrary to what the "Queen had commanded him, had acquainted the Councill there-"with, and put the Warrant in Execution, without her knowing a-"ny thing at all of it.

Daviſon's Brought to Triall.

The Charge againſt him.

Daviſon, according to his ſingular Diſcretion, anſwered with a ſo-ber kind of Confidence, "That he was very ſorry that in ſo juſt a "Cauſe concerning the Queen of *Scots*, and the Sentence given a-"gainſt her, a Sentence of all others the moſt weighty and ſerious, "he ſhould now again trouble the Commiſſioners, and that, if not "with the Loſs, yet at leaſt with the Impairing, of his Credit, which "to him was as dear as all things elſe. But moſt heavily of all he took "it, that he was charged to have offended contemptuouſly againſt "her Majeſty, who by how much ſhe had been the more gracious "and bountifull unto him, and he the more engaged unto her for her "ſingular Favours, ſo much the more hainous might his Offenſe "ſeem. If he ſhould confeſs himſelf guilty of the Crimes objected a-"gainſt him, he ſhould wrong his own Reputation, which was more "precious to him then his Life. And if he ſhould conteſt with the "Queen in his own Defenſe, he ſhould doe that which was unbefit-"ting the Obedience of a Subject, the dutifull Behaviour of a Ser-"vant, and the Faith and Place of a Secretary. He proteſted before God and the Commiſſioners, "That he had done nothing in this matter "wittingly and willingly, but what he had perſwaded himſelf was

He anſwereth for himſelf.

1587. "the Queen's Will and Pleaſure, wherein if he had wronged him-
"ſelf either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be
"exceedingly troubled at it, and be ready patiently to undergoe the
"Commiſſioners Cenſure.

As to Particulars, he affirmed, *That when the Queen blamed him for making ſuch Haſt to get the Warrant under the Great Seal, ſhe gave ſome Signification, but no expreſs Command, that he ſhould keep it in his own Hands. Neither doth he believe himſelf to have offended againſt his Truſt of Secrecy, ſeeing he never ſpoke a word of the Buſineſs to any but the Council. Whereas he recalled not the Warrant after the Queen had told him that ſhe had changed her Reſolution*, he affirmed, *That it was agreed by all the Council that it ſhould be preſently ſent away, and Execution done, leſt the Commonwealth or the Queen ſhould receive any Hurt.*

He is preſſed with his own Confeſſion.

Hereupon *Egerton* the Queen's Solicitour began to preſs *Daviſon* with his own Confeſſion, reading a Piece thereof. But *Daviſon* prayed him *to reade the whole, and not Parcels picked out here and there: but he had rather* (he ſaid) *it ſhould not be read at all, becauſe there were contained in it ſome Secrecies not fit to be divulged abroad*; ſaying withall, *That as he would not conteſt with the Queen, ſo could he not endure that his Modeſty ſhould prejudice the Truth and his own Integrity.*

Gaudy and *Puckering* Serjeants at Law now charged him home and ſharply, that he had craftily abuſed the Wiſedom of the Queen's Council, and that by the Confeſſion of *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, who doubting whether the Queen had abſolutely reſolved to have Execution done, *Daviſon* confidently affirmed it; as he likewiſe did to the reſt that ſubſcribed the Letters for the manner of the Execution. *Daviſon* here prayed the Queen's learned Council, with Tears running down his Cheeks, that they *would not urge the matter any farther, but remember that he would not conteſt with the Queen, to whoſe Conſcience and the Commiſſioners Cenſure he wholly ſubmitted himſelf.*

The Judges cenſures of him.

Manwood, in the firſt place, made an hiſtorical Relation touching the Queen of *Scots*, beginning from her Uſurping the Arms of *Enggland* in her tender Age, quite down to *Babington*'s Conſpiracy; commended and approved the Sentence given againſt her according to the Law; extolled the Queen's Clemency, which becauſe *Daviſon* had inconſiderately prevented, he cenſured him to be fined in ten thouſand Pounds, and impriſoned during the Queen's Pleaſure.

Manwood.

Anderſon.

Then *Anderſon* argued, that he had done the thing which was juſt, though he had not done it after a due and juſt manner: otherwiſe he thought him to be no bad man.

Gerard.

Of the ſame Opinion was *Gerard.*

Mildmay.

Midmay (having firſt declared with what mature Deliberation and ſerious Gravity the Trial againſt the Queen of *Scots* was managed, and by how earneſt Intreaties and Obteſtations of the People

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* was perſwaded to publiſh the Sentence) made uſe of that place of Scripture againſt *Daviſon*, *The Heart of the King is in the Hand of the Lord*; and therefore no man, much leſs an Officer and a Servant, ought underhand and deceitfully to prevent Princes of their Purpoſe; without whoſe Knowledge and Conſent nothing was to be done, eſpecially in matters of ſo great Importance as is the Death of a Princeſs. He cleared him of Malice, but taxed him with Unskilfulneſs in Princes Affairs, and condemned him of Raſhneſs and too much Haſt in preventing the Queen's Intention. And that men of his Place and Rank might not for the future dare to commit the like Offenſe, he agreed in Opinion with the reſt concerning his Fine and Impriſonment. 1587.

Croftes blamed him for his Unadviſedneſs in revealing things which ought to have been concealed; conſidering that Princes, what they impart to one of their Council, that many times they do not let the reſt know of. *Croftes.*

The Lord *Lumley* was of Opinion with the Judges, that the Sentence was juſtly pronounced againſt the Queen of *Scots*. But he affirmed withall, "That never in any Age was there ſuch a Con- "tempt againſt a Prince heard or read of, that the Queen's Council, "in the Queen's Palace, in the Council-Chamber near the Queen, "who was as it were Preſident of the Council, ſhould reſolve upon "a matter of ſuch Conſequence without her Advice or Knowledge, "when both they and *Daviſon* might have had ſo eaſie Acceſs unto "her. Proteſting that if he had but one onely Son, and he were in "the ſame Fault, he would cenſure him to be ſeverely puniſhed. "But being perſwaded of the man's ingenuous and honeſt Intention, "he would inflict no heavier Puniſhment upon him then the reſt had "done before. *Lumley.*

After him followed the Lord *Grey*, who in a ſet and tart Speech, as being inflamed with a religious Zeal, thus roundly delivered himſelf: *Daviſon* (ſaith he) *is charged to have demeaned himſelf contemptuouſly towards the Queen, and that Contempt is aggravated with theſe Circumſtances; That he hath cauſed the Queen of* Scots *to be put to Death, hath divulged certain Secrets, and concealed from the Queen the Sending away of the Warrant. But what Queen was it whom he cauſed to be put to Death? Even ſhe from whom, as long as ſhe lived, Dangers daily threatned our Religion, our Queen, our Commonwealth, and every particular man of us; and by means of whom, though ſhe be now executed, we are at this day put to this Trouble. So that he which hath delivered* England *from ſo great Dangers may ſeem worthy rather to be honoured and eſteemed. I do not take him to have revealed Secrets, who imparted the Buſineſs to no other then the Council and Managers of the weightieſt Affairs, whom it ſpecially concerned to know ſuch Matters; and the Queen herſelf had already acquainted one or two of them with the thing. If* Daviſon *have offended, he is moſt to be blamed for this, that when the Queen was entring upon a new Reſolution, he* *Grey's* Defenſe of him.

1587. *he did not let her know that the Warrant was already ſent away. But he, without Queſtion, was divided in doubtfull and perplexed Thoughts, whether he were beſt venture the Queen's Favour by ſending away the Warrant without her Knowledge, or by recalling it endanger the Queen's Safety anew. Who remembreth not how turbulent a Time it was, and what frighting Rumours were ſpred abroad in all places? If any Violence had then been offered to Religion or the Queen, or her Life had been taken away while the Warrant was in his Hands, ſhould not he have born the Blame of it? ſhould not we ourſelves, our Wives and Children, have fallen violently upon him? ſhould we not have imbrued our Hands in his Bloud? ſhould we not have curſed his Indiſcretion to the Pit of Hell? and ſhould we not, to his eternal Infamy, have erected a Monument of his Inconſiderateneſs ingraven with Letters of Bloud? Whatſoever either Puniſhment or Fine ye lay upon him ſhall not diſpleaſe me; but to be ſure he ſhall never with me loſe the Eſteem of a good and honeſt man.* Theſe things we heard *Gray* reaſon copiouſly, eloquently and boldly.

The three Earls. The three Earls concurred with the reſt touching *Daviſon's* Penalty; but concerning his Reputation, with *Grey*.

York. The Archbiſhop of *York* reaſoned theologically concerning his Diſobedience proceeding from the Blindneſs of his Underſtanding, and Corruption of his Mind.

Canterbury. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* approved the Fact, commended the Man; but the Manner and Way of doing it he utterly condemned.

Wray, Lord Privy-Seal. *Wray* Lord Privy-Seal, having ſummarily repeated the Opinions of the Commiſſioners, confirmed the Penalty inflicted: and withall ſignified, that albeit the Queen had been offended (and that not without juſt Cauſe) with her Council, and had thereupon left them to Examination; yet now ſhe forgave them, and withall acknowledged, that they had been very carefull and diligent in their Actions and Counſels for the Preſervation of Religion and the Commonwealth, and for preventing of all Dangers.

Daviſon's Requeſt. *Daviſon* prayed the Commiſſioners to be a means to the Queen, *not for the honourable Office of Secretary which he formerly held, nor for his Liberty, nor the Abatement of his Fine, but that he might be reſtored to her Favour.* Which notwithſtanding he never recovered, though ſhe ſometimes relieved his Wants.

Thus was *Daviſon*, a man of good Ingenuity, but not well skilled in Court Arts, brought upon the Court-Stage of purpoſe (as moſt men thought) to act for a time this Part in the Tragedy; and ſoon after, the Part being acted, and his Stage-attire laid aſide, as if he had failed in the laſt Act, he was thruſt down from the Stage, and, not without the Pity of many, ſhut up a long time in Priſon.

What was done publickly againſt *Daviſon* I have ſaid already: but how he excuſed himſelf in private, take here a compendious Account upon his own Credit, and out of an Apologetical Diſcourſe of his to *Walſingham*.

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His private Apology for himself.

The Queen, (ſaith he) *after the Departure of the French and Scotiſh Embaſſadours, of her own Motion commanded me to deliver her the Warrant for Executing the Sentence againſt the Queen of* Scots: *when I had delivered it, ſhe ſigned it readily with her own Hand: when ſhe had ſo done, ſhe commanded it to be ſealed with the Great Seal of* England; *and in jeaſting manner ſaid, Go tell all this to* Walſingham *who is now ſick; although I fear me he will die for Sorrow when he hears it. She added alſo the Reaſons of her deferring it ſo long; namely, leſt ſhe might ſeem to have been violently or maliciouſly drawn thereto, whereas in the mean time ſhe was not ignorant how neceſſary it was. Moreover ſhe blamed* Powlet *and* Drury, *that they had not eaſed her of this Care; and wiſhed that* Walſingham *would feel their Pulſes touching this matter. The next day after it was under the Great Seal, ſhe commanded me by* Killegrew *that it ſhould not be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, ſhe found fault with ſuch great Haſt; telling me that, in the Judgement of ſome wiſe men, another Courſe might be taken. I anſwered, that that Courſe was alwaies beſt and ſafeſt which was moſt juſt. But fearing leſt ſhe would lay the Fault upon me, (as ſhe had laid the putting of the Duke of* Norfolk *to Death upon the Lord* Burghley,) *I acquainted* Hatton *with the whole matter, proteſting that I would not plunge my ſelf any deeper in ſo great a Buſineſs. He preſently imparted it to the Lord* Burghley, *and the Lord* Burghley *to the reſt of the Councill; who all conſented to have the Execution haſtened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equall Share in the Blame, and ſent* Beale *away with the Warrant and Letters. The third day after, when, by a Dream which ſhe told of the Queen of* Scots *Death, I perceived that ſhe wavered in her Reſolution, I asked her whether ſhe had changed her Mind. She anſwered, No; but another Courſe (ſaid ſhe) might have been deviſed: and withall ſhe asked me whether I had received any Anſwer from* Powlet. *Whoſe Letter when I had ſhewed her, wherein he flatly refuſed to undertake that which ſtood not with Honour and Juſtice; ſhe, waxing angry, accuſed him and others (who had bound themſelves by the* Aſſociation) *of Perjury and Breach of their Vow, as thoſe that had promiſed great matters for their Prince's Safety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (ſaid ſhe) who will doe it for my ſake. But I ſhewed her how diſhonourable and unjuſt a thing this would be; and withall into how great Danger ſhe would bring* Powlet *and* Drury *by it. For if ſhe approved the Fact, ſhe would draw upon herſelf both Danger and Diſhonour, not without the Note of Injuſtice: and if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe would utterly undoe men of great Deſert and their whole Poſteritie. And afterwards ſhe gave me a light Check the ſame day that the Queen of* Scots *was executed, becauſe ſhe was not yet put to Death.*

The King of *Scots* exceedingly troubled.

How high a Diſpleaſure ſoever againſt *Daviſon* and how great Grief Queen *Elizabeth* either conceived or pretended for the Death of the Queen of *Scots*, certain it is that the King of *Scots*, her onely Son, who reſpected his Mother with the greateſt Piety that could be imagined or found in a Son, took exceeding great and hearty Grief mixt

1587. mixt with deep Diſpleaſure at the ſame, and very much lamented and mourned for her. For he did not think that Queen *Elizabeth*, in regard of the mutuall Love betwixt them, and the League of ſtricter Amity but lately contracted, would have neglected all the Interceſſions and Mediations of Princes, and brought his Mother, a Princeſs of equall Majeſty with herſelf, and ſo nearly allied unto her in Royall Bloud, under the Hand of a baſe Executioner. *Robert Cary*, the Lord *Hunſdon*'s Son, who was ſent out of *England* to excuſe the Queen, and lay all the Fault upon her Councel and *Daviſon*, he ſuffered not to enter into *Scotland*, ſcarce would give him the Hearing by another, and with much adoe received the Letters which he brought. He nulled the Commiſſion of his Embaſſadour in *England*, and breathed nothing but Revenge. For there wanted not ſome that went about to perſwade him, that the Princes of Chriſtendome would never ſuffer ſo great an Affront done to the Royall Majeſty and to the Name of Kings to eſcape unrevenged.

Refuſeth *Cary* entrance into *Scotland* from Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Eſtates of *Scotland*, who were now aſſembled in good number, profeſſed that they were ready to ſpend both their Lives and Eſtates in Revenge of his Mother's Death, and the Defenſe of his Title to the Crown of *England*, and that they could by no means brook this Injury, done not ſo much to the King, as to the whole Nation of the *Scots*. There were ſome who perſwaded the King to deſire an Aſſiſtence of Shipping from the King of *Denmark*, whoſe Daughter he now ſought in Marriage, againſt the Crown of *England*. Others, addicted to the Popiſh Religion, adviſed him that he ſhould rather joyn with the *Spaniard*, the French King, and the Biſhop of *Rome*; by which means he might eaſily poſſeſs himſelf of *England*. Above all things, that he ſhould give no Credit to nor rely upon the Proteſtants of *England*; for they now ruled all, and ſecretly plotted his Deſtruction; uſing that Saying againſt them, *He will not ſpare the Son who hath deſtroyed the Mother.* Others there were who privately adviſed him to declare himſelf openly for neither Party, but to hold both Papiſts and Proteſtants in Suſpenſe. For if he ſtood openly for the Proteſtants, all the Papiſts of *Europe* would levell their Deſigns againſt him as their Mark to ſhoot at, and would erect another Prop and Buttreſs for themſelves in *England*, which would prove dangerous and prejudiciall to him. There were alſo ſome who perſwaded him to maintain a ſtrict and religious Amity with *England*, not to hazzard his certain Hopes upon the uncertain Chance of War, and to be firm and conſtant to himſelf in the received Religion, wherein if he once wavered, he ſhould neither get himſelf Friends, nor rid himſelf of his Foes. Theſe things men perſwaded him, every man as his private Advantage led him. The King, being a wiſe Prince, and apprehenſive above his Years, conſidered all things ſeriouſly with good and long Deliberation by himſelf alone, and adviſed alſo with ſome few others, uſing no Haſt in the Buſineſs, which is alwaies blind, but a mature and due Conſideration.

The indignation of the Scotiſh people.

Divers counſells ſuggeſted to the King.

The King's Wiſedome.

But

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Q. *Elizabeth* seeketh to pacifie him.

But Queen *Elizabeth* throwing all the Blame upon *Daviſon*, and the unadviſed Credulity of her Councill, ſought to aſſwage his Grief by little and little, leſt unſeaſonable and ſudden Conſolations might more irritate him; and waited till his Sorrow were leſſened by longer Time, and would ſuffer itſelf to be eaſilier dealt withall. And when ſhe perceived that the *French* eagerly excited the young King to avenge his Wrongs, fearing leſt by their cunning Wiles, and his own boiling Heat to take Revenge, he might be drawn away from the Proteſtant Religion and the Amity of the *Engliſh*, ſhe bent herſelf with all her Art and Skill to pacifie his exulcerated and already alienated Mind by all poſſible means not unbeſeeming a Princeſs.

Her Reaſons to pacifie him.

By her Favourers therefore in *Scotland*, and ſhortly after by the Lord *Hunſdon* Governour of *Berwick*, ſhe propounded theſe things following to be well conſidered by him. "Firſt, of how dangerous "Conſequence it would be for him to break out into a War againſt "*England* for this Reaſon, when all the Eſtates of *England* had judged "the late Proceeding moſt neceſſary for the Safety of the whole "Iſland, and alſo in itſelf juſt. Secondly, whether he were able to "undertake ſuch a War, ſince *England* was never better provided of "Martiall men, Forces, and Wealth; and *Scotland* never weaker, as "having been exhauſted by civill Wars. If he relied upon for-"rein Aid, how hardly and too late he might obtain it, his Mother's "Condition might teach him, who ſo often craved it in vain. And "if he ſhould obtain any, what Succeſs could he hope for, ſeeing "*England*, joyning with the Fleets of *Holland* and *Zeland*, feared not "the Attempts of the moſt potent Kings of *Europe*? In the French "King or the *Spaniard* what Confidence could he put, ſince his own "Power being once increaſed by the Addition of *England* would op-"poſe all their Deſigns; and his Religion is ſo directly contrary to "their Profeſſion, that they cannot aid him without Dammage to "themſelves? Neither would the French King be well contented "to ſee the King of *Scots* made ſtronger by the Addition of *England*, "leſt he ſhould then proſecute anew the ancient Title of the *Engliſh* "in *France*, or aſſiſt the *Guiſes* his Kinſmen, who now gape after the "Kingdome of *France*. As for the *Spaniard*, he will, without Que-"ſtion, ſerve his own Ambition, conſidering that he boaſteth himſelf "to be the firſt Catholick Prince of the Bloud Royall of *England*, "and of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, though falſely. In which reſpect "certain *Jeſuites* and others went about even in the Queen of *Scots* "Life-time to advance him to the Crown of *England* by Election, as "the meeteſt man to reſtore the Romiſh Authority in *England*, pre-"ferring him before his Mother and himſelf. Yea, they began alſo "to perſwade the World that ſhe intended to bequeath the King-"dome of *England* by her laſt Will and Teſtament to the *Spaniard*, "in caſe her Son ſhould continue to adhere to the Proteſtant Reli-"gion.

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Drake ſent to divert the *Spaniard*.

With theſe and ſuch like Reaſons while ſhe gently ſoothed the King, ſhe ſent *Drake* (to prevent the War which ſhe ſaw threatned her from the *Spaniard*) with four of her Royall Ships and ſome others to the Coaſt of *Spain*, to ſurprize and deſtroy his Shipping in the Havens, and intercept his Proviſion.

What he performed.

Drake, entring into the Port of *Cades*, chaſed ſix Gallies (which made head againſt him) under the Forts; and ſunk, took, or fired, about an hundred Veſſels wherein was great Store of Munition and Victualls, and amongſt them a great Gallion of the Marqueſs of *Santa Cruce*, and another of *Raguſe* laden with Merchandize. From thence returning to the Sacred Promontory, called *Cabo Saint Vincent*, he aſſaulted three Forts, and took them by Compoſition; and firing the Fiſhermens Boats and Nets all along the Coaſt, came to *Caſcaies* at the Mouth of the River *Tayo*, where he challenged the Marqueſs of *Santa Cruce* to fight, who not once ſo much as moved againſt him, but ſuffered him freely to ſpoil the Coaſt, and take their Shipping, without Impeachment or Moleſtation. From thence ſetting Sail towards the Iſles of *Azores*, he lighted by chance upon a very great Merchant Ship, called a *Carack*, richly laden, and named the *Saint Philip*, returning from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and eaſily maſtered it. Which Accident the Sea-men on both Sides, in regard of the Name of *Philip*, interpreted to preſage

The *Carack S. Philip* taken.

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ſome Diſaſter to *Philip* of *Spain*. Sure it is that from this ſhort Expedition great Advantages redounded to the *Engliſh*. For the *Spaniards*, having ſuſtained ſo great a Loſs of Proviſion and Munition for War, were conſtrained to give over their Deſign for Invading of *England* this Year; and the *Engliſh* ever after that time more courageouſly adventured upon thoſe huge Caſtle-like Ships, which before they were afraid of: alſo they ſo fully underſtood by the Merchants Papers the rich Value of the *Indian* Merchandizes, and the Manner of Trading in that Eaſtern World, that they afterwards ſet up a gainful Trade and Traffick thither, eſtabliſhing a Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants.

Advantages gotten by this Expedition.

The *Eaſt-India* Company of Merchants.

At the ſame time, in another part of the World, *Thomas Cavendiſh* of *Suffolk*, (who two years before ſet Sail from *England* with three Ships,) paſſing the Streights of *Magellan*, fired many petty Towns of the *Spaniards* upon the Coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *New Spain*, took and pillaged nineteen Merchant Ships, and amongſt them a very rich Ship of the King's near *Callifornia*, and returned home this Year by the *Philippines*, the *Moluccaes*, the Cape of *Good hope*, and *Saint Helen's* Iſle, with a rich Booty, and great Glory, as being the ſecond after *Magellan* who ſailed round about the World. The Particulars of this Voiage if any man deſire, let him repair to the Engliſh Voiages exactly deſcribed in three Volumes by *Richard Hackluit*.

Cavendiſh ſaileth round about the World.

As *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* at this time purchaſed themſelves great Fame and Commendations; ſo two other Engliſh-men, *William Stanley* and *Rowland York*, procured themſelves the diſgracefull and infamous Note of Traitours. This *York* was a *Londoner*, a man of a looſe and diſſolute Behaviour, and deſperately audacious, famous in his time amongſt the common Hackſters and Swaggerers, as being the firſt that, to the great Admiration of many at his Boldneſs, firſt brought into *England* that bold and dangerous way of Foining with the Rapier in Duelling; whereas the *Engliſh* till that time uſed to fight with long Swords and Bucklers, ſtriking with the Edge, and thought it no part of a Man either to foin or ſtrike beneath the Girdle. This *York*, having received I know not what Injury at *Leiceſter's* Hands, fled, and ſerved a while under the *Spaniard* in the *Netherlands*; but at length was reconciled, and made Governour of a Fort near *Zutphen*. But ſcorning at his Heart to put up the former Diſgrace, he ſoon contrived to be revenged; for, being bribed with Money, he not onely betrayed the Place to the Enemy, but alſo drew *Stanley*, who had ſerved with ſingular Fidelity and Valour in the Iriſh War, to be Partner with him in his Treachery, affirming with ſeveral Oaths and Proteſtations, that by the Confeſſions of the Conſpiratours he was charged to be guilty of *Babington's* Plot, and was forthwith to be ſent into *England* to be hanged; and perſwaded him to betray *Deventer*, a ſtrong and wealthy City, to the *Spaniards*, contrary to his Oath taken to *Leiceſter* and the Eſtates. But conſidering at laſt the Notoriouſneſs of his Offenſe, he ſatisfied himſelf

Stanley and *York* Traitours to their truſt.

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The reward of Traitours.

The *Spaniards* ſet *York* and *Stanley* together by the Ears. *York* they poiſoned, and rifled his Goods. His Body was three years after digged up by the Eſtates, and hanged upon a Gibbet, where it rotted. *Stanley* and his Regiment were removed out of *Deventer*, and poſted from place to place, expoſed to Dangers, and ſo far neglected, that ſome of them periſhed miſerably for lack of Food, and ſome ran away one after another. *Stanley* himſelf, in Hope of Reward for his Service, went into *Spain*, and offered his farther Service for Invading of *Ireland*: but he was neither received with that Honour he expected, nor was any Credit given unto him: for the *Spaniards* (they ſay) have this Proverb, *A Traitour may have ſome Honour done him, but never any Credit given him.* And now he found too late that he had in the firſt place betrayed himſelf.

The Eſtates accuſe *Leiceſter*.

Theſe Treaſons procured *Leiceſter* great Ill will amongſt the Confederate *Netherlanders*, becauſe the Traitours were ſtill very intimate with him; and alſo to the whole *Engliſh* Nation, whom therefore thoſe who were more free and laviſh of their Tongues reproached and ſcandalized, till it was forbidden by Proclamation. But the Eſtates in a long Letter to the Queen accuſed *Leiceſter* of ill Governing the Commonwealth in matters of Money, War, and Trade; and to his *Reſtriction* and eaſie Credulouſneſs they imputed all the Dammages received by ſuch kind of Traitours. The Queen for the Examining and Compounding of the matter, and to ſound their Inclinations touching a Peace with the *Spaniard*, ſent *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurſt*, (lately made one of the Privy Council in *Leiceſter*'s Abſence,) *Norris*, and *Bartholmew Clerk*, who faithfully managed theſe matters. But whereas *Buckhurſt*'s officious Diligence ſeemed to tend to the intrapping of *Leiceſter*, *Leiceſter*'s Diſpleaſure againſt him and ſettled Favour with the Queen prevailed ſo far, that *Buckhurſt* at his Return was confined to his Houſe for ſeveral months.

Commiſſioners ſent to examine and compound matters.

The Eſtates ſend for *Leiceſter* to relieve *Sluys*.

Sluys being afterward beſieged by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leiceſter* was ſent for out of *England* by the Eſtates to relieve it. This Town being

being furiouſly battered with 17000 great Shot, and a large Breach made, was defended a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Captain *Nicholas Baskerville*, with a Garriſon of *Wallons* and *Engliſh*, with great Commendations for their Valour; but at length they were forced to ſurrender it, when *Leiceſter*, who was drawn near to ſuccour them, being too weak for the Enemy, was fain to retire. And ſure it is the Eſtates would not allow him a ſufficient Army, who reſerved to themſelves in reality that great Power which they had conferred upon him in Name and Words onely. And he himſelf diſdained to be ſubject to private men of meaner Quality under the Notion of Eſtates, who pretended to carry the ſame Authority over him their Governour, which *Charles* the Fifth held over his Governours of the *Netherlands*. Hereupon brake forth firſt Grudges, then open Enmities, on both ſides; and far greater, after he once begun to mention a Peace with the *Spaniard*: For they could not endure to hear of the Name of Peace, as a thing contrary and pernicious to their Deſigns. But when he perceived his Authority daily to be ſlighted and contemned among them, he betook himſelf to more ſubtil and crafty Counſels, and attempted to bring *Leiden* and other Cities under his Power. But being with the Loſs of ſome men fruſtrate of his Hope, and having cauſed great Diſcontent, he was called Home again into *England* by the Queen, reſigned his Government, and left the free Adminiſtration of the Provinces to the Eſtates, being derided by thoſe that envied him, and the Title of *His Excellency*, which of all Engliſh-men he was the firſt that ever uſed, exploded and hiſſed off the Stage.

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Sluys loſt.

Differences betwixt the Eſtates and *Leiceſter*.

He attempteth to bring the Cities under his Power.

He is called home.

The Title of *His Excellency*.

At his Departure he privately diſtributed amongſt ſome whom he had drawn to his Faction certain Medalls or Tokens made in Gold, on the one Side whereof was his own Picture; and on the other Side a Flock of Sheep, ſome Sheep ſtraying, and a Dog ready to goe away looking back behind him. Near the Dog was, *Invitus deſero*, that is, *Unwillingly I forſake*, and near the Sheep, *non gregem, ſed ingratos*, that is, *not the Flock, but the Unthankfull*. And no doubt but he had it in his Head to uſurp the Government. But theſe People have by their Policy and Wiſedome not onely retained their ancient Freedome, againſt both the Power of the *Spaniards*, who have the Knack alſo to fight with Gold and other Arts, and the wily Subtilties of the *French* and *Engliſh*, and the crafty fox-like Fetches of the Prince of *Orange*; but alſo have incredibly increaſed the ſame, by means of the favourable Inclination of their Neighbours towards them: and (which is more ſtrange) whereas other Nations are impoveriſhed by War, they are the onely men that thrive and are enriched thereby. Grave *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, Son to the Prince of *Orange* by *Anne* of *Saxony*, Daughter to *Maurice* that heroical Elector, being 20 years of Age, was by the Eſtates made Governour, in *Leiceſter*'s room, over the *United and Confederate Provinces*; and *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby* was made General of the Engliſh Forces in

He diſtributeth Medals amongſt his Faction.

Grave *Maurice* of *Naſſau* choſen in his room.

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in the *Low-Countries* by the Queen. Both which the *Leiceſtrian* Faction put to much Trouble. For the Garriſons of *Gertruydenberg*, *Naerden*, *Worcom*, *Hueſden*, and eſpecially *Medemblike*, being addicted to the *Engliſh*, as if they had ſworn Allegeance to the Queen, raiſed Tumults and Seditions. And Sir *William Ruſſell*, Governour of *Fluſhing*, having drawn to his Party thoſe of *Armuyden* and *Campvere*, was ſuſpected by the Eſtates, who were very full of Jealouſie and Miſtruſt, as if he had a Deſign to reduce the Iſle of *Walcheren* under the Power of the *Engliſh*. And this Suſpicion was increaſed by the Coming of the Admirall of *England*; who though he laboured to make up the matter, yet they, miſdoubting themſelves, bewrayed their Suſpicion and Jealouſie, both publickly, by coining Money with two Earthen Pots ſwimming in the Sea, (according to the old Fable,) and wittily inſcribing, *Si collidimur, frangimur*, that is, *If we knock together, we are broken in Pieces*; and alſo privately by Letters to the Queen. Who being very carefull of them, and not neglecting herſelf, as foreſeeing the Dangers by means of the Spaniſh Fleet now threatning her, commanded the Lord *Willoughby* to reduce the Seditious people under their Obedience to the Eſtates: which he together with Grave *Maurice* happily effected.

The *Leiceſtrian* Faction in the *Low-countries* raiſeth Sedition.

Ruſſel ſuſpected by the Eſtates.

Queen *Elizabeth* quieteth all.

Leiceſter being returned, and ſmelling that there was an Accuſation framed againſt him by *Buckhurſt* and others for ill managing of Affairs in *Holland*, and that he was to be ſummoned before the Councill, caſt himſelf down privately at the Queen's Feet, and with Tears craved her Protection; beſeeching her, *That whom ſhe had ſent forth with Honour at his firſt Departure, ſhe would not now receive with Diſgrace at his Return; and whom ſhe had raiſed up from the Ground, ſhe would not now bring alive to his Grave.* And with ſuch flattering Speeches he ſo mollified the Queen's offended Mind, that her noble Diſpleaſure abated, and ſhe received him into former Grace and Favour. Inſomuch as when he was expected the next day to come to his Anſwer, he took his Place in the Councill, and did not kneel at the upper end of the Table, as the manner is; and when the Secretary began to reade the Heads of his Accuſation, he interrupted him, complaining that he was injuriouſly dealt withall in his Abſence, for that his publick Commiſſion was reſtrained by private Inſtructions: and ſo appealing to the Queen, he avoided the whole Weight of the Accuſation, not without the ſecret Chafing and Indignation of his Adverſaries.

Leiceſter avoideth his Enemies Accuſations.

The death of the Lord *Abergavenney*.

This Year, in the moneth of *February*, departed this Life *Henry Nevill* Baron of *Abergavenney*, great Grand-ſon to *Edward Nevill*, who in the Reign of *Henry* the Sixth obtained this Title in Right of his Wife, the onely Daughter and Heir of *Richard Beauchamp*, or *De bello campo*, Earl of *Worceſter*, and Baron of *Abergavenney*. By which Title when the onely Daughter of this *Henry*, the Wife of Sir *Thomas Fane* Knight, claimed the Title of Baronets of *Abergavenney*, there grew a remarkable Suit for the Title betwixt her and the next Heir male,

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to whom the Caſtle of *Abergavenney* was bequeathed by Will and Teſtament, and the ſame Teſtament confirmed by Act of Parliament.

There died alſo at this time, and all in the Moneth of *Aprill*, four other Perſons of honourable Note amongſt us: viz. *Anne Stanhope*, Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, being 90 years of Age, formerly Wife of *Edward Seimour* Duke of *Somerſet*, and Protectour of *England*; who by her womaniſh Contending with *Catharine Parr*, Queen Dowager of King *Henry* the Eighth, for Precedence of Worth and Dignity, was the cauſe of great Buſtles in the Family of the *Seimours*, while ſhe was perſwaded by *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (who plotted the Ruine of this noble and potent Houſe,) that ſhe, being the Protectour's Wife, ought not to bear up the Train of the Queen Dowager, who was married to the Protectour's Brother, or to give her Place: Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, a man famous for his many and great Employments for the State, and the laſt Knight Banneret of *England*, to which Dignity he was raiſed at *Muſſelborough* Field: *Thomas Bromley*, Chancellour of *England*, under 60 years of Age, a famous Lawyer: And the 6. day after, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, whom the Queen had deſigned to be his Succeſſour, being the third Earl of the Houſe of *Manours*, a profound Lawyer, and a man accompliſhed with all polite Learning, leaving behind him one onely Daughter, *Elizabeth*, Wife to *William Cecyl* Grand-ſon to the Lord Treaſurer *Burghley*. Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, a man in great Favour with the Queen, of a Courtier was made Lord Chancellour; which the great Lawyers of *England* took very great Diſtaſt at. For, ever ſince the Eccleſiaſticall men were put beſide this Preferment, they had with ſingular Commendations for their Equity and Wiſedome born this higheſt place of Gowned Dignity, which was beſtowed in old time for the moſt part upon Church-men and Noblemen. But *Hatton* was advanced to it by the cunning Court-Arts of ſome, that by his Abſence from Court, and the troubleſome Diſcharge of ſo great a Place, which they thought him not to be able to undergoe, his Favour with the Queen might flag and grow leſs. Yet executed he the Place with the greateſt State and Splendour of any that ever we ſaw; and what he wanted in Knowledge of the Law, he laboured to make good by Equity and Juſtice.

Sir *John Perott* being this Year called Home out of *Ireland*, delivered up his Charge, leaving all things in a peaceable Condition, to Sir *William Fitz Williams*, having firſt brought in ſuch as were any way ſuſpected, to deliver Hoſtages for their Fidelity, and that out of hand, leſt, if they took Deliberation, they might ſeem to ſtudy a Revolt: the moſt ſuſpicious of all he providently apprehended and committed to Cuſtody, and put the reſt in mind of their Allegeance towards their Prince in theſe doubtfull Times; who, becauſe of his Love towards the Iriſh Nation, readily and willingly hearkned unto him therein.

The death of the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*.

Sir *Ralph Sadleir*.

Chancellour *Bromley*. And the Earl of *Rutland*.

Hatton made Lord Chancellour.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams* the fifth time Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

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The former Eaſineſs of the Iriſh War.

Till this time (that I may digreſs a little) the Engliſh-men had very eaſie Wars in *Ireland*, eight hundred Foot and three hundred Horſe were holden an invincible Army. *Randolph* with 600 *Engliſh* eaſily diſcomfited *O-Neal* with 4000 *Iriſh*. *Colier* in the Year 1571. with his one ſingle Company defeated a thouſand *Hebridians* in *Connaught*. 300 Horſe overthrew the *Butlers* with a great Multitude of Rebels. And (to omit other like Inſtances) two Companies of Foot wone in one day above 20 Caſtles from the *Iriſh*. But after that they were by *Perott*'s Command exerciſed daily at Home, taught to uſe their Weapons, and to diſcharge their Guns at a Mark, that ſo they might be the more ready for Service againſt the *Hebridians*, and had afterwards been bred up in the Netherland Wars, and learned the ways of Fortifications; they then troubled the *Engliſh* (as we ſhall after ſee) with a more difficult War.

The Difficulties afterwards.

The One and thirtieth Year of her Reign.
Ann. Domini 1588.

The *Admirable Year.*

NOw are we come to the Year of *Chriſt* One thouſand five hundred eighty and eight, which an Aſtronomer of *Koningsberg*, above an hundred years before, foretold would be an *Admirable Year*, and the German Chronologers preſaged would be the *Climacterical Year of the World.* The Rumours of Wars, which before were but ſlight and ſmall, began now to grow greater daily and greater: and now the Reports were no longer uncertain, but the univerſall and unanimous Belief of all men carried it for certain Truth, that a moſt invincible Armada was rigged and prepared in *Spain* againſt *England*, and that the famouſeſt Captains and experteſt Leaders and old Souldiers were ſent for out of *Italy*, *Sicily*, yea and out of *America*, into *Spain.*

Preparations in *Spain* againſt *England.*

By what counſel and ſetting on.

For the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſome Religious perſons in *Spain*, and ſeverall Engliſh Fugitives, had of late called back the *Spaniard* to his former Deſign for the Conqueſt of *England*, which had been interrupted by the ſpace of ten Years before by the *Portugall* Wars; earneſtly exhorting him, "That ſeeing God had bleſſed him with ſuch ex-"ceeding great Bleſſings and Benefits, *Portugall* with the *Eaſt-Indies* "and many rich Iſlands being laid of late to his Dominions, he in "like manner would perform ſomewhat which might be pleaſing and "acceptable to God the Giver of ſo great Good things, and beſee-"ming the Grandeur and Majeſty of the Catholick King. But no-"thing could there be more acceptable to God, or more beſeeming "him, then to propagate and enlarge the Church of God. That the "Church of God could not be more gloriouſly nor more meritori-"ouſly propagated, then by the Conqueſt of *England*, and replan-"ting

For what Reaſons.

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"ting the Catholick Roman Religion, and aboliſhing Hereſie there. "This War (they ſaid) would be moſt juſt, not onely becauſe it was "neceſſary, but alſo becauſe it was for the Maintenance of *Chriſt*'s "Religion: in regard that the Queen of *England*, being Excommu- "nicate, perſiſted contumacious againſt the Church of *Rome*, ſup- "ported his Rebels in the *Netherlands*, annoied the *Spaniards* by con- "tinuall Depredations, ſurprized and ſacked his Towns in *Spain* and "*America*, and had very lately put the Queen of *Scots* to Death, vi- "olating thereby the Majeſty of all Kings. And no leſs profitable "would this War be then it was juſt. For ſo ſhould he lay unto his "Empire thoſe flouriſhing Kingdoms, extinguiſh the Rebellion in "the *Low-Countries*, which was kept alive as it were by the Breath "it had from *England*, ſecure his Voiages to and from both *Indies*, "and leſſen his yearly Expenſes for Convoying his Indian Fleets for- "ward and backward. And for a ready Proof hereof, they ſugge- "ſted, That the Engliſh Navy was neither for Number nor Bigneſs "of Veſſels, nor for Strength, comparable to that of *Spain*, eſpeci- "ally the *Portugall* Fleet being now added to it: That *England* had "no Forts nor Defenſes; that it was unprovided of Commanders, "Souldiers, Cavalry, and Munition, bare of Wealth and Friends; "that there were many in all parts of the Realm addicted to the Ro- "miſh Religion, who would preſently joyn their Forces with his. "Briefly, that ſo great was the Strength of the *Spaniard* both by "Sea and Land, and ſo unmatchable the Valour of the *Spaniards*, "that no man durſt oppoſe him; ſo that they did confidently aſſure "themſelves of his Victory. Moreover, that now an Opportunity "was as it were offered him by God himſelf, whilſt he had no ground "to fear any thing either from the *Turk*, having lately concluded a "Truce with him, or from the *French*, who were now imbroiled in "a Civill War. They made him believe alſo, that *England* was eaſi- "er to be conquered then the *Netherlands*; in reſpect it was a ſhor- "ter and convenienter Cut from *Spain* to *England*, namely by a free "and open Sea; but to the *Netherlands* a longer and more difficult, "by a Sea for a great part of it narrow and pent, and lying over a- "gainſt *England*. Alſo, that the *Low-Countries* were as it were a con- "tinued Bulwark, fortified every-where with ſo many Cities and "Caſtles; but *England* with none at all: ſo that it was an eaſy mat- "ter for them to pierce preſently into the very Bowels of the Land, "as well as they had done of late into *Portugall*. And, laſtly, out of "that military Axiome, *That it is not good leaving an Enemy at our "Back*, That the *Engliſh* therefore, being inveterate Enemies to the "*Spaniards*, muſt neceſſarily be firſt conquered, upon whoſe Aſſi- "ſtence the *Netherlanders* relying had ſo long a time ſuſtained the "Burthen of the War, and without whom they could not longer ſub- "ſiſt. So as *England* being once conquered, the *Low-Countries* muſt "of neceſſity be ſubdued.

Theſe things being thus diſpoſed, and the Buſineſs reſolved on,

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Conſultation about the manner of Invaſion.

they enter into ſerious Conſultation about the beſt way and manner of Invading *England*. Don *Alvares Baſſano*, Marqueſs of *Santa Cruce*, to whom was committed the principall Charge and Conduct of the Armada, was of Opinion, that firſt of all ſome Port-town in *Holland* or *Zeland* ſhould unawares be ſurprized by the Prince of *Parma*'s Land-forces and ſome Spaniſh Ships ſent beforehand, where the Spaniſh Fleet might have ſafe Harbour and a Place of Retreat, and from whence it might conveniently attempt the Invaſion; conſidering that the Fleet could not ride ſafely in the unquiet Britiſh Sea, where the Winds often changed, and wherein the Tides were ſpecially to be obſerved. With him agreed in Opinion the Prince of *Parma*, who urged this Expedition tooth and nail. Others diſliked this Project, as being a thing difficult, full of Danger, requiring long Time, much Labour, great Expence, and the Succeſs thereof like to be uncertain; adding that it could neither be done ſecretly nor at unawares, but would eaſily be prevented by the *Engliſh*. Theſe men were of Opinion, that *England* might eaſilier be wone with the ſame Charge; and that the Victory would be certain and ſure, if a well-provided Army from *Spain* and the *Low-Countries* were landed by a powerfull Navy at the *Thames* Mouth, and *London*, the chief City, ſurprized by a ſudden Aſſault. This ſeemed to them very eaſie to be effected, and therefore all concurred in this Opinion, that it was forthwith to be put in Execution. Of theſe notwithſtanding ſome thought it meet that War ſhould be firſt proclaimed by an Herald, and that to good and wiſe purpoſe, as they thought; both to remove Suſpicion and Jealouſy out of the neighbour-Princes Minds, and alſo to force the Queen to call in forrein Forces to her Aſſiſtence; hoping that they (accord ing to the uſuall Inſolency of Mercenaries) would mutiny and ſpoil the Country, and that ſhe thereby would procure the Ill will of her Subjects, and all things would run into Confuſion in *England*. But this was not hearkned to by thoſe who were puffed up and eager with Confidence of their own Strength; for they held it ſufficient to recommend the Cauſe, the Armada and Army to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and to the Prayers of the Catholicks to God and the Saints, and to ſet forth a Book in print for a Terrour, wherein the whole Preparation was particularly ſet down: which verily was ſo vaſt throughout all *Spain*, *Italy* and *Sicily*, that the *Spaniards* themſelves were amazed at it, and named it *The invincible Armada*.

The invincible Armada.

Preparation in the *Low-Countries*.

The Prince of *Parma* alſo in the *Netherlands*, by the King of *Spain*'s Command, built Ships, and many flat-bottomed Boats, each of them big enough to carry 30 Horſe, with Bridges fitted to them: Mariners he hired from the Eaſtern parts of *Germany*, prepared Piles ſharpened at the neather End, armed with Iron, and hooked on the Sides, and provided twenty thouſand Barrels, and an infinite number of Faggots; and in the Sea-towns of *Flanders* he had an Army in readineſs of 103 Companies of Foot, and 4000 Horſe, amongſt which were 700 Engliſh Fugitives, who of all others were leaſt eſteemed.

med. Neither was *Stanley*, who had the Command of them, nor *Weſtmorland*, nor others who offered their Service and Counſel, once heard, but for their Unnaturalneſs to their Country they were debarred from all Acceſs, and as moſt inauſpicious perſons worthily and with Deteſtation rejected. *Sixtus Quintus* alſo, Biſhop of *Rome*, that he might not ſeem to be wanting to the Cauſe, ſending Cardinal *Allen*, an Engliſh-man, into the *Low-Countries*, renewed the Bulls declaratory of *Pius Quintus* and *Gregory* the Thirteenth, excommunicated the Queen, dethroned her, abſolved her Subjects from all Allegeance, and publiſhed his Croiſado in print, as it were againſt *Turks* and Infidels, wherein out of the Treaſury of the Church he granted plenary Indulgences to all that gave their Help and Aſſiſtence. Whereupon the Marqueſs of *Burgoew* of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Paſtrana*, *Amadæus* of *Savoy*, *Veſpaſian Gonzaga*, *John de Medicis*, and many Noblemen from all Parts, liſted themſelves voluntarily for this Enterpriſe and Expedition.

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Traitours odicus.

Help from the Pope.

Queen *Elizabeth* on the other ſide, that ſhe might not be taken unprovided, prepared with all Diligence imaginable as ſtrong a Fleet as ſhe could, and all things neceſſary for War. And ſhe herſelf (who was of a quick Judgement in diſcerning mens Natures and Diſpoſitions, and ever then moſt happy when ſhe made her own free Choice, and truſted not to the Recommendations of others,) aſſigned moſt excellent men to every particular Place and Charge. The Command of the whole Fleet ſhe gave to *Charles* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*; of whoſe fortunate Conduct ſhe had a very great Perſwaſion, and whom ſhe knew, by his moderate and noble Carriage, to be skilfull in Sea-matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, induſtrious and active, and of great Authority and Eſteem amongſt the Sea-men of her Navy. Him ſhe ſent early to the Weſtern Parts of *England*, where *Drake*, whom ſhe appointed Vice-admirall, joyned with him. The Lord *Henry Seimour*, ſecond Sôn to the Duke of *Somerſet*, ſhe commanded to lie upon the Coaſt of the *Low-Countries* with 40 Ships, Engliſh and Netherlandiſh, and to take Care that the Prince of *Parma* came not out to Sea with his Forces. Though ſome there were who earneſtly perſwaded her to expect the Enemie's Coming, and to welcome him with a Land-battel, according as had been reſolved in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, when the *French* with a ſtong Fleet threatned *England*.

Preparations in *England* for Defenſe.

By Sea.

For Land-ſervice there were diſpoſed along the Southern Coaſts 20000 men. Beſides which two Armies were raiſed of choice well-diſciplin'd and experienced men: the one under the Command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, conſiſting of 1000 Horſe and 22000 Foot; which incamped at *Tilbury*, not far from the *Thames* Mouth, (for the Enemy was fully reſolved to ſet firſt upon *London*:) the other under the Leading of the Lord *Hunſdon*, conſiſting of 34000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, to guard the Queen's Perſon.

By Land.

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A Conſultation how beſt to oppoſe the Enemy.

Arthur Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, and Sir *Roger Williams*, Knights, and excellent Souldiers, were made choice of to conſult about the beſt way of managing the War at Land. Theſe men thought good, that the moſt convenient Landing-places for the Enemy, as well out of *Spain* as out of the *Low-Countries*, ſhould be well manned and fortified; namely, *Milford* Haven, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Portland*, the Iſle of *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, that open Coaſt of *Kent* which we call *the Downs*, the *Thames* Mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, &c. And that the trained Bands all along the maritime Counties ſhould meet in Arms upon a Signall given to defend the ſaid Parts, and doe their beſt to prohibit the Enemie's Landing. And if the Enemy did land, to lay all Country waſt round about, and to ſpoil all things that might be of any Uſe to them, that ſo they might find no Food but what they brought with them on their Shoulders. And to buſie the Enemy night and day with continual Alarms, ſo as to give them no Reſt: but not to put it to the Hazzard of a Battel, till more Commanders with their Companies were come up to them. Of which Commanders they nominated one in every Shire to have the chief Command and Conduct. I liſt not to relate particularly what Mid-land Shires they aſſigned to aid this and that Coaſt, what Numbers, what Arms, and what manner of Fight they agreed upon.

And about the Papiſts at home.

In this troubleſome Seaſon, ſome beat it many times into the Queen's Head, that the *Spaniards* abroad were not ſo much to be feared as the Papiſts at Home; for the *Spaniards* would not attempt any Hoſtility againſt *England* but upon Confidence of Help from them: and that therefore, for better Security, the Heads of that Party were upon ſome Pretence or other to be taken off; alleaging the Example of King *Henry* the Eighth, when the Emperour and the French King, by the Inſtigation of the Pope, were ready to invade *England*; for as ſoon as he had put to Death the Marqueſs of *Exceſter*, the Baron *Montacute*, *Edward Nevil*, and others, whom he ſuſpected to favour their Enterpriſe, their Expedition preſently was daſhed. But the Queen, diſliking this as cruel Counſell, thought it ſufficient to commit ſome of the Papiſts, and thoſe not of the chief, to Cuſtody at *Wisbeach* in the Fens. And having her Eyes and Mind every way, ſhe by frequent Letters excited and quickned the Eſtates, who were not aſleep the while. Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, ſhe directed what he ſhould doe. The King of *Scots* ſhe put in mind by her Friends in *Scotland*, and by Meſſengers, to be very wary of the Papiſts and the Spaniſh Faction. But he, not ignorant how great a Tempeſt and Deſtruction hung over head, was of his own Accord forward and carefull, and, according to his continual good Affection to the true Religion and the Queen, had already refuſed to give Audience to the Biſhop of *Dumblane*, (who was ſent from the Biſhop of *Rome*,) and had procured a Confederacy to be entred into by the Proteſtants of *Scotland* for reſiſting the *Spaniards*:

The King of *Scots* alacrity againſt the *Spaniards*.

and

and he himſelf marching in Perſon with an Army into *Annandale*, forced *Maxwell's* Camp, who, contrary to his Faith given, was returned out of *Spain* into *Scotland*, and favoured the *Spaniard's* Deſigns, took him and threw him in Priſon, declared the *Spaniards* Enemies, and made Preparation againſt them with great Chearfulneſs and Alacrity. 1588.

A Treaty about Peace in the mean time.

Amidſt theſe great Preparations for War by both Parties, Projects for Peace were not quite laid aſide. Two years before, when the Prince of *Parma* had conſidered with himſelf how difficult a matter it would be to bring the *Low-country* War to an Iſſue, as long as it was cheriſhed with daily Supplies from the Queen, had dealt ſeriouſly by Letters, with the Help of Sir *James a Croſtes*, one of the Privy Council, a man very deſirous of Peace, *Andrew Van Loe*, a *Netherlander*, and others, that there might be a Treaty of Peace, he being impowered thereto by the King of *Spain*. The Queen fearing leſt this were done politickly underhand to break off the Amity betwixt her and the Confederate Provinces, and to allure them cunningly to the *Spaniard*, deferred the matter a while. But now, to divert the War which threatned on both ſides, ſhe reſolved to treat of Peace, but with the Sword in her Hand: neither indeed was the Prince of *Parma* againſt it.

In the month of *February* therefore Commiſſioners were ſent into *Flanders*, viz. *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James a Croſtes* Controller of the Queen's Houſhold, *Valentine Dale* and *John Rogers* Doctours of Law: who being received in the Prince's Name with all Courteſie and Civility, ſent *Dale* preſently to him, to underſtand his Mind about the Place of Meeting, and to ſee his Commiſſion from the King of *Spain*. He appointed the place near *Oſtend*, not in *Oſtend* itſelf, which was now held by the *Engliſh* againſt the King: and as for his Commiſſion, he promiſed it ſhould be ſhewed them when they met. But he wiſhed they would haſten the matter, leſt any thing ſhould happen in the mean time which might hinder the Treaty of Peace. But *Richardot* ſaid plainly and expreſly, *that he knew not what might be attempted in the mean time againſt* England. Not long after *Rogers* was ſent to the Prince by the Queen's expreſs Command, to underſtand for certain whether there were any Deſign for Invading of *England*, as he and *Richardot* ſeemed of late to give Hints of. He affirmed, that he never had the leaſt thought of Invading *England*, when he wiſhed the matter might be haſtened; and was ſomewhat angry with *Richardot*, who denied that any ſuch words had fallen from him.

On the 12. day of *April* there met with the Engliſh Commiſſioners in Tents near *Oſtend*, Count *Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardot*, *Mues* a Doctour, and *Garnier*, ſent as Commiſſioners from the Prince of *Parma*; who voluntarily gave the Engliſh Commiſſioners the Precedency and upper Hand both in going and ſitting. They affirming that the Prince had ſufficient Power and Commiſſion to treat of

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Propoſitions of the *Engliſh*, with the *Spaniards* Anſwers.

of a Peace, the *Engliſh* propounded, that a Truce might firſt be concluded on. The other denied it, becauſe it would be damageable and prejudicial to the *Spaniard*, (who had been at the Charge of maintaining a ſtrong Army for now full ſix Months,) in caſe a Peace ſhould not be agreed upon. The *Engliſh* inſiſted, that a Truce was promiſed before they came into the *Low-Countries*. They on the other ſide acknowledged that a Truce was promiſed ſix Months before, but not accepted; and that it was not in the Queen's Power to make a Truce for the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, who daily attempted Acts of Hoſtility. The *Engliſh* urged that the Truce might be general, for all the Queen's Dominions and the Kingdom of *Scotland*. They refuſed to grant it for any more then four Towns onely in the *Netherlands* which were in the Queen's Hands, that is to ſay, *Oſtend*, *Fluſhing*, *Bergen-op-Zome*, and *Briell*; and that onely during the Treaty and twenty days after; and upon ſuch Terms, as it ſhould be lawful in the mean time for the Queen of *England* to invade *Spain*, and for the *Spaniard* to invade *England* out of *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*.

Whileſt the time was ſpent and ſquandred away from day to day in arguing about the Truce and the Place of Treaty, which at length was appointed to be at *Borbourg*, Sir *James a Croſies*, out of his ſingular Affection to Peace, made a Journey to *Bruxells* without acquainting the reſt of the Commiſſioners, and there propounded certain Articles in private; for which he was afterwards upon *Leiceſter*'s Accuſation impriſoned, though in the Judgment of the reſt of the Commiſſioners the ſaid Articles were not to be miſliked: but Commiſſioners muſt not paſs the Limits of their Commiſſion. At laſt, when the Engliſh Commiſſioners could by no means get from them that there ſhould be an abſolute Ceſſation of Arms, nor ſee the Prince of *Parma*'s Commiſſion to treat of Peace, they propoſed theſe things following.

Other Propoſals to the *Spaniards*.

That the ancient Leagues betwixt the Kings of England *and the Dukes of* Burgundy *might be renewed and confirmed. That all the* Netherlanders *might fully enjoy their Priviledges, and ſerve God with Freedome of Conſcience. That the* Spaniards *and forrein Souldiers might be removed out of the* Netherlands, *ſo as neither the* Netherlanders *nor the bordering Countries might have cauſe to fear them. Which things if they might be granted, the Queen would condeſcend to reaſonable Conditions concerning thoſe Towns in the* Netherlands *which ſhe then had in Poſſeſſion, (that it might appear that it was not for her own Advantage, but for the neceſſary Defenſe as well of the* Netherlands *as of herſelf, that ſhe had taken up Arms,) provided the Money which was due to her from thence might be repayed.*

Their Anſwer.

They anſwered, *That there would be no Difficulty in renewing the ancient Leagues, when they ſhould once come to a friendly Conference together about the ſame. That there was no Reaſon why forrein Princes ſhould take Care of the* Netherlanders *Priviledges, which were moſt freely and bountifully granted not onely to the*

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Provinces and Towns that were reconciled, but even to thoſe alſo which were reduced by Force of Arms. And for forrein Souldiers, they were retained upon urgent Neceſſity, as long as Holland, England *and* France *were in Arms. As for thoſe four Towns which had been taken from the King, and the Repayment of the Money which the Queen had expended, the* Spaniard *might in reaſon demand as many thouſands of Ducats to be repayed him by the Queen, as he had diſburſed upon the Low-Country War from the time that ſhe firſt ſupported the revolting* Netherlanders, *and took them into her Protection.*

About this time *Dale* by the Queen's Command went to the Prince of *Parma*, and mildly expoſtulated with him about a Book lately ſet forth by Cardinall *Allen* an Engliſh-man, wherein he exhorted the Nobility and People of *England* and *Ireland* to joyn with the Spaniſh Forces under the Conduct of the Prince of *Parma*, to execute the Sentence of *Sixtus Quintus* Biſhop of *Rome*, publiſhed already by Bull againſt the Queen of *England*, whereby ſhe was declared an Heretick, Illegitimate, and taxed of Cruelty againſt *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, &c. and her Subjects commanded to aid the Prince of *Parma* againſt her. (And indeed there were a great number of theſe Bulls and Books printed at *Antwerp*, to be diſperſed all over *England*.) The Duke denied "that ever he ſaw any ſuch Book or Bull, neither did he under-"take any thing upon the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Account; but his own "Prince he muſt obey. As for the Queen of *England*, he had ſo high an "Eſteem of her for her Royall Vertues, that next to the King his Ma-"ſter he honoured her above all, and deſired to doe her Service. That "he had perſwaded his King to condeſcend to this Treaty of Peace, "which would be more advantageous for the *Engliſh* then for the *Spa-"niards*. For if the *Spaniards* be overcome, they will ſoon repair "their Loſs; but if you (ſaid he) be once vanquiſhed, your Kingdome "is quite loſt by it. To whom *Dale* replied, *Our Queen is provided of Strength ſufficient to defend her Kingdome; and you yourſelf in your Wiſedome may judge, that a Kingdome cannot eaſily be wone by the Fortune of one Battell, ſeeing the King of* Spain *hath not yet been able after ſo long a War to recover his ancient Inheritance in the* Netherlands. *Be it ſo,* (ſaid the Duke,) *theſe things are in the Hand and Diſpoſall of the Almighty.*

An Expoſtulation with the Prince of *Parma* about a Book of *Allen*'s.

The Commiſſioners continued their Propoſals, Anſwers and Replies to one another, and ſtill ſpun as it were the ſame Thread over again. The *Engliſh* urging that a Toleration of Religion might be granted to the Confederate Provinces, at leaſt for two Years; it was anſwered, *As the* Spaniard *demanded it not for the Engliſh Catholicks, ſo they hoped the Queen was ſo prudent as not to deſire any thing which ſhould be againſt the Honour, Oath and Conſcience of the* Spaniard. When they demanded the Money due from the Eſtates of *Brabant*; they anſwered, *That it was lent without the King's Knowledge or Leave: but when the Accounts were caſt up, how much the ſaid Money was, and how much the King had diſburſed about the War, it would ſoon be*

Other Demands of the *Engliſh*, with the *Spaniard*'s Anſwers.

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be known who had moſt due to them. With ſuch Anſwers as theſe they dallied with the *Engliſh*, till the Spaniſh Fleet was come upon the Coaſt of *England*, and the Thundering of the Ordnance was heard from the Sea. And then they received a ſafe Conduct from the Prince of *Parma*, (who had in the mean time drawn down all his Forces to the Sea-ſide,) and were honourably conducted by his Commiſſioners to the Borders near *Calice*. Thus came this Treaty to nothing, which at firſt was begun by the Queen (as the wiſer ſort have thought) to divert the Spaniſh Fleet; and continued by the *Spaniard*, purpoſely to ſurprize *England* at unawares and unprovided. So as they ſeemed on both ſides to ſow the Foxe's Skin to the Lion's.

The Treaty broken off.

The Spaniſh Armada.

The ſaid Spaniſh Fleet, being the beſt furniſhed with Men, Munition, and all manner of Proviſion, of any that ever the Ocean ſaw, and called by the arrogant name of *Invincible*, conſiſted of 130 Ships: In which were 19290 Souldiers, 8350 Mariners, 2080 Gally-ſlaves, 2630 great Ordnance.

The chief Commanders.

Don *Alphonſo Perez de Guſman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, had the principall Command thereof; (for Don *Antonio Columna*, Duke of *Paliano*, and the Marqueſs of *Santa Cruce*, to whom this Command was formerly deſigned, died both of them while the Fleet was rigging;) and under him *John Martinez de Recalde*, an experienced Seaman.

It ſetteth ſail.

Is diſperſed.

On the 29. of *May* the Fleet ſet Sail out of the River *Tayo*, and while it bent its Courſe towards the *Groign* in *Gallicia* it was totally ſcattered and diſperſed by an hideous Tempeſt, ſo that with much adoe it met again together ſome few days after at the *Groign* and other Harbours thereabouts; three Gallies being conveyed into *France* by the Policy of *David Gwinn* an Engliſh Slave, and the Treachery of the Turkiſh Rowers. It was reported to be ſo weather-beaten and diſtreſſed, that the Queen was verily perſwaded that this Fleet was not to be looked for this Year; and Secretary *Walſingham* wrote to the Lord Admirall to ſend back four of the biggeſt Ships, as if the War were now at an end. The Lord Admirall did not eaſily believe it, and therefore humbly deſired that nothing might be raſhly credited in ſo weighty a matter, and that he might retain the Ships with him, though it were at his own Coſt and Charges. And taking the Benefit of a favourable Wind, he ſet Sail toward *Spain*, to ſurprize the Enemie's weather-beaten Ships in their Harbours. When he was not far from the Coaſt of *Spain*, the Wind came about into the South, and he thereupon (who was commanded to defend the Coaſt of *England*, fearing leſt with the ſame Wind they might arrive in *England* undiſcovered,) returned to *Plymouth*.

It putteth to Sea again.

With the ſame Wind the Duke of *Medina* ſet Sail with his whole Fleet from the *Groign* the 12. day of *July* according to the Accompt of the *Julian* Year: and after a day or two he ſent *Roderico Telie* before into the *Low-Countries*, to advertiſe the Prince of *Parma* of the coming

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coming of the Fleet, and to tell him what was beſt to be done. For he had Orders to joyn with the Prince of *Parma's* Forces and Shipping, and to conduct them under the Protection of his Fleet into *England*, and withall to ſet the Land-forces on Shoar at the *Thames* Mouth. And now will I give a brief Account, out of the moſt credible Relations as well of the *Spaniards* as of our own Countrymen, what was done every day in this Expedition, that the Truth may the more plainly appear.

On the 16. day there was a great Calm, and a thick Fog till Noon: then the North-eaſt-Wind blew very ſtrongly, and preſently after the Weſt-Wind, till Midnight, and then the Eaſt-ſouth-eaſt-Wind; inſomuch as the Spaniſh Fleet being diſperſed thereby was hardly gathered together again till it came within Sight of *England* on the 19. day. Upon which day the Lord Admirall of *England*, being certainly informed by *Flemming*, the Captain of a Pinnace, that the Spaniſh Fleet was entred into the Britiſh Sea, (which the Seamen ordinarily call *the Channell*,) and was ſeen near the Point called *the Lizard*, towed the Engliſh Fleet forth into the main Sea, not without great Difficulty, the Wind blowing ſtifly into the Haven, but indeed with ſingular Diligence and Induſtry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Sea-men, whom he encouraged at their Halſer-work, aſſiſting them and the common Souldiers in the doing of it in perſon.

The Engliſh Fleet putteth to Sea.

The next day the *Engliſh* diſcovered the Spaniſh Fleet with lofty Turrets like Caſtles, in Front like an Half-moon, the Wings thereof ſpreading out about the length of ſeven Miles, ſailing very ſlowly, though with full Sails, the Winds being as it were tired with carrying them, and the Ocean groaning under the Weight of them; which they willingly ſuffered to paſs by, that they might chaſe them in the Rere with a fore-right Wind.

On the 21. of *July* the Lord Admirall of *England*, ſending a Pinnace before called the *Defiance*, denounced War by diſcharging her Ordnance; and preſently his own Ship, called the *Ark-royall*, thundered thick and furiouſly upon the Admirall (as he thought) of the *Spaniards*, (but it was *Alphonſo de Leva's* Ship.) Soon after *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbiſher* played ſtoutly with their Ordnance upon the hindmoſt Squadron, which was commanded by *Recalde*, who laboured all he could to ſtay his men from flying to the main Fleet, till ſuch time as his own Ship being much battered with Shot, and now grown unſerviceable, he was fain himſelf with much adoe to retreat thither alſo. At which time the Duke of *Medina* gathered together his Fleet which was ſcattered this way and that way, and, hoiſing more Sail, held on his Courſe with what ſpeed he could. Neither could he doe any other, ſeeing both the Wind favoured the *Engliſh*, and their Ships would turn about with incredible Celerity and Nimbleneſs which way ſoever they pleaſed, to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintained a ſmart Fight for the ſpace of

The firſt Fight.

The Agility of the Engliſh Ships.

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The next Night following the *Saint Catharine*, a Spaniſh Ship, having been much torn and battered in the Fight, was taken into the midſt of the Fleet to be repaired. And an huge Ship of *Biſcay*, which was *Oquenda*'s, wherein was the King's Treaſurer, began to flame all of a light Fire, by means of the Gun-powder, which was fired on purpoſe by a Netherland Gunner who had been miſuſed by them. Yet was the Fire ſoon quenched by Ships ſent in to help her: amongſt which the Gallion of Don *Pedro de Valdez*, falling foul of another Ship, brake her Fore-maſt or Boreſprit, and being left behind, ſince no man (the Sea being tempeſtuous and the Night dark) could come to reſcue her, fell into *Drake*'s Hands as good Prize; who ſent *Valdez* to *Dartmouth*, and left the Money to be rifled by his men. *Drake* was commanded to carry a Lantern that night, but neglected it, having five great Hulks in Chace belonging to ſome Merchants of *Germany*, whom he thought to be Enemies: by means whereof he cauſed almoſt the whole Engliſh Fleet to lie ſtill, in regard the Night-light was no-where to be ſeen. Neither did he and the reſt of the Fleet till towards Night the next day recover Sight of the Lord Admirall, who all the Night before, with two Ships, the *Bear* and the *Maryroſe*, followed the Spaniſh Fleet. All this day the Duke was employed undiſturbed in ſetting his Fleet in Order. *Alphonſo de Leva* he ordered to joyn the firſt and the laſt Squadron together: to every Ship he aſſigned his Station to ride in, according to the Form reſolved on in *Spain*, upon pain of Death to thoſe that ſhould abandon their Station: *Glich*, an Enſign, he ſent to the Prince of *Parma*, to tell him in what Condition he was: and the aforeſaid *Biſcain* Ship of *Oquenda*'s he turned looſe to the Waves, having firſt ſhipped the King's Money and the men into other Ships. Which Ship fell the ſame day into the Engliſh-mens Hands, with about 50 Mariners and Souldiers pitifully maimed and half burnt, and was brought into the Haven of *Weymouth*.

Don *Pedro de Valdez* and his Ship taken.

Oquenda's Ship taken.

On the 23. day of the month, betimes in the morning, the *Spaniards*, taking the Opportunity of a Northerly Wind, tacked about againſt the *Engliſh*, who for their Advantage ſoon turned aſide towards the Weſt. And after they had for ſome time ſtriven to get the Wind one of another, they prepared themſelves on both ſides to fight: and fight they did confuſedly and with variable Fortune, whilſt on the one ſide the *Engliſh* manfully reſcued ſome Ships of *London* that were hemmed in by the *Spaniards*; and on the other ſide the *Spaniards* as ſtoutly reſcued *Recalde* when he was in Danger. Never was there heard greater Thundering of Ordnance on both ſides; notwithſtanding which the *Spaniards* Shot flew for the moſt part over the *Engliſh* without Harm doing; onely *Cock* an Engliſh-man died with Honour in the midſt of the Enemies in a ſmall Ship of his.

The ſecond Fight.

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For the Engliſh Ships, being far leſſer then theirs, charged the Enemy with wonderfull Agility and Nimbleneſs, and having given their Broad-ſides, preſently ſtood off at a diſtance from them, and levelled their Shot directly without miſſing at thoſe great Ships of the *Spaniards*, which were heavy and altogether unwieldy. Neither did the Lord Admirall think good to adventure Grappling with them, as ſome unadviſedly perſwaded him. For the Enemy had a ſtrong Army in his Fleet, but he had none: their Ships were far more for number, of bigger Burthen, ſtronger, and higher built; ſo as their men fighting from thoſe loſty Hatches, muſt inevitably deſtroy thoſe who ſhould charge them from beneath. And he foreſaw that an Overthrow in that caſe would endammage him much more then a Victory would advantage him. For if he were vanquiſhed, he ſhould very much endanger all *England*; and if he were Conquerour, he ſhould onely gain a little Honour for overthrowing the Fleet, and beating the Enemy. On the 24. day of the month they forbore fighting on both Sides. The Lord Admirall ſent ſome of his ſmaller Ships to the next Coaſts of *England*, to fetch Powder and other Proviſion for Fight; and divided the whole Fleet into four Squadrons: whereof the firſt he commanded himſelf, the ſecond he committed to *Drake*, the third to *Hawkins*, and the fourth to *Forbiſher*; and appointed out of every Squadron certain ſmall Veſſels to give the Onſet and attack the Enemy on all ſides at once in the dead of the Night: but being becalmed, his Deſign took not Effect.

The Lord Admiral's providence.

On the 25. which was Saint *James* his day, the *Saint Anne*, a Galleon of *Portugal*, which could not keep up with the reſt, was ſet upon by ſome ſmall Engliſh Ships; to whoſe Reſcue came *Leva* and Don *Diego Telles Enriques* with three Galleaſſes: whom the Lord Admiral himſelf, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden Lion*, towing their Ships with their Boats, (ſo great was the Calm,) charged ſo furiouſly with their Ordnance, that much adoe they had, but not without Loſs, to free the Galleon; and from that time no Galleaſſes would venture to engage. The *Spaniards* report, "That "the *Engliſh* at the ſame time battered the Spaniſh Admiral then in "the Rere of the Fleet with their great Ordnance, coming up cloſer to her then before, and, having ſlain many of her men, ſhot "down her main Maſt: but *Mexia* and *Recalde* in good time beat "the *Engliſh* off. That then the Spaniſh Admiral, aſſiſted by *Re*"*calde* and others, ſet upon the Engliſh Admiral; and that the En"gliſh Admiral eſcaped by means of the Wind turning. That the "*Spaniards* from that time gave over the Purſuit, and, holding on "their Courſe, diſpatched a freſh Meſſenger to *Parma*, deſiring him "to joyn his Fleet as ſoon as poſſible with the King's Armada, and "withall to ſend ſome great Shot for the Spaniſh Fleet. Theſe things were unknown to the *Engliſh*, who write, "That from one of the "Spaniſh Ships they rent the Lantern, and from another the Beak"head, and did much Hurt to the third. That the *Non-Parile* and

The third Fight.

The *Spaniards* Account of it.

The *Engliſh*.

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"the *Mary-rose* fought a while with the *Spaniards*: and that other "Ships rescued the *Triumph* which was in Danger. Thus as to the Account and Particulars of the Engagements they who were present at them do not report the same thing, whilest on both Sides every man relates what he himself observed.

Knights made.

The next day the Lord Admiral Knighted the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins* and *Martin Forbisher*, for their Valour. And it was resolved, from thenceforth to fall upon the Enemy no more till they came to the British Frith or Streight of *Calice*, where the Lord *Henry Seimour* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their Coming. So with a fair * *Etesian* Gale (which in our Skie bloweth for the most part from the South-west and by South clear and fair) the Spanish Fleet sailed forward, the English Fleet following it close at the Heels. But so far was it from terrifying the Sea-coasts with its Name of *Invincible*, or with its dreadfull Show, that the young Gentry of *England* with incredible Chearfulness and Alacrity, (leaving their Parents, Wives, Children, Cousins and Friends at Home,) out of their hearty Love to their Country, hired Ships from all Parts at their own private Charges, and joyned with the Fleet in great numbers: amongst others the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecyl*, *Henry Brooke*, *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and others of good Quality.

* A Wind blowing in the Dog-days yearly.

Noblemen and Gentlemen joyn with the Fleet.

The Spanish Fleet cometh to an anchour.

On the twenty-seventh day of this Month towards Night the *Spaniards* came to an Anchour before *Calice*, having Notice by their Pilots, that if they proceeded any farther, it was to be feared they might be driven by force of the Tide into the Northern Ocean. Near unto them also rode at Anchour the Lord Admiral with his Ships, within Cannon shot of them; with whom *Seimour* and *Winter* joyned their Squadrons. And now were there in the English Fleet 140 Sail, all of them Ships fit for Fight, good Sailers, and nimble and tight for tacking about which way they would: yet were there not above fifteen of them which did in a manner sustain and repell the whole Brunt of the Fight. The *Spaniards* forthwith, as they had done many times before, urged the Duke of *Parma* by Messengers dispatched one after another to send 40 Fly-boats, that is, light Vessels, without which he could not well fight with the *English*, by reason of the Over-greatness and Sluggishness of the Spanish Ships, and the notable Agility of the *English*: they also earnestly prayed him to put to Sea with his Army, which the Spanish Fleet would protect, as it were under her Wings, (for so it had been resolved,) till it were landed in *England*. But he, being not yet ready, could not come at their Call; his flat-bottomed Boats for the shallow Channels leaked, his Provision of Victuals was not yet gotten, and his Mariners, who had been kept together hitherto against their Wills, had many of them withdrawn themselves and slunk away. There lay watching

The Prince of *Parma* sent for.

He is not ready.

ching alſo at the Mouth of the Havens of *Dunkerk* and *Newport*, from whence he was to put forth to Sea, the Men of War of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, ſo ſtrongly provided of great Ordnance and Muſketiers, that he could not put from Shoar, unleſs he would wilfully thruſt himſelf and his upon imminent and certain Deſtruction. And yet he (being an expert and induſtrious Souldier) ſeemed to omit nothing that lay in his Power, through the ardent Deſire he had to the Conqueſt of *England*. 1588.

But Queen *Elizabeth*'s prudent Foreſight prevented both his Diligence, and the credulous Hope of the *Spaniards*: for by her Command, the next day after the *Spaniards* had caſt Anchour, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his worſt Ships, beſmeared them with Wild-fire, Pitch and Roſin, and filled them with Brimſtone and other combuſtible matter, and ſent them down the Winde in the dead of the Night, under the Command of *Young* and *Prowſe*, amongſt the Spaniſh Fleet. Which when the *Spaniards* eſpied approaching towards them, the whole Sea glittering and ſhining with the Flame thereof, ſuppoſing that thoſe Fire-ſhips, beſides the Danger of the Fire, were alſo provided of deadly Engines and murthering Inventions, they raiſed a ſad Outcry, weighed Anchour, cut their Cables, and in a terrible Panick Fear with great Haſte and Confuſion put to Sea. One of their Fleet, being a great Galleaſſe, having broken her Rudder, floated up and down, and the next day in great Fear making towards *Calice*, ran upon the Sands, and was after a ſmart and for a long while dubious Fight taken by *Amias Preſton*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvy*, Don *Hugo de Moncada*, the Captain of it, being firſt ſlain, and the Souldiers and Rowers either drowned or put to the Sword. A great quantity of Gold which ſhe had on board was pillaged by the *Engliſh*: The Ship and Ordnance fell to the Governour of *Calice*.

Fire-ſhips ſent among the *Spaniards*.

The *Spaniards* in a fear fly confuſedly.

A great Galleaſs taken.

Don *Hugo de Moncada* ſlain.

The *Spaniards* report that the Duke, when thoſe Fire-ſhips approached, commanded the whole Fleet to weigh Anchour and ſtand to Sea; yet ſo as, having avoided the Danger, every Ship ſhould return to his former Station. And indeed he returned himſelf, giving a Sign to the reſt to doe the like, by diſcharging a great Piece; which notwithſtanding was heard but by a few, becauſe they were ſo ſcattered all about and driven for Fear, ſome of them into the wide Ocean, and ſome upon the Shallows of *Flanders*.

In the mean time *Drake* and *Fenner* played fiercely with their Ordnance upon the Spaniſh Fleet as it was gathering together again over againſt *Graveling*; with whom preſently after joyned *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeſton*, *Croſs*, *Riman*, and ſoon after the Lord Admirall himſelf, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*. The Duke, *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Recalde*, and the reſt, with much adoe got clear of the Shallows, and endured the Charge as well as they could, inſomuch as moſt of their Ships were very much ſhattered and ſhot through and through. The Galleon *Saint Matthew*, under the Command of

The fourth Fight.

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The *S. Philip* and *S. Matthew* taken.

of Don *Diego Piementelli*, coming to aſſiſt Don *Franciſco de Toledo* in the *St. Philip*, which was ſoar battered with many great Shot by *Seimour* and *Winter*, driven near *Oſtend*, and again ſhot through and through by the *Zelanders*, and taken by the *Fluſhingers*, was likewiſe herſelf taken, and the whole Spaniſh Fleet grievouſly diſtreſſed and put to it all the day long.

On the laſt day of the Month betimes in the morning the Weſt-north-weſt Winde blew hard, and the Spaniſh Fleet endeavouring to recover the narrow Streight, was forced toward *Zeland*. The *Engliſh* gave over the Chace, becauſe (as the *Spaniards* think) they ſaw them carried ſo faſt to their Ruine: for the Weſt-north-weſt Winde blowing, they could not but run upon the Sands and Shallows near *Zeland*. But the Winde turning preſently into the South-weſt and by Weſt, they ſailed before the Winde, and being got clear of the Shallows, in the Evening they held a Council what to doe: and it was unanimouſly reſolved to return into *Spain* by the Northern Ocean, in regard they wanted many Neceſſaries, eſpecially great Shot, their Ships were torn and ſhattered, and no Hope there was that the Prince of *Parma* could bring out his Fleet to joyn with them.

The *Spaniards* flie Northward.

Wherefore having now recovered into the main Ocean, they ſteered their Courſe Northward, the Engliſh Fleet having them in Chace; againſt which now and then they turned and made Head. And whereas moſt men thought they would tack about again and come back, the Queen with a maſculine Spirit came and took a View of her Army and Camp at *Tilbury*, and riding about through the Ranks of Armed men drawn up on both ſides her, with a Leader's Truncheon in her Hand, ſometimes with a martiall Pace, another while gently like a Woman, incredible it is how much ſhe encouraged the Hearts of her Captains and Souldiers by her Preſence and Speech to them.

The Queen cometh to the Camp at *Tilbury*.

The ſame day that the laſt Fight was the Prince of *Parma*, after he had made his Prayers to *our Lady of Hall*, came ſomewhat late to *Dunkerk*, where he was welcomed with opprobrious and reproachfull Speeches by the *Spaniards*, as if in Favour of Queen *Elizabeth* he had loſt them ſo fair an Opportunity of doing noble Exploits. The Duke, to give them ſome kind of Satisfaction, puniſhed the Purveyours of Victuals; laughing meanwhile in his Sleeve at the Inſolency and Boaſtings of the *Spaniards*, whom he had heard vapouring, that whither-ſoever they turned themſelves they carried aſſured Victory along with them; and that the *Engliſh* would not once dare to look them in the Face. And verily Don *Bernardine de Mendoza* fooliſhly and with ridiculous Falſity printed a Poem in *France* containing a Triumph before the Victory. Howbeit, that *Parma* might not come forth from *Dunkerk*, the Lord Admirall commanded the Lord *Henry Seimour* and the *Hollanders* to have a ſtrict Eye upon the Coaſt of *Flanders*, while he himſelf chaſed the *Spaniards* till they were

Parma reviled by the *Spaniards*.

The vain Brags of the *Spaniards*.

Parma kept in.

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were gone paſt *Edenborough Frith* in *Scotland*, anciently called *Bodotria*. For ſome there were that feared they would have Recourſe to the King of *Scots*, who was already exaſperated for his Mother's Death. Certainly *Aſtbey*, the Queen's Embaſſadour in *Scotland*, to pacifie his Mind, this Moneth made him large Offers, to wit, the Title of a Duke in *England*, a yearly Penſion of 5000 Pounds, a Guard to be maintained at the Queen's Charge, and ſome other matters; whether of his own Head, or by Command of others, I cannot tell, nor do I liſt to be curious in examining: but upon him the Blame fell, and the Offers were never made good to him.

Offers made to the King of *Scots* to keep him firm to *England*.

But the *Spaniards* having now thrown off all Deſign and Hope of coming back again, and placing their whole Safety in their Flight, made no Stay any-where. And thus this great Armada, which had been three complete Years in rigging and preparing with infinite Expenſe, was within one Moneth's ſpace many times fought with, and at the laſt overthrown, with the Slaughter of many men, not an hundred of the *Engliſh* being miſſing, nor any Ship loſt, ſave onely that ſmall one of *Cock*'s: (for all the Shot from the tall Spaniſh Ships flew quite over the *Engliſh:*) and after it had been driven round about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orcades* and *Ireland*, grievouſly toſſed, and very much diſtreſſed, impaired and mangled by Storms and Wrecks, and endured all manner of Miſeries, at length returned Home with Shame and Diſhonour. Whereupon ſeverall Moneys were coined, ſome in Memory of the Victory, with a Fleet flying with full Sails, and this Inſcription, *Venit, vidit, fugit*, that is, It came, it ſaw, it fled; others in Honour of the Queen, with Fire-ſhips and a Fleet all in Confuſion, inſcribed, *Dux Fœmina facti*, that is, A woman was Conductour in the Exploit. In their Flight ſure it is that many of their Ships were caſt away upon the Coaſts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and above 700 Souldiers and Sea-men caſt on Shoar in *Scotland*; who, at the Interceſſion of the Prince of *Parma* to the King of *Scots*, and by Permiſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*, were a year after ſent over into the *Low-Countries*. But more unmerciſully were thoſe miſerable Wretches dealt with all whoſe Hap it was to be driven by Tempeſts into *Ireland:* For they were ſlain ſome of them by the wild *Iriſh*, and others put to the Sword by Command of the Lord Deputy. For he, fearing leſt they would joyn with the Iriſh Rebels, and ſeeing that *Bingham*, Governour of *Connaught*, whom he had once or twice commanded to ſhew Rigour towards them as they yielded themſelves, had refuſed to doe it, ſent *Fowl* Deputy-marſhall, who drew them out of their Lurking-holes and Hiding-places, and beheaded about 200 of them. This Carriage the Queen condemned from her Heart, as ſavouring of too great Cruelty. Herewith the reſt being terrified, ſick and ſtarved as they were, they committed themſelves to the Sea in their broken and tattered Veſſels, and were many of them ſwallowed up of the Waves.

The cheapneſs of the Victory.

Money coined in memory of the Victory.

The miſeries of the *Spaniards*.

The *Spaniards* that got Home imputed their Misfortune to the Prince of *Parma*'s Negligence, and their own too obſequious Prudence,

To what cauſes the *Spaniards* imputed their Overthrow.

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dence, who thought it a great Crime not punctually to obſerve their Inſtructions. For by their Inſtructions they were ſtrictly commanded not to attempt any thing before ſuch time as the Prince of *Parma* had joyned his Forces with theirs, and they were not at all left to their own Judgement and Diſcretion as Occaſion ſhould ſerve. Otherwiſe they bragged that they could very eaſily have ſurprized the Engliſh Fleet in their Havens. And martiall men warmly diſputed the Caſe, whether Inſtructions were not religiouſly to be obſerved and kept to, whatſoever ſhould fall out, leſt through Neglect of Obedience all Authority and Command ſhould be violated; or whether they might not upon urgent Neceſſity correct and enlarge their Inſtructions, and accommodate them to the preſent Occaſion, according as new matter ſhould ariſe, leſt weighty Importances and Opportunities of doing conſiderable Service might otherwiſe be let ſlip and loſt.

Whether a Generall be rigidly to follow his Inſtructions.

The Spaniſh King himſelf bare the Overthrow very patiently, as received from God, and gave, and commanded to be given all over *Spain*, Thanks to God and the Saints that it was no greater; and ſhewed ſingular Pity and Commiſeration in relieving the diſtreſſed Souldiers and Mariners.

How the King of *Spain* took it.

Queen *Elizabeth* in like ſort commanded publick Prayers and Thankſgiving to be uſed throughout all the Churches of *England*: and ſhe herſelf, as it were going in Triumph, went with a very gallant Train of Noblemen through the Streets of *London*, which were all hung with blew Cloath, (the ſeverall Companies of the Citie ſtanding on both Sides the Way with their Banners in decent and gallant Order,) being carried in a Chariot drawn with two Horſes, (for Coaches were not then ſo much in uſe amongſt Princes as now they are amongſt private men,) to *Paul*'s Church, (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were hung up to be ſeen,) gave moſt hearty Thanks to God, and heard a Sermon, wherein the Glory was given to God alone. On the Lord Admirall ſhe conferred a certain Revenue for his happy Service, and many times commended him and the Captains of her Ships, as men born for the Preſervation of their Country. The reſt ſhe graciouſly ſaluted by Name as oft as ſhe ſaw them, as men that had ſo well merited of her and the Commonwealth, (wherewith they eſteemed themſelves well rewarded;) and thoſe that were wounded and indigent ſhe relieved with noble Penſions. The Learned men, both at Home and abroad, congratulating the Victory with Hearts tranſported for Joy, wrote triumphall Poems in all Languages upon this Subject.

Queen *Elizabeth* giveth God thanks.

She commendeth the Commanders of her Navie.

This publick Joy did Sir *Robert Sidney* augment, who (returning out of *Scotland*) aſſured the Queen that the King of *Scots* was firm and conſtant in his Amity with her, that he ſincerely embraced the true Religion, and would defend the ſame. This Sir *Robert Sidney* was ſent unto him while the Spaniſh Fleet lay yet hovering upon the Coaſt of *Britain*, to congratulate his Kindneſs towards the Queen,

The publick Joy increaſed out of *Scotland*.

1588.

Queen, and acknowledge the ſame with Thanks, to commend his chearfull Readineſs for the Defenſe of the common Intereſt, and to promiſe him like Aſſiſtence from her, if the *Spaniards* ſhould attempt to land in *Scotland:* and moreover to put him in mind how greedily the *Spaniard* gaped after the Swallowing of all *Britain*, urging the Biſhop of *Rome* to excommunicate him, by that means both to deprive him of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and to exclude him from the Succeſſion in *England:* as alſo to advertiſe him what threatning Speeches *Mendoza* and the Pope's Nuncio had given out againſt him; and that therefore he was to have a circumſpect Care of himſelf for fear of the Papiſts in *Scotland.* At which time the King (that I may take notice of it by the way) ſaid merrily, *That he looked for no other Favour from the* Spaniard *then what* Polyphemus *promiſed* Ulyſſes, *namely, that after all the reſt were devoured, he ſhould be ſwallowed the laſt.*

A witty ſaying of the King.

Neither was the publick Joy any thing abated by *Leiceſter*'s Death, (though the Queen took it much to heart,) who about this time, namely on the 4. day of *September*, died of a continuall Fever upon the Way as he went towards *Killingworth.* He was fifth Son to *John* Duke of *Northumberland*; one of King *Edward*'s Priviechamber; under Queen *Mary*, who reſtored him, his Brethren and Siſters in Bloud, Maſter of the Engliſh Munition at the Siege of *Saint Quintin's*; and under Queen *Elizabeth*, (to whom by reaſon of a certain Conjunction and Affinity of their Minds, and that haply through a hidden Conſpiracy and Conſent of their Stars, (which the Greek Aſtrologers term *Synaſtria*) he was moſt dear,) he was Maſter of the Horſe, choſen into the Orders of *Saint George* and *Saint Michaell*, of the Queen's Privy Councill, Lord Steward of her Houſhold, Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, Juſticer of the Foreſts on this ſide the River of *Trent*, Lieutenant and Captain-generall of the Engliſh Forces in the Low-Countries, Governour and Captain-generall of the United Provinces in the *Netherlands*, and this Year Generall of the Engliſh Army againſt the *Spaniards:* and now, in the very Period of his Life, began to entertain new Hope of Honour and Power, by being put into the high Authority of Lieutenancy under the Queen in the Government of *England* and *Ireland.* Which indeed he had obtained, the Letters Patents being drawn, had not *Burghley* and *Hatton* prevented it, and the Queen in time foreſeen the Danger of truſting too great a Power in one man's Hand. He was eſteemed a moſt accompliſhed Courtier, ſpruce and neat, free and bountifull to Souldiers and Students, a cunning Time-ſerver and Reſpecter of his own Advantages, of a Diſpoſition ready and apt to pleaſe, crafty and ſubtle towards his Adverſaries, much given formerly to Women, and in his latter days doating extremely upon Marriage. But whilſt he preferred Power and Greatneſs, which is ſubject to be envied, before ſolid Vertue, his detracting Emulatours found large matter to ſpeak reproachfully of him, and even when he was in his moſt flou-

The Earl of *Leiceſter*'s death.

His Honours and Preferments.

His Character.

1588.

riſhing Condition ſpared not diſgracefully to defame him by Libels, not without mixture of ſome Untruths. In a word, people talked openly in his Commendation, but privately he was ill ſpoken of by the greater part. But whereas he was in the Queen's Debt, his Goods were ſold at a publick Outcry: for the Queen, though in other things ſhe were favourable enough, yet ſeldome or never did ſhe remit the Debts owing to her Treaſury.

His Goods ſold.

The Prince of *Parma* beſiegeth *Bergen* op *Zome*.

The Prince of *Parma*, though he were now fruſtrate of his Deſign for Invading of *England*, yet to win ſome Reputation againſt the *Engliſh* with that puiſſant Army which had been provided againſt *England*, and withall to open a Way into *Zeland*, and preſerve *Brabant* free from Incurſions, beſieged *Bergen* upon the River *Zome*, a Town of *Brabant*, both ſtrong by its naturall Situation, and fortified alſo with Works round about, wherein the moſt part of the Garriſon were *Engliſh*. But this his Enterpriſe was alſo diſappointed by the Providence of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the Valour of the Garriſon. For though during the Heat of the Siege there grew a hot Diſſenſion amongſt them, whileſt ſome favoured Sir *William Drury*, whom the Lord *Willoughby*, Generall of the *Engliſh*, had made Governour of the Town, and ſome favoured *Morgan*, to whom the Queen had by her Letters given the Place: nevertheleſs they all agreed for the common Defenſe and Safety, and behaved themſelves manfully; and by their frequent Sallies and military Strategems ſo employed the Enemie, that after 400 of them were ſlain, taken Priſoners, or drowned, (whom *Grimſton* and *Redhead*, feigning themſelves Fugitives, had with great Promiſes, Proteſtations, and deep Oaths, drawn into a Bulwark of the Town,) the Prince of *Parma* being now out of all Hopes of blocking up the Haven and carrying the Town, Winter alſo coming on, and Victualls failing, brake up the Siege after two moneths continuance. And the Lord *Willoughby*, to reward military Valour, Knighted Sir *Francis Vere*, who now began to grow famous, Sir *Thomas Knolles*, Sir *Nicholas Parker*, and Sir *John Pooly*, for their courageous Behaviour.

He breaketh up the ſiege.

Knights made.

Inſolency of the Puritans.

As *England* was at this time troubled with Enemies abroad, ſo was it peſtered this Year alſo with Schiſm at Home: (for Schiſm uſually ſpringeth up moſt rankly in the Heat of War.) And certainly never did contumacious Impudency and contumelious Malapertneſs againſt Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrates ſhew itſelf more bold and inſolent. For when the Queen (who was *Always the ſame*) would not give Ear to Innovatours in Religion, who deſigned (as ſhe thought) to cut in ſunder the very Sinews of the Eccleſiaſticall Government and her Royall Prerogative at once, ſome of thoſe men who were great Admirers of the Diſcipline of the Church of *Geneva* thought there was no better way to be taken for Eſtabliſhing the ſame in *England*, then by Inveighing and Railing againſt the Engliſh Hierarchy, and ſtirring up the People to a Diſlike and Hatred of the Biſhops and Prelacie. Theſe men therefore ſet forth ſcandalous Books againſt both the Church-govern-

government and the Prelates, the Titles whereof were *Martin Marre-Prelate*, *Mineralls*, *Diotrephes*, *A Demonſtration of Diſcipline*, &c. In theſe Libells they belched forth moſt virulent Calumnies and opprobrious Taunts and Reproaches in ſuch a ſcurrilous manner, that the Authours might ſeem to have been rather Scullions out of the Kitchen, then pious and godly men. Yet were the Authours thereof (forſooth) *Penry* and *Udall*, Miniſters of the Word, and *Job Throckmorton*, a learned man, and of a facetious and gybing Tongue. Their Favourers and Upholders were *Richard Knightley* and *Wigſton*, Knights, men otherwiſe good, grave and ſober, but drawn in by certain Miniſters, who aimed at ſome private Reſpects of their own. For which the ſaid Knights had ſmarted by a heavy Fine laid upon them in the *Star-Chamber*, had not the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (ſuch was his Mildneſs and good Nature) with much adoe requeſted and obtained a Remiſſion thereof from the Queen. 1588. Scandalous and ſcurrilous Books.

Whileſt theſe men by their Calumnies made way for the aforeſaid Diſcipline, others that were Confederates with them began to exerciſe the ſame in Corners in deſpight of the Authority of the Laws, holding Synods and Claſſes in ſeverall places, and forming Presbyteries. And for this cauſe *Thomas Cartwright*, *Edmund Snape*, *Andrew King*, *Proudlow*, *Payne*, and ſome other Miniſters of the Word were called in Queſtion; whom ſome over-zealous people conſpired to deliver out of the Magiſtrates Hands. But how extravagant the petulant Impudence of theſe Miniſters was, which notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop by his Prudence and Patience overcame, I leave to the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorian, to whom it properly belongeth. Presbytery begins to ſhew itſelf.

Now was that hideous Tempeſt blown over which ſo thundered and threatned out of *Spain*: Nevertheleſs there brake forth ſome bluſtering Storms, as it were the Relicks thereof, in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; but a more violent Tempeſt fell upon *Spain* out of *England*, as I will ſhew afterward. For in *Ireland*, whileſt the Lord Deputy Sir *William Fitz-Williams* ſearched after and rigorouſly demanded the *Spaniards* Goods that were ſhipwrecked and caſt on Land, and in that reſpect impriſoned ſome as Favourers of the *Spaniards*, amongſt other things Occaſion was given and taken of thoſe turbulent Commotions which afterward brake forth. The beginning of a great Rebellion in *Ireland*.

Daniel Rogers, who was ſome time ſince ſent into *Denmark* to condole the Death of *Friderick* the Second, and confirm the former Amity with his Son and Succeſſour, now dealt with the Truſtees or Guardians of the Realm, "That no *Danes* might ſerve under the "Enemie againſt the Queen of *England*; That Arreſts of Ships "might not be granted in the Streight of *Denmark*, called *the Sound*, "for private mens Miſcarriages; That the Fiſhing of *Iſeland*, the "Liberty whereof was by the ancient League to be renewed every "ſeven years, might not be voided by new Pretenſes and Devices; "That Cuſtome might not be payed in the ſaid Sound by the *Engliſh* An Embaſſage into *Denmark*.

1588. "but at their Return from the *Baltick* Sea, and that in the usuall Mo-
"ney of *Denmark*; That the Owners of Ships might not suffer Pre-
"judice for any Frauds committed by the Masters or Pilots; That
"the Packs of Cloaths might be free from payment of Impositions;
"And that the Custome called *Lastgelt* might be remitted to the
"*English*. But in regard of the King's Minority these things were put off till another time. For the *Danes* were somewhat unsatisfied with the *English*, because they sailed now into *Russia*, not by that Streight of *Denmark*, but by the Coasts of *Norway*, *Finmarck*, *Lapland*, *Scricfinnia*, and *Biarmia*. But *Boris Theodorides*, who was chosen Successour in the Empire of *Russia* to *Theodore Joannides*, that died about the beginning of this Year, omitted no means of helping and cherishing the *English*, seriously applying himself by all kind and good Offices to procure the Amity of the Queen.

The favour of the *Russian* towards the *English*.

The

1589.

The True HISTORIE OR ANNALLS OF ENGLAND,

During the whole Life and Reign of the Ever-Renowned and Victorious Princeſs,

ELIZABETH,

Late Queen of *ENGLAND.*

The Fourth Book.

The Two and thirtieth Year of Her Reign, Ann. Domini 1589.

AFter that the Expedition of the *Spaniards* againſt *England* had proved ſo unfortunate, diſhonourable, and wholly fruſtrate, they, to repair their Honour and Credit, and divert the Thoughts of the *Engliſh* from reſolving upon an Invaſion of the Countries of the King of *Spain*, renewed their former Deſign of infeſting *England* by the way of *Scotland.* In this Buſineſs they principally employed *Robert Bruſe* a Prieſt, with *Chriſton* and *Hayes* of the Society of *Jeſus*; who eaſily drew to their Party the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arrol*, *Crawford*, men very much devoted to the Popiſh Religion, and *Both-*

A Plot of the *Spaniards* againſt *England* by the *Scots.*

1589.

Stirs in *Scotland.*

Bothwell, the Son of John Priour of *Coldingham*, the naturall or baſe Son of *James* the Fifth King of *Scots*, a man of a fickle Head, and ſeveral others. The Summe of their Deſign was, having firſt ſeized upon the King's Perſon, then to let in a forrein Power to reſtore the Romiſh Religion, and to invade *England*, in Revenge of the Death of the Queen of *Scots*. The Pretenſes which they uſed for gathering together the Multitude were theſe. "That the King was againſt "his Will detained in Cuſtody by the Lord Chancellour *Maitland* "and the Engliſh Faction: That the *Engliſh*, which had lately, with- "out giving Account for it, beheaded the King's Mother, were now "about gathering Forces to cut off the Scotiſh Nobility: That they "on the other ſide took up Arms at the King's Requeſt and Deſire, "to deliver him forthwith from the Cuſtody of the Chancellour, "and their Country from Deſtruction. The King being gone a-

The King prepareth againſt the Diſturbers.

hunting, was upon one and the ſame day advertiſed by Meſſengers poaſting one at the Heels of another, that on the one ſide *Bothwell* was near at hand with divers Troups of the Borderers, and on the other ſide *Huntley* and the reſt approached with a ſtrong Army from the Northern Parts: whereupon he ſet forth an Edict proclaiming them Traitours, and ſummoned in all his faithfull Subjects that were above ſixteen, and under ſixty, years of age. Herewith *Bothwell* being terrified, and forſaken of his Followers, ſlunk away Home. On the other ſide, *Huntley* intercepted *Glamis*, Captain of the King's Guard, with whom he was at deadly Fewd.

Queen *Elizabeth*, who thought it no leſs concerned the *Engliſh* then the *Scots* that this Deſign of the *Spaniards* ſhould be defeated, left no Stone unturned by her Party amongſt the *Scots*, both by Money and ſolid Reaſons, to induce the King to ſuppreſs this Commotion betimes. He, well underſtanding the Danger, marched to encounter *Huntley*: who being come with a ſtrong Army to the Bridge upon the River *Dee*, no ſooner heard of the King's Approach, but he ſet *Glamis* at Liberty, and retired to his own Houſe called *Strathbolgy* amongſt the craggy Hills. Whither when the King had hotly purſued him, enduring beyond the ſtrength of his Age both Want of Victuals, the Tediouſneſs and Trouble of the Way, and the Sharpneſs of the Air, the Earl offered firſt to yield himſelf if he might ſave his Life and Eſtate; and a while after rendred himſelf at Diſcretion, when no other Terms would be admitted. The King, without ſo much as hearing him ſpeak for himſelf, caſt him into Priſon: but ſhortly after releaſed him, and, to the great Commendations of his Clemency, pardoned both him and the reſt upon their Submiſſion.

They diſperſe themſelves.

Huntley taken.

He and the reſt pardoned.

Arundell brought to his Triall.

In the ſame Month that theſe things were done in *Scotland* againſt the Favourers of the *Spaniard*, was *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, (who, being ſuſpected to favour the Spaniſh Party, was, as I have formerly ſaid, caſt into the Tower three years before,) arraigned in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and tried by his Peers, before *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, made Lord High Steward of *England* for this Purpoſe.

Unto

Unto this Trial were ſummoned theſe Peers following: 1589.

His Peers.

William Cecyll Lord *Burghley*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*,
William Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*,
Edward Earl of *Oxford*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*,
Henry Earl of *Kent*,
Henry Earl of *Suſſex*,
Henry Earl of *Pembroke*,
Edward Earl of *Hertford*,
Henry Earl of *Lincoln*,
The Lord *Hunſdon*,
The Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*,
The Lord *Morley*,
The Lord *Cobham*,
The Lord *Grey*,
The Lord *Darcy* of the North,
The Lord *Sands*,
The Lord *Wentworth*,
The Lord *Rich*,
The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*,
The Lord *North*,
The Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletneſho*,
The Lord *Buckhurſt*,
The Lord *La-Ware*, and
The Lord *Norris*.

Being commanded to hold up his Hand, he held it up, and withall ſaid, *Behold a pure Hand, and a ſincere Heart.* The Heads of the Accuſation againſt him were in a manner the ſame which I have before mentioned in the Year 1586, to wit, "That he had contracted "a cloſe Familiarity and Amity with Cardinall *Allen*, *Parſons* the "*Jeſuite*, and other Traitours, who plotted the Deſtruction of their "Prince and Country, by exciting both Strangers and the Queen's "naturall Subjects againſt their Country for the Reſtoring of the Ro- "miſh Religion. That he had by Letters ſent by *Weſton, alias Bur-* "*ges*, a Prieſt, promiſed the ſaid Cardinall his Help and Aſſiſtence "for the Promoting of the Catholick Cauſe; and to that Purpoſe "had an Intent to withdraw himſelf out of the Realm. That he "was privy to the Bull whereby *Sixtus Quintus* Biſhop of *Rome* had "depoſed the Queen, and expoſed her Kingdome for a Prey to the "*Spaniard*. That, being impriſoned in the Tower of *London*, he "had cauſed Maſs to be ſaid for the proſperous Succeſs of the Spa- "niſh Fleet, and had himſelf compoſed a particular Prayer to that "Purpoſe.

The four Heads of his Accuſation.

Being asked whether he were guilty or not guilty of theſe things, he turned himſelf to the Juſticers Aſſiſtents, and demanded theſe things of them in order. Firſt, whether it were lawfull to heap up ſo many Crimes in one Accuſation or Indictment. They anſwered, It was. Then, whether Arguments drawn from Preſumptions were of

His 4 Quere's to the Judges, with their Anſwers.

1589. of any force in an Indictment. They anſwered, It was lawfull for him to put in his Exception againſt them. Then, whether he might be accuſed of thoſe things which in the thirteenth Year of the Queen are reckoned amongſt Crimes of High treaſon, after the time ſet down and limited in that Act. they promiſed that he ſhould not be proceeded againſt by any other Law or Act of High treaſon but an ancient one of *Edward* the Third. Laſtly, whether that were a lawfull Indictment wherein were found Errours in the Notation both of Place and Time. They anſwered, that theſe things are not to be regarded, ſo the Fact be proved. After this, being asked again, whether he were Guilty, or not guilty; he anſwered, *Not guilty*, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Judgement of God and his Peers: but craved that his weak Memory, which failed him by means of his Impriſonment and Indiſpoſition of Health, might not be over-charged with confuſed Multiplicity of matters.

His Defenſe and Anſwer to every particular Charge.

Puckering the Queen's Serjeant at Law began and opened at large the firſt Part of the Indictment, to wit, That Cardinall *Allen* had engaged in dangerous Plots and Deſigns with the *Jeſuites* and others againſt his Prince and Countrey, and in that reſpect was baniſhed the Realm, yet the Earl had held Correſpondence with him by Letters, and had written expreſly to him about promoting the Catholick Cauſe: and this could not be underſtood to mean any thing elſe but Invading of *England*. The Earl anſwered, That he meant nothing thereby, but that the Catholick Religion might be promoted by the Converſion of many. *Popham* the Queen's Atturney generall endeavoured to prove by the Confeſſions of *Savage*, *Throckmorton* and *Babington*, that this could not be underſtood of a Converſion by Inſtruction, but of an Invaſion by Arms. *Shuttleworth* Serjeant at Law made it appear by the Proclamations againſt *Jeſuites* and Seminary-Prieſts, to what Intent they were ſent into *England*. That they were Traitours he affirmed out of the Earl's own Mouth, who, when *Valonger*'s Cauſe about a notorious Libell was heard in the *Star-Chamber*, had ſaid openly, *He that is throughly Popiſh, the ſame man cannot but be a Traitour.* Yet did the Earl admit this kind of men into his Familiarity. That he was reconciled to the Romiſh Church, and thereby had ſubjected himſelf to the Biſhop of *Rome*. This the Earl ſtifly denied, and required a Witneſs of his Reconciliation to be produced. He acknowledged indeed that he had confeſſed his Sins to *Burges*. Hereupon it was argued, That no man, unleſs he were reconciled, could be admitted to the Sacraments of the Romiſh Church; but he was admitted by *Gratley* a Prieſt; and therefore reconciled before. *Popham* ſtrained hard in a long Diſcourſe to prove by his own Letters that he was reconciled; that he had alſo a Purpoſe to goe into forrein Countries; that he conformed himſelf in all things to Cardinall *Allen*'s Will and Pleaſure, and thereby had committed High treaſon: and then producing *Gratley*'s and *Morgan*'s Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, he concluded, that he embraced the Romiſh Religion out of Sto-

Stomack and Diſcontent, not out of Conſcience. Then he ſhewed an Emblem which was found in the Earl's Cabinet, wherein was painted on one Side a Hand ſhaking a Serpent into the Fire, with this Inſcription, *If God be with us, who ſhall be againſt us?* and on the other Side, a Lion rampant, his Claws cut off, with this Motto, *Yet a Lion.* He added, that the Earl having a Purpoſe to depart the Land, the Cardinall perſwaded him not to goe, as one that might deſerve better of the Church of *Rome* by remaining in *England*, then he could abroad. That in a Letter written to the Queen he had contumeliouſly ſlandered the Juſtice of *England* in the matter of Judgement of Death given againſt his Grandfather and his Father. That the Queen of *Scots* had recommended him to *Babington* to be the Chief and Head of the Catholicks. That *Allen* had acknowledged, that that Bull was obtained at the earneſt Interceſſion of a Great man in *England*; which muſt needs be the Earl himſelf, foraſmuch as none other of the Great ones was ſo familiar with *Allen*, and whom he could not but know to have been a Traitour to his Country by what he had heard before at his being preſent in the *Star-Chamber*. Then were alſo read the Confeſſions of the Earl's Brother the Lord *William*, and his Siſter the Lady *Margaret*, and his own Letters when he thought to leave the Land: and withall the Queen's Clemency was highly magnified, who at that time would not ſuffer him to be queſtioned for Treaſon, but onely for a Contempt. To theſe things the Earl anſwered intermixtly. "That the Emblem was a Toy and "Trifle given him by his Man. That he had promiſed his Help to the "Cardinall to promote the Catholick Cauſe, but not againſt his "Country or Prince. That what he had written concerning the "Judgements given againſt his Grandfather and his Father was ex-"tant and to be read in the Annalls. That what the Cardinall and "the Queen of *Scots* had written of him concerned him not, ſeeing "he did no ſuch thing. That no man can command other folks "Pens. That he had an Intention to ſerve in the Wars under the "Prince of *Parma*, ſince he could not ſtay ſafely at Home by reaſon "of the Rigour of the Laws againſt Papiſts. That the Atturney had "done by the Letters and Confeſſions as the Spider uſeth to doe, "ſucked Poiſon out of Flowers; but he for his part could ſuck "wholſome matter out of the ſame, if he might be permitted to ſee "them. Then were read *Allen*'s Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, and the Biſhop of *Roſſe* his Letters about the Invading of *England* that Year wherein he purpoſed his Flight: Alſo the Bull of *Sixtus Quintus*, and ſeverall things picked out of *Allen*'s Admonition to the *Engliſh*, printed at *Antwerp* the Year before. Moreover he was urged with this Title, *Philip Duke of Norfolk*, which was found amongſt his Papers, *Allen* having adviſed him to aſſume a higher Title. Theſe things were inſtanced to convince him of Treaſon before his Impriſonment. *Egerton* the Solicitour, or ſecond Atturney, having ſummarily repeated all this, argued "from a threefold diſtinction of

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The day now growing towards an end, when nothing more was brought againſt him, the Earl being to withdraw, humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Judgement of his Peers, proteſting his Obedience to the Queen, and praying that they might doe that which might redound to God's Glory, the Queen's Safety, and their own Honour with a clear Conſcience. They then departing aſide, conſulted amongſt themſelves a full Hour, calling unto them the Juſticers to ſatisfie them in ſome things concerning the Law. Being returned to their Seats, they were asked by the Clark of the Crown whether the Earl were guilty or not. Every one of them putting his Hand, as the Cuſtome is, to his Breaſt, affirmed upon his Honour and Conſcience that *he was guilty*. Then being asked, if he had any thing to ſay why Sentence of Death ſhould not be given againſt him, he ſaid the ſame which his Father had ſaid before in the ſame place, *God's will be done*. Sentence being pronounced, he deſired that he might ſpeak with his Wife, that he might ſee his young Son, who was born ſince his Impriſonment, that he might ſpeak with his Stewards and Keepers of his Books of Accounts, and that his Debts might be payed:

He is condemned.

payed: alſo that the Queen would take his young Son into her Protection, and vouchſafe him her gracious Favour. Now did the Lord Steward break his Staffe, the Badge of his Stewardſhip, and the Earl was led back to the Tower of *London*, the Axe being born before him with the Edge towards him. That this Flower of Nobility faded ſo untimely, (for he had ſcarce ſeen 33 years) ſome ſeriouſly lamented; others extolled the Queen's Wiſedome, that by this Example ſhe had ſtricken a Terrour into the more powerfull Papiſts. She afterwards ſpared his Life, and held it ſufficient thus to have weakened the Power of ſo Great a man, and ſo highly gracious with the Popiſh Party. 1589.

His life is ſpared.

When ſhe had done this at Home, for a Terrour to others, that ſhe might alſo doe as much abroad, and proſecute the Victory given her by God againſt the *Spaniards*, ſuppoſing it more ſafe and honourable to aſſail the Enemy, then to be aſſailed by him, ſhe ſuffered a Fleet to be ſet forth againſt *Spain*; which by a noble Undertaking, and with a military Alacrity never ſufficiently to be commended, Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* (being verily perſwaded that the Power of the *Spaniard* in *Spain* conſiſted more in Opinion then reall Strength) rigged and prepared at their own and other private mens Charge, requiring nothing in a manner of the Queen but a few Men of war; the Agreement betwixt them being, that the Ships and Spoils taken ſhould be divided amongſt them. In this Expedition fewer engaged themſelves then was expected. The Eſtates joyned ſome Ships, although they were ſomewhat diſcontented with the *Engliſh*, becauſe *Wingfield* Governour of *Gertruydenberg* and the Engliſh Garriſon in it had betrayed that Town to the *Spaniards*. There were reconed in the Fleet about eleven thouſand Souldiers, and fifteen hundred Mariners. Don *Antonio* the Baſtard, Prior of *Crato*, joyned with them with a few *Portugueezes*, who, claiming the Kingdome of *Portugall* by Right of popular Election, (whereby even Baſtards have been elected Kings according to the Law of that Country,) had made the *Engliſh* great Promiſes, being full of Hope to recover the Kingdome by the Help of theſe auxiliary Forces, the Revolt of the *Portugueezes* from the *Spaniard*, and the Aſſiſtence of *Muley Hamet* King of *Morocco*.

An Expedition into *Spain*.

At whoſe Charges and Conduct.

The Strength of the Fleet.

Setting Sail from *Plymouth* in the Month of *April*, they arrived the 5. day after at the *Groign* in *Gallicia* (called by the Ancients *Flavia Brigantum*) without Reſiſtence or Oppoſition. In paſſing towards the lower Town they ſuſtained ſome Loſs by many Shot made at them out of a Ship of huge Burthen and two Gallies in the Haven; untill with ſome great Pieces planted on the Shoar they removed them farther off. The next day they aſſaulted the ſaid lower Town on three ſides at one and the ſame Inſtant: whilſt from the Continent, on the one ſide *Vnton* and *Brett* with 300 men, and on the other ſide Sir *Richard Wingfield* and *Sampſon* with 500, fell vigorouſly upon it. Theſe were roughly entertained by the Ene-

The *Groign* aſſaulted.

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The lower Town taken.

my, and once or twice thrown from their Scaling-ladders, and repulsed; while the rest in the mean time brake into the Town without any considerable Loss. The *Spaniards* presently threw down their Arms, and escaped by the next known Passages to the upper Town. They which were in that huge Ship got to Land, having first fired the Ship, which burnt two days together; and most of her Ordnance, being over-charged with Powder, flew in pieces with a horrible Noise. The Victuals of all sorts and Provisions of War for a new Expedition against *England* which they found there were conveyed on board the English Ships.

The higher Town assailed in vain.

Then marched they up to the higher Town: which when Sir *John Norris* observed to be seated on a Rock, and to be underminable in one place onely, he commanded a Mine there to be digged, and on the other side made a Breach in the Walls with his great Ordnance, resolving to give an Assault on both Sides at once: but it proved ineffectuall, the Fire bursting forth of the Mine on the outside of the Walls. The Pioneers mined again farther under the Foundation of the Walls, and giving Fire to the Powder, one part of the Bulwark above fell down, the other falling soon after slew and maimed some *English* underneath. The rest terrified by this sudden Accident forsook their Leaders. They on the other side who gave the Assault at the Breach, having no sure Footing, the Rubbish slipping from under them, were forced to retire with the Loss of many men.

The *Spaniards* come to relieve it.

Now had *Norris* certain Intelligence that the *Conde di Andrada* had gathered Forces together at *Burges* Bridge, and that the *Conde di Altamira* was upon his March with more, purposing to besiege the *English* in the lower Town, or to cut off their Return to their Ships. He, supposing it best to prevent them, marched against them with ten Companies. In the Van were placed *Edward Norris* and *William Sidney*; in the main Battell *Norris* himself, with *Medkerck* a Low-country-man; in the Rere *Henry Norris*, *Huntley* and *Brett*.

The *Spaniards* beaten.

On this side the Bridge the *Spaniards* encountred them; but being manfully beaten back to the Bridge, they gave an easie Passage over to the *English*, quitting their Barricado: the *English* pressing so hotly upon them, that they presently fled confusedly, and were slaughtered for the space of three miles. The *English* then pillaged and fired the Villages round about. After two days they went aboard their Ships again without any Trouble: and whilst they steered their Course towards *Portugall*, the Wind being much against them, *Robert* Earl of *Essex* fell in amongst them; a very young Gentleman, who out of his eager Thirst after military Glory, his Hatred against the *Spaniards*, and a Commiseration towards Don *Antonio*, despising the Pleasures of the Court, had put himself to Sea without the Queen's Knowledge, yea to the incurring of her Displeasure, and had long sought to find the Fleet. For he had no hope of obtaining the Queen's Leave to goe, who was not willing that any of the

The Earl of *Essex* joyns with the *English*.

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prime Nobility ſhould hazzard themſelves in this Expedition. Yet he hoped to command in chief, in regard his Brother had many of the Colonells and Captains of the Horſe much obliged to him, as being Perſons whom he had preferred. The ſecond day after, the Sea being very rough, they arrived at *Penicha*, a Town of *Portugall*, and with the Loſs of ſome men drowned in Landing, (the Inhabitants preſently running away,) they became Maſters of the Town, and the Caſtle was ſurrendred to Don *Antonio*. From hence the Foot-forces under the Command of Sir *John Norris* marched with all Speed by Land to *Lisbone*, which was from thence about 60 miles; and *Drake* promiſed to follow with the Fleet up the River *Tagus* or *Teyo*. By the way they called a Council of War at *Torres Vedras*, and reſolved to encamp on the Eaſt ſide of the City, to hinder Succours from coming out of *Spain*, and make it more eaſie for the *Portugueezes* to come in to their King. At the ſixth Remove they came to the Weſt-ſuburbs of *Lisbone*, called *Saint Catharine's*, without any Reſiſtence, where they ſtayed contrary to their former Intentions, and ſaw none but poor unarmed people crying now and then, *God ſave King Antonio:* for *Albert* of *Auſtria*, who was their Governour, had before this diſarmed the *Portugueezes*. The next day, while the *Engliſh*, ſick and weary with their long March, betook themſelves to their Reſt and Refreſhment, the Spaniſh Garriſon ſallied out, and *Brett* with his men manfully endured their Charge, till more *Engliſh* and *Portugueezes* coming timely in to their Succour beat them back into the City, *Eſſex* chaſing them to the very Gates. Yet *Brett*, *Carſey*, *Carr*, ſtout Commanders, and ſome common Souldiers, were ſlain. When they had ſtayed here two days, and there appeared no Hope at all of the Revolting of the *Portugueezes*, as Don *Antonio* had credulouſly hoped and boaſted, neither did the King of *Morocco* ſend the Aſſiſtence he had promiſed, but on the contrary freſh Supplies flocked daily in great number from the Eaſtern parts into the City, Sickneſs waxed ſtill hotter and hotter through the Army, Victuals and Powder grew ſcarce, and the great Ordnance were not brought in by *Drake* to batter the Walls; the *Engliſh*, carrying away nothing at all out of the Suburbs, (which were very well ſtored with forrein Merchandize,) leſt they ſhould alienate the Hearts and loſe the Affections of the *Portugueezes*, took their Way towards *Caſcais*, a ſmall Town at the Mouth of the River *Teyo*, the *Spaniards* following them very ſlowly, and not ſo much as cutting off any of the Rere of the Army. *Drake*, who had in the mean time taken *Caſcais*, was much blamed and reproached, as if through his Cowardice they had failed of their expected Victory, in regard he followed not with the Fleet as he had promiſed. He excuſed it as impoſſible to be done, becauſe there was no paſſing the Channell of *Alcaceva* by reaſon of the Shelves and Shallows: and if he had gone directly by the Port of *Saint Julian's*, which was furniſhed with 50 Pieces of Cannon, and where a great many Gallies were riding with their

Penicha in *Portugal* taken.

Lisbone aſſailed.

They retire.

Drake blamed.
He taketh *Caſcais*.
He cleareth himſelf.

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their Heads towards him, he had expoſed the Fleet to moſt imminent Danger; neither had there been any Hopes of returning, but a moſt certain Overthrow, if the Enemies Ships ſhould in the mean time have been brought againſt him at the Mouth of the River *Teyo:* and if the Fleet had by that means periſhed, he ſhewed that the Army could not but have periſhed with it. And now was the Caſtle of *Caſcais* taken by Compoſition, and a great part of it blown up with Gunpowder. Here to recompenſe their Charges they took about 60 Hulks of the *Hanſe*-Towns of *Germany*, laden with Wheat and all manner of Proviſion for Shipping, to furniſh a new Armada againſt *England*. Theſe Veſſels had ſailed round by the *Orcades*, the *Hebrides*, and *Ireland*, a long and dangerous Voiage, leſt they ſhould be taken; notwithſtanding that the Queen had before by her Letters warned the *Hanſe*-Towns, that they ſhould not carry any Victuals or Proviſion for War into *Spain* or *Portugall*, upon pain of Loſs of their Ships and Lading. The *Engliſh* ſetting Sail from thence, (whileſt Don *Antonio* with all his Intreaties could not prevail with them to tarry longer,) fired *Vigo*, a Town upon the Coaſt, forſaken by the Inhabitants, and pillaging the Country near adjoyning, returned into *England* with 150 Pieces of great Ordnance, and a very rich Booty, whereof ſome part was divided amongſt the Sea-men, who begun to mutinie, and yet they were not ſatisfied with it. But moſt men thought the *Engliſh* to have ſufficiently revenged themſelves, and gotten Honour enough, having in ſo ſhort a time forced one Town by Scalado, valiantly aſſaulted another, put to Flight the Forces of a moſt potent King, landed in four ſeverall Places, marched through the Enemie's Country ſeven days in Battell-array with Colours diſplaied, attempted a great City with a ſmall Power of men, lodged 3 whole nights in the Suburbs thereof, beaten back the Enemy that ſallied forth unto the very Gates, taken two Caſtles lying upon the Sea, and deprived the Enemy of his Proviſion for War. Yet others there were who thought all this did not recompenſe the Dammage they ſuſtained, having loſt 6000 valiant Souldiers and Seamen by Sickneſs. But the truth is, *England* reaped this Benefit by this Voiage, that from this time forward it feared nothing from *Spain*, but took greater Heart and Courage againſt the *Spaniards*. Whether this deadly Sickneſs befell the *Engliſh* through immoderate drinking of Wine, or eating of much Fruit, or the Intemperateneſs of the Air, or all of them together, hath been diverſly diſputed. And it hath been obſerved, that all the Land-expeditions of the *Engliſh* hitherto into *Spain* have been mortall to them: as that of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, about the Year 1386. wherein of 20000 *Engliſh* 10000 periſhed; and that of the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* in the Year 1512. wherein of 10000 one thouſand died in a ſhort time of Sickneſs, and that in the hither Parts of *Spain*. But the Learned have obſerved, that Armies paſſing from the South into the North do harden according as the inward Heat is either relaxed or kept in by the outward

The Caſtle of *Caſcais* taken upon compoſition by the *Engliſh*.

They take 60 Hulks of the *Hanſe*-Towns.

They fire *Vigo*.

Their Booty,

and Glory,

and little Dread of the *Spaniards*.

The *Engliſh* ſubject to ſickneſs in *Spain*.

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outward Air: and that true it is which *Vitruvius* writeth, *They which are tranſplanted from cold Countries into hot cannot endure, but are diſſolved; but they which are removed out of hot into cold Countries Northerly, do not onely not impair in their Healths by change of Place, but alſo wax ſtrong and luſty.*

The Anſwer to the *Hanſe*-Towns.

The *Hanſe*-Towns now made great Complaints mingled with Threats of the taking of their Hulks, as if their ancient Priviledges were violated. The Queen anſwered, "That ſhe had forewarned "them that they ſhould carry no Proviſion for War to the Enemies "of the Kingdome of *England*. That carrying ſuch Proviſions ſhe "had lawfully taken them; and could doe no other, unleſs ſhe would "wilfully bring Deſtruction upon herſelf and her People. That "Priviledges, which are but private Laws, are not to be claimed "nor allowed to the Prejudice of the publick Safety, which is the "higheſt Law. Yea, in that Priviledge of King *Edward* the Firſt "granted to the *Hanſe*-Towns it is expreſsly provided, that they "ſhould not carry any Merchandize into the Dominions of the "profeſſed and notorious Enemies of the Kingdome of *England*. "That their Merchandize had been ſeverall times made ſtay of and "detained, when in the War with *France* they had ſupplied the "*French* with Proviſions: and this had been done not onely by the "*Engliſh*, but alſo upon the ſame Ground by *Charles* the Fifth, the "Kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and very lately by the Prince "of *Orange*, and that agreeably to the Law of Nations. That we "were ſo to make uſe of a Neutrality, that while we help the one, "we hurt not the other. That it becometh not Cities and Towns to "uſe Threatnings and Menaces to Kings. For her part, ſhe feared "not the Threats of the greateſt Kings, much leſs of particular Ci-"ties: and for the due and juſt Rights of Neighbourhood, ſhe "would punctually obſerve them with all men.

The Queen relieveth the King of *Navarre*.

And obſerve them ſhe did indeed. For not onely did ſhe aſſiſt the King of *Navarre*, when he was involved in a dangerous and difficult War, both with ready Money and military Proviſion; but alſo encouraged and confirmed the French King, by Sir *Thomas Bodley*, whom ſhe ſent privately to him, when he wel-nigh deſpaired of his Affairs. For (to fetch the matter a little higher by a ſhort, but neceſſary, Digreſſion,) when the Duke of *Anjou* the King's Brother was dead without Children, the King had no Iſſue, nor was there any Hope that he ſhould have, ſo that the Kingdome did of right deſcend to the King of *Navarre*, and after him to the Prince of *Conde*, both of them Profeſſours of the Reformed Religion. Hereupon the Popiſh Princes of *France* (the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* being privy to it) entred cloſely into a dangerous League and Confederacy, under Pretenſe of Defending the Catholick Religion, which they called the *Holy Union* or *League*, aiming to ruine the King, by ſtirring up the publick Hatred and Diſaffection towards him through their corrupt Counſells, and utterly to extirpate the Reformed Religion, by pre-

The Holy League in *France*.

venting

1589. venting the Succeſſion of the lawfull Heir to the Crown. They that ingaged in this League bound themſelves by Oath, that they would in no wiſe ſuffer any man to be King of *France*, who either had profeſſed or ſhould profeſs any other then the Catholick Religion; neither would they admit any that had been bred up in another Religion, though he ſhould abjure the ſame, leſt, having once gotten the Crown, he ſhould aboliſh the old Religion. That all this tended to the excluding of *Navarre* and his Couſin *Conde*, no man doubted. This Conſpiracy began after to ſhew itſelf more openly and confidently in all Parts of the Nation, moving on by theſe Steps and Degrees. The Duke of *Guiſe*, the Head of this Confederacy, (in regard he had heretofore, when he was but a young man, vigorouſly defended *Poitiers* againſt the Proteſtants, defeated the *German* Horſemen which *Alencon* had called in to his Aid, and not long before put to Flight a vaſt Army of *Germans* under the Leading of the Baron *Dohna*,) was by the Common people and the Church-men everywhere extolled with immoderate Praiſes, and magnified above the King, as the onely Upholder of the Romiſh Religion, and the Maul and Break-neck of the Proteſtants. The Duke coming to *Paris* raiſed ſuch a Tumult and Buſtle, that the King himſelf was forced to depart the City, to ſummon a Meeting at *Blois*, to conſent to this Union for cutting off thoſe of the Reformed Religion by an Edict of *July*, to proclaim the Duke of *Guiſe* great Maſter of the French *Militia*, and received the Holy Sacrament with him in confirmation of their mutuall Fidelity and ſincere Reality. Yet ſoon after (ſtanding now in Fear of him whom he had made to be feared, and advanced to ſuch an Height that he was too great to be queſtioned by the Laws, and ſuſpecting that his ambitious Spirit carried and ſpurred him on to higher matters then were granted him, being alſo perſwaded that there was a Plot laid by the Duke to take away his Life, and that there was no other means left to maintain and preſerve his Royall Authority but by making him away,) he cauſed him treacherouſly and unawares to be ſtabbed within the Court-walls, and preſently after his Brother the Cardinall to be ſtrangled. The Duke of *Guiſe*'s Son, the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, and as many of the Conſpiratours as he could lay hold on, he committed to Priſon. Hereupon there grew ſo great a Confuſion through all *France*, that the fair and flouriſhing Body of the French Empire was ready to fall aſunder and ſplit in Pieces. For the People, diſdaining every-where to obey the Magiſtrates, pillaged the King's Houſe at *Paris*: of the Cities ſome affected a Democracy, ſome an Ariſtocracy, others an Oligarchy; but moſt of them were averſe to Monarchy. The Conſpiratours erected a new Councill, and made a new Seal for the Management and Diſpatch of Affairs, arrogated to themſelves Kingly Authority, poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Places of greateſt Strength, yea of whole Provinces, ſeized upon the Revenues of the Crown, and invited the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-Countries* to their Aſſiſtence; whilſt

The Duke of *Guiſe* Head of the League.

A Tumult in *Paris*. The King forced to own the League.

The Duke of *Guiſe* ſlain, others impriſoned.

Confuſions in *France*.

whilſt four of the principall Senates of *France* (which they call Parliaments) approved of what they did, and the Church-men every-where ſounded the Alarm to War againſt their King. Inſomuch as the King was fain to fly to the Proteſtants, whom he had of late angred and diſobliged: the Leaguers therefore, by a notorious and deteſtable Villany, procured him to be murthered by the Hands of *James Clement* a Monk. The King of *Navarre*, whom the King at his Death had declared his Succeſſour according to Law and Right, they excluded from the Crown by Proclamation, as an apparent Heretick, and one that had brought in forrein Enemies armed into the Country. But whom they ſhould chuſe for their King, they could not well agree. *Charles* Duke of *Mayne*, Brother to the Duke of *Guiſe* who was ſlain, thought the Crown was to be beſtowed upon him for the great Services he had done againſt the Proteſtants, and in regard the chief Cities had offered their Obedience and Submiſſion to him; beſides, the Cardinall of *Bourbon* was now in Priſon, whom, being a Prieſt and a very weak man, the *French*, a warlike Nation, could no ways brook. Moreover, by creating him King, they ſhould acknowledge the Title of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and renew the old antiquated Title of the Uncle againſt the Nephew. Others were of Opinion that the Duke of *Lorrain*, or ſome one of his Children, was to be preferred, that ſo this Family, which had been heretofore unjuſtly deprived of the Crown of *France* by *Hugh Capet*, might now at length, after a long Diſcontinuance, be juſtly reſtored. That the King of *Spain* would countenance and favour this Family, and would be willing to give his Daughter in Marriage to one elected out of the ſame. Others named the *Savoyard*, Son to the King of *France* his Daughter, and Son-in-law to the *Spaniard*, a neighbouring Prince, potent and valiant. Some preferred the Duke of *Guiſe*, for his Grandfather's and his Father's Merits towards the Romiſh Religion and the Commonwealth. And there were not wanting others who colloguingly gave their Voices for the *Spaniard*, as the moſt potent Prince of all. Yet the greateſt part, that they might ſeem to be led by Juſtice and Equity, inclined to the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, nearer by one Degree to the murthered King then his Nephew of *Navarre*, and one who had ſuffered much for the Catholick Cauſe, who might eaſily be delivered out of Priſon, and by whom the Catholicks might be united together for the Suppreſſion of the Profeſſours of the Reformed Religion, without any need of forrein Aſſiſtence. In this Opinion they all agreed, principally through the Perſwaſion of *Mendoza* the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, who thought that by this Bridge a Way might eaſily be made for the *Spaniard* to obtain the Scepter of *France*. The Cardinall of *Bourbon* therefore is proclaimed King of *France*, Moneys are coined with his Effigies and the Title of *Charles* the Tenth. The Duke *de Mayne* is proclaimed *Lieutenant-generall of the Crown of France*, who forthwith gathering Forces together from all parts, advanced his hoſtile Enſigns

1589.

Henry the Third King of *France* murthered.

They differ about a new King.

The Cardinall of *Bourbon* proclaimed King.

1589.

Navarre in danger.

againſt *Navarre*, (who was in like manner by his Party juſtly proclaimed King of *France*, and lay now at *Diep*, a Sea-town of *Normandy*) confidently believing that either he ſhould take him Priſoner, or drive him quite out of *France*.

The King of *Navarre* being reduced to theſe Streights, encamped with his Forces near the Town, and diſpatched in all Haſte into *England*, firſt Monſieur *Beavoir de Noclé*, and ſoon after *Buhy* and *Buzenval*, to crave Aid of the Queen, and to offer a League as well offenſive as defenſive.

The Queen aſſiſteth him.

The Queen, not to fail a King of the ſame Profeſſion, and renowned for his martiall Acts, in his ſo dangerous a Condition, and fearing alſo leſt his mercenary *Germans* and *Switzers* ſhould be corrupted to revolt, ſupplied him preſently with 22000 Pounds of Engliſh Money in Gold, (ſuch a vaſt Summe of gold Coin as he profeſſed he had never ſeen together before,) and ſent him Arms, and 4000 Men under the Command of *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, who had with high Commendations commanded the Army in the *Low-Countries* after *Leiceſter*'s Departure. She appointed for Colonells Sir *Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marſhall, Sir *John Boroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskervill*, Knights, and readily ordered them a Moneth's Pay beforehand. Hereupon the Leaguers, who a little before were beyond all Expectation put to Flight by the King in the Battell at *Arques*, now being quite out of all Hope, packed away the day before the *Engliſh* arrived.

The Service of the *Engliſh* in *France*.

The King ſtrengthened with theſe Succours marched with his Army directly towards *Paris*. The *Engliſh* and *Switzers* being commanded to attempt that part of the Town which lieth between *Saint Marcellus*'s Gate and the *Seine*, brake through the Trenches and the Rampire, and preſſed as far as *Saint Victor*'s Gate, and miſſed but narrowly of entring. But the King, who did not believe that ſo great and populous a City could be wone with ſo ſmall a Body of men, and had no mind to expoſe it for a Prey to the Souldiers, which he hoped ſhortly would come under his Subjection, and ſince he could not draw forth the Duke *de Mayne* to Battell, ſounded a Retreat, and quitted the Siege. From thence he marched to *Eſtampes*, leaving *Willoughby* with the *Engliſh* in the Way to hinder the Paſſage of the Leaguers, whilſt the Town with the Caſtle was yielded up unto him. Afterward *Vendoſme* was taken by Force: which with the whole County of *Vendoſme* (to note it by the way) *Robert Willoughby* Governour of *Normandy* received in former time as a Gift from *Henry* the Fifth for his Valour. Then did the *Engliſh* notable Service in reducing into the King's Hands *Mans*, *Alencon*, *Falaiſe*, *Luxon*, and *Honfleur*; where, having been tired out with all the Inconveniences of a Winter-Expedition, after marching about 500 Miles, they were diſmiſſed with Commendations for their Service, and as many of them as remained alive returned into *England*. There died of Sickneſs Captain *Hunnings*, and *Stubbs*, who (as I formerly ſaid) had his Right hand cut off for writing a Book againſt the Duke

They return home.

1589.

Duke of *Anjou*'s Marriage with the Queen, and who was very much miſſed when he was gone. Sir *William Drury*, a noble and accompliſhed Gentleman, was ſlain in a Duell by Sir *John Boroughs*, whilſt he, being a Knight of the Garter, contended with *Boroughs*, a Baron's younger Son, for the more honourable Place and Precedency, contrary to the Method ſettled in the ranking of the Engliſh Nobility.

The *Spaniard* aimeth at the Kingdome of *France*.

The Q. would not have had the *Engliſh* diſcharged, and the King was ſorry for it, when both of them had by certain Intelligence been informed that the King of *Spain* did covertly aim at the Kingdome of *France*. For he had propounded in an Aſſembly of the Leaguers by the Commendator *Morea John de Taxis* and Don *Bernardine de Mendoza*, that in regard he had been at ſo great Charges in ſupplying them with ſo large Succours and Aſſiſtence, he might be proclaimed Protectour of the Catholicks in *France*, with the ſame Prerogative which he enjoyeth in the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, to confer Offices both civill and eccleſiaſticall in *France* upon whom he pleaſed by his Deputies. Which when Cardinall *Cajetan*, the Pope's Nuncio, alſo earneſtly ſolicited, he cauſed many true-hearted French-men, even thoſe that were moſt catholickly affected, to ſtomack and diſlike it.

The Queen commendeth a Marriage to the King of *Scots*.

As Queen *Elizabeth* affected nothing more then to eſtabliſh *Navarre* in the Kingdome of *France*, ſo had ſhe now of late a great Deſire to match his Siſter the Lady *Catharine* with the King of *Scots* in Marriage. For both theſe things ſeemed neceſſary to fruſtrate the Attempts of the Papiſts againſt the Proteſtants. But the matter ſucceeded not to her Wiſh; for that Lady was ſomething elderly, had but a ſmall Portion, and the King her Brother was drained and exhauſted by the Wars. And whereas the King of *Scots* had ſeverall times formerly deſired Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice concerning his chuſing a Wife, and ſhe had given him but ſlow and cold Anſwers; the *Scots* began thereupon to ſuſpect, yea and to talk openly, that the *Engliſh* cunningly and politickly envied the King both Honour and Iſſue, as well to eſcape Revenge for their putting of his Mother to Death, as to exclude the Scotiſh Line from the Succeſſion in *England*. Which when ſhe heard of, ſhe adviſed the King to take ſuch a Wife as might pleaſe himſelf in the firſt place, and not diſpleaſe his People, and by whom Amity might be kept with the Queen without any Suſpicion. The King, having above a Year before ſet his Mind and Affections upon *Anne* the Daughter of *Friderick* the Second King of *Denmark*, (whom Queen *Elizabeth* approved and commended above all others,) now with Royall Ceremonies contracted Marriage with her this preſent Year in the moneth of *Auguſt* by the happy Negotiation of the Earl Marſhall, and was married by Proxy in a particular Form of Words. But when ſhe was upon her Way for *Scotland*, in the midſt of her Voiage ſhe was driven back by hideous Tempeſts into *Norway*, her Fleet being ſo weather-beaten and

He marrieth *Anne* of *Denmark*.

She is driven by Tempeſt into *Norway*.

1589.

The King saileth thither.

distressed that it could not put to Sea again. The King hereupon, having first advised with Queen *Elizabeth*, who had sent rich Presents towards the Solemnizing of the Marriage, sailed over into *Norway* in the Month of *October*, being an extreme cold time, to consummate the Marriage within the Year, as the Estates of the Realm had determined, and he himself had vowed; which was happily done, and in those Parts he stayed till *May* following, not finding a convenient time to return sooner.

This Tempest raised by Magicians.

Some there were who thought these Tempests were raised by the Sorceries and evill Practices of Magicians and Witches, in regard the Winds were more blustering and violent, the Waters more rough and troubled, the Gusts more short and frequent, then those which proceed of naturall Causes; and that the Devils, the Princes of the Air, do rage more licenciously amongst those Northern Nations, which are barbarously rude, and destitute of the Light of the Gospell. And indeed these mens Opinion was confirmed by certain Magicians and Witches taken in *Scotland*, who confessed openly that they had raised those Storms to keep the Queen from the Coasts of *Scotland*, and that *Bothwell* had consulted with them concerning the King's Death. Which being a capitall Crime among the *Scots* by a Law of Queen *Mary*, he was cast into Prison for it: but after a short time he brake out of Prison, and gave beginning to new Commotions in *Scotland*.

Bothwell accused by them.

The death of the Countess of *Sussex*.

In *England* this Year departed this Life *Frances* Countess of *Sussex*, the Widow of *Thomas* Earl of *Sussex*, Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, a Lady worthy to be remembred, for that she founded *Sidney-Sussex* Colledge in *Cambridge* for Students; imitating herein Sir *Walter Mildmay*, who about this time also passed into his heavenly Country: a man of remarkable Piety and singular Wisedome, who discharged all the Offices of a good Citizen and a good Man, and was by King *Henry* the Eighth made Surveiour of the Court of Augmentations, by King *Edward* the Sixth Knighted, and by Queen *Elizabeth* taken into her Privy Councill, and made Chancellour and Under-treasurer of her Exchequer; who, for the Advancement of Piety and Learning, built *Emanuell* Colledge in *Cambridge* in the Year 1584. in which are maintained 62 Students under the Government of a Master. In his Place was substituted Sir *John Forteſcue*, an upright man, excellently well learned in Greek and Latine, who was a long time Directour to the Queen in her Study of the Liberall Arts and Master of her Wardrobe, and one that gave me Light in severall things as I was writing this History.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*.

The Earl of *Worcester*.

At this time also *William Somerset*, Earl of *Worcester*, rendred his Soul to God in his old Age, being Son to *Henry*, and Grandson to *Charles*: whom *Edward* his onely Son succeeded, so fruitfull of Issue, that he had lately more Children of both Sexes then all the Earls in *England* besides.

Now likewise these following Persons paid their Debt to Nature. viz.

1589.

viz. *John* Lord *Stourton*, the eldeſt Son of *Charles* (whom Queen *Mary* made an Example of her Juſtice for Murther) by the Lady *Anne Stanley*, the Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Derby*: whom *Edward* his Brother ſucceeded. *Henry* Lord *Compton*, a man of a florid Wit and ſound Judgement, who left for his Heir *William* his Son by *Frances Haſtings*, the Daughter of *Francis* Earl of *Huntingdon*. And at *Bruxells* died *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, who, being deeply devoted to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and thereof ſuſpected, withdrew himſelf out of *England*, as I have ſaid in the Year 1585. leaving one onely Son, *William*, behind him, whom he had by *Nazareth Newton*; but to the Commonwealth of Learning he left a ſad Miſs of himſelf. Laſtly, *Laurence Humfrey*, an *Oxford*-man, Doctour of Divinity, who in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, living an Exile in *Germany*, tranſlated *Origen de Recta fide* and *Philo de Nobilitate* out of Greek; and wrote three Books *de Nobilitate*, which he intituled *Optimates*. Returning Home, he was made Preſident of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he had his Education, and the Queen's Profeſſour of Divinity; where, by Reading a publick Lecture for many years, by Preaching, and Writing much, he profited the Church not a little, and deſerved great Commendation. Yet did he attain to no higher Preferment in the Church then the Deanry of *Wincheſter*; haply becauſe he did not conſent with the Church of *England* concerning ſome things indifferent.

The Lord *Stourton*.

The Lord *Compton*.

The Lord *Paget*.

And Doctour *Laurence Humfrey*.

The Three and thirtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1590.

QUeen *Elizabeth* (who alwaies made Peace the prime thing in her Counſels and Undertakings, yet never neglected or threw off all Care of Arms,) leſt ſhe ſhould be ſurprized at unawares by the *Spaniard*, in the beginning of the Spring maketh freſh Levies of men in *England* and in the Southern part of *Ireland*. There ſhe fortified *Duncanon* at the Mouth of the River *Suire*, and *Milford*-Haven in *Wales*, with new Works. For keeping her Navy in a good Condition ſhe aſſigned 8970 Pounds of Engliſh or Sterling Money yearly. And although in the Year 1587. for the levying of an Army in *Germany* under the Command of the Baron *Dohna* for the King of *Navarre*'s Service, ſhe had lent 101560 French Crowns by Sir *Horatio Pallavicini*, and the laſt Year 71165 more upon Bonds given by *Beavoir*, *Buby* and *Buzenvall*, and had ſpent 20000 in ſending over the auxiliary Forces under the Lord *Willoughby*: nevertheleſs this Year alſo, upon Security given by the Viſcount *Turenne*, ſhe lent firſt 33333 Crowns more, for the raiſing of an Army in *Germany* under the Conduct of the Prince of *Anhalt*, and afterward

The Queen fortifieth ſome Port-towns.

She taketh care for her Navy.

She furniſheth the French King with money.

1590.

The vaſt Charges ſhe was at.

ward as much upon Security given by *Beavoir* and *Incarvill*. Moreover, every two Months ſhe payed to the Garriſons in *Fluſhing* and the *Briell* 125000 Florens, and to 3000 Horſe and Foot ſerving in the *Netherlands* 26000 more: ſhe ſent out many Ships to all Parts, ſhe was at great Charges againſt the Attempts of the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* in *Scotland*, and alſo ſhe repayed, beyond Expectation, the Money borrowed formerly of her Subjects. Inſomuch as many admired whence this Wealth came to ſerve all theſe Turns, ſeeing ſhe was in no man's Debt, (as all other Princes almoſt were,) and was able to defend herſelf and hers without any forrein Helps, which not one of her neighbour-Kings could doe.

Her Frugality and Care of her Revenue.

But the truth is, ſhe was providently frugall, and ſcarcely ſpent any thing but for the Maintenance of her Royall State, the Defenſe of her Kingdome, or the Relieving of her Neighbours. And *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer looked narrowly unto thoſe who had the Charge of Cuſtomes and Impoſts; by whoſe Avarice many things were under-hand imbezeled, and through whoſe Negligence the juſt Dues were not exacted. But a greater Improvement was made after ſuch time as the Queen (who had not long before been informed by one *Caermarden*, an underſtanding and ſubtil Fellow, of the Myſteries of the Farmers of her Cuſtomes,) cauſed Sir *Thomas Smith*, Cuſtomer, (as they call him) who had bought or farmed her Cuſtomes for 14000 Pounds of Engliſh Money by the Year, to pay from that time forward 42000 Pounds, and to advance no ſmall Summe of Money over and above in Recompence for ſo gainfull a Bargain ſo many Years, and raiſed him afterwards to pay 50000 Pounds for the ſame: although the Lord Treaſurer, *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham* laboured to the contrary, oppoſed *Caermarden*, commanded the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber not to give him Admiſſion, yea and expoſtulated with the Queen about it, as if this would tend to the Diſgrace and Diſparagement of her and her Councill, if ſhe ſhould hearken to the Accuſations of ſo inconſiderable an Informer. But ſhe anſwered, "That it was the Duty of a Prince to hold an equall Hand over the "Higheſt and the loweſt: That ſuch as accuſe Magiſtrates and Counſellours raſhly, without being able to prove it, are to be puniſhed; "thoſe which accuſe them juſtly are to be heard: That ſhe was "Queen of the meaneſt Subjects as well as of the Greateſt; neither "would ſhe ſtop her Ears againſt them, nor endure that the Farmers "of the Cuſtomes ſhould like Horſe-leeches ſuck themſelves fat upon "the Goods of the Commonwealth, whileſt the poor Treaſury waxed lean and was exhauſted; nor that the Treaſury ſhould be crammed with the Spoils and Pollings of the poorer ſort. And indeed ſhe ever deteſted Extortions, and all Rigidneſs in exacting extraordinary Contributions; which the former Kings uſe to ſweeten with the ſmoother names of *The People's Liberality*, *Benevolence*, and *friendly Grant*, with other ſuch like Appellations. The Taxing of Living creatures by the Poll, propounded firſt in *Edward* the Sixth his Reign, ſhe would

She raiſeth the Farm of the Cuſtomes.

Her favourableneſs in taking Contributions.

would not ſuffer to be ſo much as once named. Beſides, the People always granted Subſidies chearfully; and though the Taxation by that way of Aſſeſment ſeemed greater then in old time, yet was there no rough nor rigid manner of Taxing it uſed. Inſomuch as thoſe Subſidies were rather voluntary, without Demanding or any Conſtraint, and alwaies leſs then the Eſtates of the Realm eſtimated them. Yea, ſhe commanded it to be referred to the Eſtates of the Realm, that the Rich might pay more, and the Poorer ſort might be ſpared; which had been once done in the Reign of *Richard* the II. But it failed of Succeſs: For, caſting up the Accounts, they found that the Subſidies would amount to but very little, if men of mean Eſtates, whereof there was far the greateſt number, (and whom we call the *Pound-men*) ſhould pay leſs then they were wont to do. 1590.

She taketh care of the Eſtates in the *Netherlands*.

And the better to maintain Amity and a good Underſtanding with her Neighbours abroad, ſhe refuſed to take *Groeningen* into her Protection, a wealthy City of *Friſeland*, which would neither endure the *Spaniards*, nor yet be under the Eſtates, leſt ſhe ſhould thereby give Offenſe to the Eſtates. And though ſhe were diſpleaſed with the *Zelanders*, who went about to chuſe the French King for their Patron, without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Eſtates of *Holland*, (whereof the French King gave her Notice;) yet ſhe reconciled them to the *Hollanders*: and ſome in thoſe Provinces ſhe blamed, teſtifying by publick Writings her Miſlike of their Doings, who under Pretenſe and Shew of Obedience and Reſpect to her ſowed Diſſenſions, and oppoſed the Eſtates: and ſo much the more ſharply ſhe reproved them, ſince ſhe underſtood that *Richardot* had endeavoured that a Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience might be granted to all the *Netherlanders* which had fled from the other Provinces, ſo as they would return home to their Dwellings; which if it were once granted, ſhe foreſaw would turn to the great Dammage of the Eſtates; foraſmuch as that kind of men inhabited thoſe Towns in *Holland* which ſtood formerly in a manner empty and uninhabited, inriched them, and contributed a large ſhare to maintain the War. The Ships of the *Venetians* and *Florentines* taken by the *Engliſh* ſhe commanded, at the Requeſt of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, to be reſtored; and by ſtrict Proclamation charged her Subjects, that they ſhould offer no Violence to the *Italians*, *Venetians*, *French*, *Danes*, *Netherlanders*, or thoſe of the *Hanſe* Towns. Yet did they grievouſly trouble the *Spaniards*, whilſt ſome infeſted the *Atlantick* Ocean near the *Azores*, where the Ships of both *Indies* muſt of neceſſity call, making Prize of many of them, the Caſtle in the Iſle of *Faiall* being razed to the ground by the Earl of *Cumberland*, and 58 Pieces of Ordnance brought away: others moſt boldly and courageouſly brake through the midſt of the Gallies in the Bay of *Gades*, doing great Dammage, and ſpred a Terrour all over the Seas far and wide.

She reſtraineth Pirates.

The *Engliſh* infeſt the *Spaniards*.

The Glory of Queen *Elizabeth* was now ſpred abroad, and her Repu-

1590.

She obtaineth a Peace for the *Moldavians* and *Poloniani*.

Reputation extended far, having obtained of the Emperour of the *Turks* Rest and Quiet for the Vaivod of *Moldavia*, who had been miserably plagued and turmoiled by the *Turks*, and a Peace for the *Polonians*, who were threatned by them with a sharp and dangerous War: Which good Service the *Polonian* and his Chancellour afterward acknowledged by most thankfull Letters to her.

She congratulateth the Scotish King's Marriage.

He and the King of *France* chosen Knights of the Garter.

In the mean time, to confirm Amity with the King of *Scots*, she sent *Edward Somerset* Earl of *Worcester* to congratulate his Marriage and safe Return out of *Denmark*, and to signifie unto him that he, together with the French King, were chosen into the Society of the Order of *Saint George*; but withall, to put him in mind to suppress betimes the Popish Faction, which grew strong in *Scotland*. The King received him very graciously, and to maintain the Amity with *England*, and declare his singular Affection to the publick Peace, sent Colonell *Stewart* into *Germany*, that some Course might be taken with the King of *Denmark* and the Embassadours of the Princes there met, for renewing the Peace between *England*, *Spain*, and *France*.

She provideth for *France*.

France now flamed (as I have said) with a most dangerous Fire of Civil War, raised by the Leaguers and the *Spaniard*: for the quenching whereof Queen *Elizabeth* diligently observed all Means and Opportunities, and held many Consultations how she might relieve them: whether or no the *English* old Souldiers in the *Low-Countries* had not best to joyn with the *German* Forces which were coming down; or whether she ought not rather to send a strong Army into the *Netherlands*, to stay the Prince of *Parma* there, who was now contriving to fall into *France*; but especially how the *Spaniards* might be kept from the Maritime parts of *France*, who (she heard) were endeavouring to reduce *New-haven* into their Power by corrupting the Garrison, and to send a Fleet into *Bretaigne*.

Parma invadeth *France*.

In the midst of these Consultations the Prince of *Parma* entred into *France* with a strong Army, (for so the *Spaniard* had commanded him, being easily perswaded so to doe by the Importunity of the Leaguers, under the specious Pretense of maintaining the Catholick Religion, and exercising Charity towards his Neighbour,) after that the King had gotten a notable Victory over them at *Yury*. The Prince overrunneth *Picardy*, victualleth *Paris* then in Rebellion, and miserably famished, winneth *Corbeil* and *Laigny*, that Victualls might be for the future more safely conveyed into *Paris*, and then marcheth back with his Forces, with greater Commendations for his military Skill in casting up Trenches by his Souldiers hands, after the *Roman* manner, and in wisely forbearing to fight, then for his good Discipline in restraining his Souldiers Licentiousness, who sacrilegiously violated the very Churches.

His Exploits and Return.

The *Spaniards* win Port-towns in *Bretaigne*.

On the other side, about the Autumnall Æquinox other Companies of *Spaniards* arrived at *Blanet* in *Bretaigne*, under the Conduct of *Don John d' Aquila*, besieged *Henebon*, a little, but strong, Town upon the Sea, and wone it by the Help of *Philip Emanuell* Duke of *Mercœur* of the House of *Lorrain*, who had called

called them in, at ſuch time as the Leaguers hoped to cantonize and divide *France* amongſt them, and he for his Share had promiſed himſelf the Dukedome of *Bretaigne*, or at leaſt a Part thereof, by the Aſſiſtence of the *Spaniard*, and in Right of his Wife, who was the ſole Daughter of *Sebaſtian Martigues*, whoſe Mother *Caroletta* of *Bretaigne* was Heir of *John Broſe* Duke of *Eſtampes*. This Opportunity the *Spaniard* had gladly laid hold on, who thought that *Bretaigne* did of Right belong unto his Daughter; foraſmuch as it was a Feminine Fee, and ſhe was born of the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Second King of *France*; which eldeſt Daughter ought (her Uncles dying without Iſſue) to ſucceed in the Kingdome of *France*, unleſs the *Salick* Law did hinder it. And though he was not ignorant that *Bretaigne* was in the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt united for ever to the Kingdome of *France*: yet did he not believe what the French Lawyers ſay, that whatſoever is once annexed to the Crown of *France*, doth inſeparably adhere unto it for the future. 1590.

By what pretence of right.

Againſt theſe *Spaniards*, as ſoon as ever they arrived, *Henry Bourbon*, Prince of *Dumbez*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*'s Son, (whom with *La Nové* the King had ſet over the Province of *Bretaigne*, craved an auxiliary Aſſiſtence out of *England*. But the Queen and Councill thought it not fit to ſend Forces at the Requeſt of a Subject, the King himſelf neither knowing of it nor asking it, who had now his Hands full of Buſineſs elſewhere, and that Buſineſs very troubleſome and difficult. Yet ſhe bent her whole Minde and Thoughts with great Care and Attention to the State of *Bretaign*. That the *Spaniard* ſhould bring under his Subjection ſo rich a Country, ſo near neighbouring, and ſo convenient to invade or annoy *England*, *Holland*, or *Zeland*, ſhe could not endure. And this (ſhe ſaid) concerned her more then heretofore it did *Edward* the Third, who with ſo great Charges maintained the Quarrel of *John Montfort*, leſt the *French* ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of *Bretaigne*. Some there were who adviſed her to ſpare her Money, to take Care of her own Eſtate rather then other mens, and not to truſt the *French*. "That they "had been falſe and treacherous to their own Kings: that they had "lately murthered one King, who was a zealous Follower of the "Popiſh Religion; and another, who was a Profeſſour of the Re-"formed Religion, they at preſent wickedly proſecuted by force "of Arms and with Papall Curſes and Fulminations. That within "our Fathers Memory they had unjuſtly wreſted from the German "Empire *Metz*, *Toul*, *Verdun*. That out of an in-bred and invete-"rate Hatred they were at this day as ingratefully injurious to "the *Engliſh*, though their Friends, as they ever were heretofore "when their Enemies; and had ſo often deceived them in borrow-"ing Money, that ſuch Creditours as they mean to defraud they call "proverbially *Les Anglois*. Moreover, that by corrupt Counſels and "the Urgency of their ill Deſtiny they did ſo rend and tear aſun-"der that flouriſhing Kingdome, that it ſeemed to its Neighbours

Aſſiſtence craved of Queen *Elizabeth* againſt them.

Queen *Elizabeth*'s carefulneſs for *Bretaigne*.

And alſo for *France*, contrary to the Advice of ſome.

1590. "rather to be pitied then feared, whilſt, like an over-grown Body, "it was burthened with its one Strength and Weight; or, out of a "ſhittle and unconſtant Humour, if it have not an Enemy abroad, it "ſeeketh one at Home. For to that groſs Stupidity are they arri-"ved, (a thing which future Ages will ſcarce credit) that they "have invited Troups of armed *Spaniards* into *France*, and received "them into their Towns. But the Queen, highly cheriſhing the Safety and Honour of the *French*, rejected what theſe men ſaid, as injurious to that moſt noble and powerfull Nation. Yea, when others, both *French* and *Engliſh*, ſuggeſted to her, that while the Leaguers and the *Spaniard* were about ſharing *France* betwixt them as a Prey, and cantonizing it into ſeverall Principalities, ſhe might alſo ſeize upon the maritime Countries of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, putting her in mind what *Charles* of *Burgundy*, *the Warrier*, was wont to ſay, *That the neighbouring Nations would be in happy Caſe when* France *ſhould be ſubject, not to one Scepter, but to twenty petty Kings*; ſhe heard it with Regret and Diſlike, and rejected it with much Indignation, ſaying, *Whenſoever the Laſt day of the Kingdome of* France *cometh, it will undoubtedly be the Eve of the Deſtruction of* England.

Her Proverb.

The death of the Earl of *Warwick*.

Whilſt theſe things were arguing, *Ambroſe Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, the Son of *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, of the Order of *Saint George*, an excellent good man, departed this Life without Iſſue.

And Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

And not long after Sir *Francis Walſingham*, the Queen's Secretary, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* and the Order of the Garter, died of a hard Carnoſity growing about his Teſticles, or rather through the Violence of his Phyſick. He was a Perſon exceeding wiſe and induſtrious, and had performed ſeverall honourable Embaſſies, a ſtrong and reſolute Maintainer of the purer Religion, a diligent Searcher out of hidden Secrets, and one who knew excellently well how to win mens Affections to him, and to make uſe of them for his own Purpoſes: inſomuch as in Sagacity and officious Services he ſurpaſſed the Queen's Expectations; and the Papiſts found fault with him as cunning and ſubtle in cloſe carrying on his Deſigns, and inticing and decoying men into Dangers, whilſt he diligently ſtudied to diſcover their ſecret Practices againſt Religion, his Prince and Country; and that to his great Charges, inſomuch as he weakened his private Eſtate thereby, and brought himſelf ſo far in Debt, that he was privately buried in the Evening in *Paul*'s Church at *London* without any Funeral Solemnity. He left one onely Daughter, whoſe firſt Huſband was Sir *Philip Sidney*, to whom ſhe bare a Daughter, married to *Roger* Earl of *Rutland*: her ſecond Husband was *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, to whom ſhe bare a Son and Daughters: and her third Huſband was the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, an *Iriſh*-man, to whom ſhe bare Children of both Sexes.

And *Thomas Randolph*.

A month or two after *Walſingham* died *Thomas Randolph*, who was very intimate with him. This man, ſo often before mentioned, had a Brother, namely *Edward*, a gallant Souldier, who died in *Ireland* a Conque-

1591.

Conquerour in the Year 1567. In his young days he ſtudied the Civill Law at *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, and was Principall of *Broadgates*. Afterwards he performed ſeverall Embaſſages; thrice to the Lords of *Scotland* during their Commotions, thrice to *Mary* Queen of *Scots* after her Return out of *France*, ſeven times to *James* the Sixth King of *Scots*, thrice to *John Baſilides* Emperour of *Ruſſia*, once to *Charles* the Ninth King of *France*, and once to *Henry* the Third. This manifold Pains and Service for his Prince and Countrey the Queen rewarded with the Office of Chamberlain of the Exchequer, (which in former time was a place of great Honour,) the Office of chief Poaſt-maſter, and ſome ſmall Mannours. Neither did he deſire more, though he had many Children; ſo moderate was he in coveting much. Out of a pious Motion of his Heart (which perhaps it may be profitable to mention) he ſeriouſly admoniſhed *Walſingham* a little before his Death, by Letters which I have ſeen, how becoming, yea how neceſſary a thing it was, that they ſhould at length bid Farewell to the enſnaring Employments, he of a Secretary, and himſelf of an Embaſſadour, and both of them ſet their Thoughts upon their heavenly Country, and by repenting ask God Pardon of all their Failings.

And Sir *James Croſtes*.

After him followed Sir *James Croſtes*, who in the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth kept *Hadington* in *Scotland* againſt the *French*, and was a while Governour of *Ireland*. Under Queen *Mary* he was condemned of Treaſon, but diſcharged by Queen *Elizabeth*; and being made Governour of *Berwick* and the *Eaſt March*, Controller of the Queen's Houſhold, and a Commiſſioner at the Treaty of *Borbourg*, he overcame the Envy of the Court, (wherewith notwithſtanding he was ſhrewdly ſhaken,) grew old and died in the good Favour of his Prince, and in great Eſteem and Reputation amongſt all men.

And the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

With the end of the Year ended the Courſe of his Life *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Son of *Francis*, and the ſeventh Earl of this Family. In the Reign of Queen *Mary*, whilſt he was yet but a young man, he was in the Scotiſh War ſent out with 3000 men by his Father then Generall of the Army, and reſcued the Earl of *Northumberland* out of great Danger at *Louic*: after which he had the Command of a Troup of 500 Men at Arms in the Marches. By Queen *Elizabeth* he was appointed to have the Cuſtody of the Queen of *Scots*; and after the Death of the Duke of *Norfolk* was raiſed to the Honour of Earl-Marſhall of *England*. In thoſe doubtfull Times he maintained his Fidelity and Truſt for 15 years, againſt open Treacheries, Court-Calumnies, and his ſecond Wife's vexatious Carriage, in ſuch ſort, that he left behind him no leſs Commendations for his Faithfulneſs and Wiſedome then for his Fortitude and Courage. By his firſt Wife, *Gertrude* the Daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Rutland*, he begat theſe Children: *Francis*, who was ſnatched away by an untimely Death; *Gilbert*, his Succeſſour in his Eſtate and Honour, who married *Mary Cavendiſh*, his Stepmother's Daughter;

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Edward, who took to Wife the Daughter and one of the Heirs of the Lord *Ogle*; *Henry*, and *Thomas*; *Catharine*, which married *Henry* the Son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and died without Iſſue; *Mary*, married to *George Savill*; and *Grace*, married to *Henry Cavendiſh*. By his latter Wife, *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *John Hardwick*, and Widow of *William Cavendiſh*, he had no Children.

And the Lord *Wentworth.*

We muſt not omit *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, who accompanied theſe to another Life. He was the laſt Engliſh Governour of *Calice*. *Henry* his ſecond Son ſucceeded him, the eldeſt dying before his Father.

Tir-Oen ſtrangleth *Gavilock.*

In *Ireland* the laſt Year *Hugh Gavilock*, ſo called becauſe he was a long time kept in Fetters, the baſe Son of *Shan O-Neale*, had accuſed *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen* to have had ſecret Conference with certain *Spaniards* who were ſhipwrecked upon the Coaſt of *Ireland* in the Year 1588. The Earl, to prevent his farther Impeachment, ſurprized him by a Wile, and commanded him to be ſtrangled. But becauſe thoſe otherwiſe mercileſs Fellows, out of a certain Reſpect to the Houſe of *O-Neale*, refuſed to offer Violence to him, it is ſaid he himſelf put his Hand to the Chord to ſtrangle him. Hereupon he was now called into *England*, and upon Submiſſion obtained his Pardon of the Queen, and with ſerious Proteſtations before the Queen at the Honour of *Greenwich*, as Noblemen uſe to doe, he engaged ſolemnly, that he would live at Peace with *Turlogh Leinigh* and all his Neighbours, (giving Hoſtages in that behalf,) and not aſſume to himſelf the Title of *O-Neal*, nor any Authority over the Noblemen his Neighbours; that he would reduce the Countrey of *Tir Oen* into the form of a County; that he would not exact of his Vaſſals thoſe Iriſh Paiments called *Bonaghty*; that he would thenceforth put no man to Death but by Law; that he would not hinder Victuals and Proviſion from bringing to the Engliſh Garriſons at *Blackwater*, or the River *More*; that he would not receive into his Territory any Monks, Friers, Nuns or Rebells; that he would doe his beſt to bring the Inhabitants of *Tir-Oen* to more Civility; and other like matters: yet upon this Condition, that *Turlogh Leinigh* and the neighbouring Lords ſhould in like manner engage themſelves to keep Peace with him; leſt whilſt he was quiet and thought no Harm, he ſhould be expoſed to the Injuries of thoſe turbulent Perſons. Being ſent back into *Ireland*, he again promiſed and aſſured Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputy and the Counſellours of that Realm, that he would be as good as his word, and doe what he had ingaged. And indeed for a while he omitted nothing which could be expected from a moſt obedient Subject, and made a Shew and Seeming of a very vertuous Perſon. He had a ſtrong Body, able to endure Labour, Watching, and Hunger: his Induſtry was great, his Soul large, and fit for the weightieſt Buſineſſes: much Knowledge he had in Military Affairs, and a profound diſſembling Heart: inſomuch as ſome did prognoſticate of him, that he was born either to the very great

He is pardoned.

His Engagements to the Queen.

His Character.

great Good or the great Hurt of *Ireland*. A little before the Lord Deputy had taken *Hugh Roe-Mac-Mahon* in his Houſe, a great Lord in the Territory of *Monaghan*, (whom himſelf had lately preferred before the reſt of that Family ſtriving for the Principality,) and ſubjected him to a Triall by common Souldiers and the baſeſt men, (as the *Iriſh* complain,) for having with Banners diſplayed exacted of his People Contributions due according to the barbarous Cuſtome of that Country; and being condemned, hanged him up, dividing his large Eſtate and Poſſeſſions betwixt the *Engliſh* and ſome of the *Mac-Mahons*, appointing them a certain yearly Rent, that they might hold them according to the Laws of *England*. And this he did to weaken that Family, which was ſtrong and powerfull in Vaſſals and Adherents, and to extinguiſh the Tyranny of *Mac-Mahon* together with the Title. For by this Title thoſe of that Family wax inſolent who right or wrong take upon them the Domination and Sovereignty. Hereupon *Brien O-Rork*, a great Lord in the neighbour Country of *Brenn*, fearing leſt the ſame might befall him, took up Arms againſt the Queen; but being hunted and put to Flight by Sir *Richard Bingham* Governour of *Connaught*, (the Lord Deputy fretting and vexing that he was prevented of the Glory of this Service,) he fled into *Scotland*; whom the King very willingly and readily delivered into the Queen's Hands upon her Demand, proteſting that he accounted all the Queen's Enemies as his own. Which indeed he ſhewed he did: For he both turned a deaf Ear to the Popiſh Noblemen in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Weſtmorland* and other ſeditious Engliſh-men in the *Netherlands*, who incenſed him againſt the Queen; and made *James* and *Donald Mac-Conels* give Security that they would not trouble the *Engliſh* in *Ireland* either out of the *Hebrides* or *Scotland*.

1590.

Mac-Mahon hanged.

O-Rork rebelleth.

Is driven into *Scotland*, and delivered into *England*.

The Four and thirtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1591.

AMidſt theſe Troubles, no one Thought more took up the Queen's Mind then her Care for *Bretaigne* in *France*, and how ſhe might aſſiſt and relieve the French King, who was now ſinking. In the beginning therefore of the Year ſhe gently expoſtulated with him by *Edmond Tork* for his three Months Silence: ſhe put him in mind how much it concerned him to provide for the Defenſe of *Bretaigne* betimes: exhorted him by any means to prevent and hinder the Prince of *Parma*, who now again deſigned to invade *France*, that he might not joyn his Forces with the *Spaniards* in *Bretaigne*: whom to expell ſhe promiſed Aſſiſtence both by Sea and Land, if he would aſſign a Port and place for Retreat, and joyn a compe-

The Queen's love to and care of the French King.

To whom ſhe granteth Aſſiſtence upon Conditions.

1590.

The French King's demands and Profers.

competent number of Forces with hers. The King commended the Queen's great Love and Affection towards him, gave her hearty Thanks for it, and, promiſing much what he would doe on his part, required 3000 men for the War in *Bretaigne*, and certain Companies for *Picardy*, to be ſent over out of hand. He named *Cherbourg*, *Granvill*, or *Breſt*, Port-Towns, for places of Retreat for her Forces, but ſpecially *Blauet*, wone lately by the *Spaniards*, as the moſt commodious, (whether he jeaſted or no I know not;) and gave commiſſion to *Beavoir de Noclé*, his Embaſſadour Leiger in *England*, to make the Contract and Conditions: who contracted with *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall, and *Hunſdon* Lord Chamberlain, Commiſſioners for the Queen, "That 3000 *Engliſh* "ſhould be ſent over into *Picardy* and *Bretaigne* with Proviſion for "War; That the King ſhould repay to the Queen within a Year "in the City of *London* their Pay, the Charges of Tranſporting, and "the Price of the Proviſion for War, or ſooner, if the Enemy ſhould "be ſooner removed. The Queen entred the more willingly into this Contract, becauſe ſhe was informed that the *Spaniards* were received into *Paris*, the Head-City of *France*; and that the Citizens acknowledged the King of *Spain* for their Lord and King, vouchſafing their lawfull King no other Title then the *Bearnois*: that hereupon the *Spaniard* was in good hope to reduce *France* under his Power; and had not ſpared to ſay as much to *Janin*, Commiſſioner for the Leaguers in *Spain*: alſo that *Gregory* the Thirteenth Biſhop of *Rome* had to that Purpoſe raiſed Forces againſt the French King in *Italy* and *Switzerland*, under the Command of the Duke *de Montmartin*, and had publiſhed a Bull of Excommunication againſt him; which notwithſtanding the Parliament of *Paris* (which met now at *Tours*) condemned, and commanded it to be faſtned to the Gallows by the hand of the Hangman, and then to be burnt to Aſhes.

The Contract of Aſſiſtence.

Te Queen's Motives to grant it.

The *Spaniards* hope of getting *France*.

A Proclamation in *England* againſt the French Leaguers.

Hereupon there was a Proclamation ſet forth that no man ſhould tranſport Victuals or Proviſion for War out of *England* into thoſe Ports of *France* which were poſſeſſed by the Leaguers, or have any Commerce with them, upon Pain of High treaſon: and this the King of *Scots* had done before. Sir *Henry Palmer* was now ſent forth with ſome Men of war, and took 13 of their Ships in their Return from *New France*. Sir *Roger Williams* alſo with 600 men paſſed over ſhortly after to *Diep*, (which Town the Enemy lay near and threatned,) with expreſs charge to ſtay in thoſe Parts. And ſome days after Sir *John Norris* with the reſt of the Forces ſet Sail for *Bretaigne*; which Forces were commanded under him by his Brother *Henry* and *Antony Shirley*. Theſe Supplies joyned with the King's Forces, and in vain attempted *Lamballe*, which was defended by the Leaguers, (where *Francis la Nové* that famous Souldier died of a Wound he received;) but after took *Chaſtillion*, and rather curbed and reſtrained then removed the Leaguers and *Spaniards* farther off.

Norris ſent into *Bretaigne*.

La Nové ſlain.

Sir *Roger Williams* with his own Forces and thoſe of Monſieur *le Chatré*,

Chatré, Governour of *Diep*, breaking through a Barricado at *Cinqueſſaunce* made of Wine-fats filled with Earth, put thoſe Leaguers to Flight who under the Command of *Tremblecourt* and *Lounde* infeſted the Ways, and was highly commended for his Valour by the King in his Letters to the Queen. Whereupon taking more Courage, and forgetting the Charge that was given him, he accompanied the King to the Suburbs of *Paris*, and by a ſhort Letter challenged the *Spaniards* to ſend 200 Pikes and 100 Muskettiers to encounter with ſo many *Engliſh* in the field. Scarce was he returned to *Diep*, but he was preſently ſent for by the King, and poaſted with his Troups to *Noyon*, contrary to what he had in Command from the Queen: where, being prodigall of other mens Bloud, he hazzarded many *Engliſh* in the Aſſault, without acquainting the Queen with it, who therefore was offended with him. 1591. *Williams* behaveth himſelf manfully.

At the ſame time the French King gave the Queen to underſtand by *Antony Reaux*, that he was reſolved to take in *Rouen* and *Newhaven* before the Prince of *Parma* ſhould come with his Forces into *France*: and for that Service he prayed the Queen to ſend 4000 *Engliſh* into *Normandy*, and allow them two Months Pay, and if they ſtayed longer, he would pay them himſelf; promiſing withall moſt religiouſly, that immediately upon their Landing he would be ready to joyn his Forces with them; and in the mean time he would tarry in *Picardy*, leſt they of *Rouen* ſhould entertain any Suſpicion of his Deſign. The Queen, who deſired nothing more then to remove the Enemy farther from the Sea-coaſt, willingly aſſented. Hereupon an Agreement was made upon the ſame Conditions; with a Proviſo, that it ſhould be confirmed, or (as the *French* ſpeak) verified, by Authority of the ſupreme Parliament. Within a few days theſe Forces were levied, and arrived at *Diep*, under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, a noble young Gentleman, and in very great Grace and Favour with the Queen. He was accompanied with many Gentlemen of noble Families: and Sir *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *Henry Killegrew*, men of great Experience, were commanded to aſſiſt him with their Counſell and Advice. Arriving in *France*, he found that the King was a great way off, at *Noyon*; Preparation in *Normandy* againſt the Enemies he ſaw none, neither could he underſtand by any man how he was to employ his Forces: inſomuch as he grew angry that he and his men were not uſed according to their Worth, and wondered that the King forgat his Promiſes. Afterward Sir *Roger Williams* came poaſting to him, and prayed him in the King's name to repair to him with all ſpeed to *Noyon*, that they might conſult together about Managing the War. Whither when after a very difficult and dangerous Journey he was come, the King declared to him, that he muſt needs goe himſelf into *Champagne*, to joyn his Forces with the *German* Army; but promiſed to ſend Marſhall *Biron* and the Duke of *Montpenſier* with all ſpeed to beſiege *Rouen*. The Earl with much Difficulty returned to his men, who lay encamped at *Arques*; and that he might win the Love and Affection of his Army, and heighten their Courage, he Knighted many, not without the

The French King demandeth more aid.

New Supplies granted.

Which *Eſſex* commandeth.

The French King keepeth not his Promiſe.

Eſſex goeth to the King.

He knighteth many.

1591.

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ſware to be true and reall, found ſuch Credit with theſe two, that they believed and affirmed him to be the beſt beloved of God, and greater then *Moſes* and Saint *John*. And he himſelf openly avowed that he was the Prophet of God's Vengeance whereſoever Mercy is rejected; propheſying that from thenceforth there ſhould be no more Popes, and that *England* ſhould this Year be moſt lamentably afflicted with Famine, Peſtilence, and War, except the *Diſcipline of the Lord* (for ſo he called it) and *Reformation* were admitted in the Realm. To bring in this therefore, they conſpired (as was proved by their own Letters) to accuſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Lord Chancellour of Treaſon, who were men that oppoſed Innovations; to kill them and ſome others, if they ſhould give Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* againſt thoſe Miniſters who were Innovatours; to ſtir up the Multitude to Rebellion by printed Rhythms, wherein amongſt other things they maintained, That it was lawfull for a true Chriſtian, though a Country Peaſant, to inform Kings how to ſway the Scepter, and to depoſe the Queen herſelf, unleſs ſhe would advance the Reformation. That *Hacket* bare an implacable Hatred againſt the Queen appeareth by this, That he had often given out that ſhe had forfeited her Right to the Crown, and had in a Rage defaced her Arms and Picture drawn upon a Board, ſtriking his Dagger through the Breaſt of it. And no Marvell: for he had perſwaded himſelf that he was ordained by God to be King of all *Europe*, and could not brook a Conſort; and he made *Coppinger* and *Arthington* believe that they were inſpired not onely with a Propheticall, but even with an Angelicall, Spirit. Who now being full of the Spirit, as they thought, performed all Obedience to him as their King ordained by God, and endeavoured to raiſe Sedition. To which Purpoſe in the month of *July* they came to a Nobleman, offered him the higheſt Command under the Queen, and preſented him with a Deſcription of *Hacket*'s Life together with *Arthington*'s Prophecy: But he being buſy about ſomething elſe, rejected the men. Not long after they told *Wigginton*, "That *Chriſt* had appeared to them the Night before, not in that Body wherewith he "dwelleth in the Heavens, but with that principall Spirit wherewith "he inhabiteth in *Hacket* more fully then in any other: and that "*Hacket* was that very Angell which was to come before the Laſt "day with his Fan and Sheephook, to ſeparate the Goats from the "Sheep; and that he ſhould tread down Satan under his Feet, and "totally ſubvert the Kingdome of *Antichriſt*. From *Wigginton* they betook themſelves to *Hacket*, near to whom as he lay in his Bed they caſt themſelves proſtrate on the Ground, and poured forth moſt fervent Prayers. *Hacket* ariſing joyned with them, praying earneſtly with many words that the Spirit would direct them to God's Glory, and then went to Bed again.

Arthington's Prophecy.

A Conſpiracy againſt ſome of the Councill.

Hacket's hatred againſt the Queen.

He ſendeth forth his Prophets.

Their Blaſphemy and mad Pranks.

Arthington preſently adviſed *Coppinger* to anoint the King with the Holy Ghoſt in the Name of the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Coppinger* with

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with all Lowlineſs kiſſing the Floor thrice, and bending the Knee with all Reverence, came to *Hacket*, who put him back, ſaying, You need not anoint me, for the Holy Ghoſt hath anointed me already. Doe ye my Commandments. Goe and tell through the City, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is come with his Fan in his Hand to judge the World. If any ask where he is, ſhew him this Place; and if they will not believe, let them come and kill me if they can. As it is moſt certain that God is in Heaven, ſo is it no leſs true that *Chriſt* is now come to Judgement. Scarce had he ſpoken the word, but preſently they ruſhed forth, crying through the Streets that *Chriſt* was come, and what other things he had commanded them, often times redoubling with a loud Voice, *Repent, Repent*, untill they were come to the * principall Street of the City. Where, by reaſon of the Throng of people, they climbed up into a Cart, and partly by Help of their Memories, partly out of a written Paper, proclaimed aloud, "That *Hacket* in a glorified Body participated with *Chriſt* "by his principall Spirit, and was now come with his Fan to propa- "gate the Goſpell throughout *Europe*, and to eſtabliſh a *Diſcipline* "and Commonwealth in *England*; (and withall they ſhewed the "Place where he lodged:) That they were two Prophets, the one "of Mercy, the other of Judgement, given to him as Coadjutors "and Aſſiſtents in ſo great a Work. And theſe things they affirmed "upon the Salvation of their Souls to be certainly true. They added farther, "That *Hacket* was the higheſt and ſupreme Monarch, "and that all the Kings of *Europe* did hold their Kingdoms of him as "his Vaſſals: that he alone therefore was to be obeyed, and the "Queen to be depoſed. Laſtly, they curſed the Archbiſhop and the Chancellour to the Pit of Hell, as Oppoſers of the ſincere Religion. When they could not for the great Throng of people proceed forward to the other parts of the City to proclaim theſe things, and were adviſed by their Friends to withdraw themſelves, they returned to *Hacket*'s Lodging.

They proclaim him through *London*.

* *Cheapſide*.

Their blaſphemous and ſeditious ſpeeches.

Shortly after being apprehended, they behaved themſelves ſo contemptuouſly and inſolently towards the Queen's Councill and the Magiſtrates, that they would not uncover their Heads to them, and anſwered ſaucily and peremptorily, that they were above all Magiſtrates. *Hacket* being afterward indicted of Treaſon confeſſed himſelf guilty, and by his blaſphemous Anſwers ſtruck the Auditours into Horrour and Aſtoniſhment: which perhaps was done craftily, to make the Judges of Opinion that he was mad; whereas notwithſtanding by his other Geſtures, and a kind of compoſed Gravity, he ſhewed no ſign of a Mad-man. Being condemned, he was laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn to the chief Place of the City, inceſſantly roaring out with a dreadfull Noiſe, *Jehova Meſſias, Jehova Meſſias*; *Behold the Heaven open, behold the Son of the moſt High deſcending to deliver me.* At the Gallows, being admoniſhed to acknowledge his Sin againſt God and the Queen, the execrable Wretch, inveighing moſt

They are taken.

Hacket indicted.

He is condemned.

His blaſphemous deportment at his Execution.

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Theſe things as he was belching forth with a blaſphemous Mouth, he was throttled with the Halter, the Multitude crying out to have the impious Villain preſently cut down: which according to the Sentence paſt upon him was done, his Bowels taken out, and his Body quartered. Thus doth the Enemy of Mankind bewitch thoſe whom he findeth to pretend Sanctity, and refuſe to be wiſe to Sobriety. *Coppinger* ſhortly after ſtarved himſelf in Priſon by voluntary Faſting. *Arthington*, being reſerved to Repentance, repented ſeriouſly, and ſet forth a Book thereof.

Coppinger ſtarved in priſon. *Arthington* repenteth.

And not theſe alone, but others alſo, who had hitherto in vain oppoſed the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, by condemning the Calling of Biſhops, and contumelioufly reproaching and reviling the Prelates, having now drawn to their Party ſome Common Lawyers, employed both their Tongues and Pens againſt their Jurisdiction, and the Authority granted to them by the Queen in Eccleſiaſticall Cauſes as altogether unjuſt; exclaiming every-where, even in Books printed to that purpoſe, "That men were unworthily oppreſſed in the "Eccleſiaſticall Courts, contrary to the Laws of the Land: That "the Queen could not by Law grant any ſuch Authority, neither "could others exerciſe it though it were granted: That thoſe "Courts could not urge the Party accuſed with the Oath *ex officio*, "foraſmuch as no man is bound to accuſe himſelf: That this Oath "forceth men to the Condemning of themſelves with Ignominy and "Shame, or to a wilfull Perjury with the Ruine and Deſtruction of "their Souls. Beſides, that theſe Courts ought to take Cogni-"zance of no other but Matrimoniall and Teſtamentary Cauſes, "according to the Tenour of that old Writ; *Mandamus Vicecomiti, &c.* i. e. *We command the Sherifs of our Counties of* S. N. *&c. "that they ſuffer not any in their Bailiwick to meet in any places to "make Recognizances by Oath, except in Cauſes Matrimoniall and Teſta-"mentary.*

The Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction ſhot at by Schiſmaticks.

Defended. On the contrary, the Profeſſours of the Eccleſiaſticall Law maintained the Queen's Authority in Eccleſiaſticall Cauſes, "as inve-"ſted in her Majeſty by Authority of Parliament: That to oppoſe "this was nothing elſe but to put an Affront upon her Majeſty, and to trample

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"trample upon her ſacred Prerogative, contrary to the Oath of Allegeance. That the Eccleſiaſticall Courts may take Cognizance "of other Cauſes beſides Matrimoniall and Teſtamentary, they proved by the Statute of *Circumſpectè agatis*, and the Articles of the "Clergy in the time of *Edward* the Firſt. That the Writ or Law "alledged was to be ſuſpected, becauſe the Time thereof was uncertain, and the Reading various; for elſewhere it is written, *to make* "*Recognizances or take Oaths*. Alſo that to *make Recognizance* doth "not ſignifie to give Teſtimony or to anſwer in Law, but to acknowledge and confeſs a Debt, or to hold Pleas concerning Bills, "Bonds, or Debts. That the Oath *ex officio* in thoſe Courts, as "well as in others, hath been time out of mind required and exacted, "for the Diſcovery of Simony, Adultery, and other Deeds of Darkneſs, eſpecially when (as the Lawyers ſpeak) *Inſinuatio fuerit* "*clamoſa*, the Suſpicion is loud and vehement. And though no man be "bound to accuſe and betray himſelf, yet being once ſuſpected by "common Fame, he is bound to ſhew whether he can defend his "Innocency and clear himſelf; foraſmuch as the Penance impoſed is "not a Puniſhment, but a Remedy and Medicine to cure Offenders, "deter others from Sin, and take away Scandall; according to that "in the Holy Scriptures, *For thy Soul's ſake be not aſhamed to ſpeak* "*Truth*: for there is a Shame or Confuſion that leads to Sin, and "there is a Confuſion that leads to Grace and Glory. But why do I inſiſt upon theſe things, ſeeing there are learned Diſcourſes abroad concerning this matter on both Sides, written by *Richard Coſins* Doctour of Law, and *John Morris* and *Lancelot Andrews*?

The Queen maintaineth her own and the Churche's Authority.

The Queen, well knowing that in this Buſineſs her Authority was ſhot at through the Biſhops Sides, brake the Force and Aſſault of the Adverſaries without any Noiſe, and maintained the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction inviolate againſt all Oppoſers.

The Spaniſh Plate-fleet waited for by the *Engliſh*.

About this time *Thomas Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s ſecond Son, had waited full ſix Months with ſix of the Queen's Ships and as many Victuallers for the Spaniſh Fleet which was to come Home from *America*. Whilſt he ſtayed at *Flores*, one of the Iſles of *Azores*, the Mariners being moſt of them ſick, (for Souldiers he had none,) *Alphonſo Baſſano*, being ſent forth with 53 Ships to conduct Home the Fleet of *America*, came upon him ſo at unawares, that *Howard* in the Admiraull and the reſt had much adoe to get out into the open Sea. Sir *Richard Greenvill* in the Viceadmirall, called the *Revenge*, whilſt he ſtayed to call back his men out of the Iſland, and out of a certain Magnanimity unadviſedly forbad them to ſet Sail, was hemmed in betwixt the Iſland and the Spaniſh Fleet, which was divided into four Squadrons: one of which whilſt he courageouſly thought to break through, the Spaniſh Admirall, named the *Saint Philip*, coming upon him on the one ſide, with her huge Bulk took away from him wholly all Benefit of the Wind, on the other ſide three Ships more from other parts hardly beſet him. The *Spaniards* often

The Revenge loſt after a hot engagement.

1591. often boarding and entring the Ship, were as often either beaten back into their own Ships, or thrown over-board into the Sea, and continually furniſhing Supplies of freſh men, fought all Night long, with very great Slaughter of their men. Now the Engliſh-mens Powder failed them, their Pikes were broken, all their ſtouteſt men either ſlain or hurt, their Maſts and Trimmers overthrown, their Cables cut, the Ship battered with 800 great Shot, and *Greenvill* himſelf wounded, who, whilſt a Plaiſter was applying, was ſhot again in the Head, and withall the Chirurgeon ſlain. When the Day appeared, the Hatches begoared with Bloud, and ſtrowed with ſlain Carkaſſes and men half dead, preſented a ſad and dolefull Spectacle to them that were left alive. After they had fought now fifteen Hours, *Greenvill*, being paſt all Hope of Life, commanded the Ship to be ſunk. The Maſter forbad it, and, with Conſent of the major Part, conveying himſelf by Boat to the Admirall of the *Spaniards*, he yielded upon Compoſition for Life and Freedome from the Gallies. *Greenvil* languiſhing, and ready now to breath his laſt, was carried into the Spaniſh Admirall, and died within two days, with great Commendations for his Valour even from his very Enemies. The Ship was yielded, but the Keel thereof being ſhot through in many places, ſhe ſhortly after ſunk by a Tempeſt which aroſe, together with 200 *Spaniards* put aboard her, and ſome other Veſſels. So as this *Revenge* (it ſeemeth) periſhed not unrevenged, and by this new Victory coſt the *Spaniards* much Bloud. Meanwhile *Howard*, relying more upon his Courage then his Strength, longed to ruſh into the midſt of the Enemies: But the Maſter was ſo far from aſſenting to it, that he would rather have caſt himſelf into the Sea, then that the Queen's Ship ſhould be expoſed to ſuch imminent and certain Danger: neither did the reſt think good to undertake the Fight with ſo evident Hazzard, and without all Hope of being able to deliver their Fellows from ſo deſperate a Condition, ſaying, that to venture five Ships againſt fifty three were nothing elſe but inconſiderately, with the Deſtruction of their men, to weaken the Strength of *England*, and increaſe the Glory of the Enemy. Yet he and the reſt, eſpecially Sir *Thomas Vavaſour*, (who aſſiſted the *Revenge* the ſpace of two Hours,) fought manfully as long as the Wind permitted them, and omitted nothing which it was poſſible for them to doe, untill the Night parted them.

She ſinketh with many *Spaniards* aboard.

Spaniſh ſhips taken.

The Dammage received by the Loſs of this one Ship the *Engliſh* abundantly made good by taking ſeverall Spaniſh Ships, in one whereof (beſides rich Treaſure) were found about twenty thouſand Papall Indulgences or Pardons deſigned for *America*. For the *Indians* are conſtrained to buy ſuch Remiſſions of their Sins every Year, to the great Gain and Inriching of the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*.

A Voiage to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

George Riman alſo, a very ſtout and able Sea-man, and *James Lancaſter*, now made a Voiage with three Ships to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Cape

Cape of *Good Hope* they happily doubled. At *Cabo Corriente* a Tempeſt carried away the Admirall, which with *Riman* in her was ſwallowed up of the Waves. Shortly after the Sky roared with horrible Thunder, and in the other two Ships four of the Mariners died, having their Necks wrung aſide with force of the Lightning, and above 90 were ſtricken blind, others lamed, ſome as it were racked, who notwithſtanding every one recovered beyond Expectation, and undauntedly held on their Voiage. At the Iſle of *Comoro*, whilſt they took in freſh Water, 30 of them with the Maſter were ſlain by the Barbarians. At *Zanziber* they wintered. 1591.

George Riman caſt away. A terrible Tempeſt.

Towards the Spring they took ſome Ships of the *Mahometans* of *Pegu* with wooden Anchours, and others of the *Portugueezes* laden with Pepper and Rice. Afterwards coming to *Zeilan*, and thence to *Nicubar*, an Iſland plentifull of Cinnamon and Diamonds, and finding that they had no more then 33 men left alive, and Victuals failed them, they ſet Sail Homewards. At the Iſle of *Saint Hellen* they refreſhed themſelves a little; parting from whence they were toſſed and driven through the Ocean to *Trinidada*, meeting with nothing to comfort and relieve them. At length they lighted on *Charles Barbotier* a French-man, who gave them ſome Relief; with whom they began to deal not with that Faithfulneſs and Candour which they ought, but ſuch as diſtreſſed Sea-men are wont to uſe: however he was too cunning for them, and prevented their Deſigns. Afterwards, whilſt *Lancaſter* was refreſhing himſelf with ſome of his men in the Iſland of *Mona*, near *Hiſpaniola*, the Ship was carried away by foul Weather with ſeven forlorn and diſtreſſed perſons, and returned Home very rich: whilſt thoſe that were left there behind were no leſs put to it, till they were brought Home by the Civility of ſome *French*, and were the firſt that ever taught our Engliſh-men the Way of Trading in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Lancaſter eſcapeth great dangers.

He returneth home.

In the mean time *Thomas Cavendiſh*, who, after Sailing round about the World, returned Home with Glory in the Year 1578. undertook a Voiage this Year with 5 Ships to the Streight of *Magellan*; which when he could not paſs by reaſon of foul Weather and contrary Winds, he was driven back to the Coaſts of *Braſill*, and there died an untimely Death, charging *John Davies* in his laſt Words as if he had treacherouſly forſaken him.

Cavendiſh his voiage to the Streight of *Magellan*.

His death.

The War now growing hot, it was openly proclaimed, that no man upon Pain of Treaſon ſhould carry Grain, Munition, or Proviſion for Shipping, into the *Spaniard*'s Dominions: the Reaſon being added, for that he, having declared himſelf an Enemy to *England*, had refuſed to confirm the ancient Leagues betwixt their Predeceſſours.

A Proclamation that nothing be carried into *Spain*.

And whereas Engliſh Prieſts at this time crept every day privately into *England* in greater number then formerly from the Seminaries of *Rome*, *France* and *Spain*, (for the *Spaniard* had lately founded a Seminary for the *Engliſh* at *Valladolid*,) who laboured to withdraw

Another againſt *Seminaries*.

1591. draw the Subjects from their Obedience to the Queen, and to entice them to the *Spaniard's* Party; it was publiſhed by Proclamation in the Month of *October*, "That none ſhould harbour any man what-"ſoever, but upon Inquiry firſt made who he was, whether he came "to Prayers in the Church, upon what Means he lived, where he "dwelt the Year before, and other like Circumſtances. That they "who could not readily anſwer theſe Interrogatories ſhould be ſent "to Commiſſioners appointed in every Shire, leſt the Common-"wealth ſhould receive any Dammage. Which Proclamation, as being very tart and ſharp, drew from the Papiſts ſeverall Papers full of virulent Expreſſions againſt *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, as the Authour thereof; wherein yet they commended Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, as a man more inclinable to their Side, who was of Opinion, that in matters of Religion neither Fire nor Sword was to be uſed.

The death of *Hatton* Lord Chancellour.

But he died on the 20. of *September*, the day before this Proclamation was publiſhed, of a Flux of his Urine, together with Grief of Mind, becauſe the Queen had ſomewhat rigorouſly exacted of him a great Summe of Money collected of Tenths and Firſt-fruits, whereof he had the Charge; which he had Hopes, in regard of the Favour he was in with her, ſhe would have forgiven him: neither could ſhe, having once caſt him down with a harſh word, raiſe him up again, though ſhe viſited and endeavoured to comfort him. Born he was of a Family more ancient then wealthy in *Northamptonſhire*. Being young, and of a comely Talneſs of Body and amiable Countenance, he got into ſuch Favour with the Queen, that ſhe took him into her Band of 50 Gentlemen Penſioners, and afterwards, for his modeſt Sweetneſs of Conditions, into the number of the Gentlemen of her Privy Chamber, made him Captain of her Guard, Vice-Chamberlain, and one of her Privy Councill, and laſtly made him Lord Chancellour of *England*, and honoured him with the Order of *Saint George*. A man he was of a pious nature, a great Reliever of the Poor, of ſingular Bounty and Munificence to Students and Learned men, (for which Reaſon thoſe of *Oxford* choſe him Chancellour of their Univerſity,) and one who, in the Execution of that high and weighty Office of Lord Chancellour of *England*, could ſatisfy his Conſcience in the conſtant Integrity of his Endeavours to doe all with Right and Equity. His Funerall was honourably performed at *Paul's* Church in *London*: and *William Newport*, his Nephew by his Siſter, whom he had adopted into the Name of the *Hattons*, and made his Heir, erected a ſtately Monument for him. But the Great Seal was for ſome Months put into the Hands of the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *Buckhurſt*; and a while after committed to *John Puckering*, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, though not with the Title of Chancellour, but Keeper of the Great Seal.

Puckering Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

O-Rork arraigned.

Brien O-Rork, a great Lord of *Brenny* in *Ireland*, who notoriouſly favoured and affected the *Spaniards*, and was the laſt Year (as I ſaid before) delivered up by the King of *Scots* into *England*, was now arraigned

arraigned in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. He was charged to have "excited and "encouraged *Alexander Mac-Conell* and others againſt the Queen; "that he had commanded the Queen's Picture, painted in a Table, to "be hung at a Horſe's Tail, and hurried about the Streets in Scorn, "and at laſt diſgracefully cut in pieces; that he had entertained in "his Houſe certain *Spaniards* that were ſhipwrecked, contrary to "the Lord Deputie's Proclamation; that he had burnt down to "Aſhes the Houſes of many of the Queen's faithfull Subjects by his "Incendiaries, and ſlain divers of them; and that he had profered *Ireland* in Poſſeſſion to the King of *Scots*. Being made to underſtand theſe Accuſations by an Interpreter, (for he underſtood not *Engliſh*,) out of a barbarous Inſolency he refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to a Triall by Twelve men, unleſs he might have longer time given, an Advocate might be allowed him, the Accuſations ſent out of *Ireland* might be delivered into his Hands, and the Queen herſelf would ſit as Judge upon the Bench. When the Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* had anſwered him by an Interpreter, that if he refuſed to ſubmit himſelf poſitively to a Triall by 12 men, they were notwithſtanding by Law to give Judgment according to the Articles of the Indictment; he made no other Reply but this, *If they thought good, let it be ſo.* Sentence of Death being given againſt him, ſome few days after he ſuffered a Traitour's Death at *Tyburn* obſtinately and without Remorſe, ſcoffing at *Meilery Creaſh* Archbiſhop of *Caſſils*, (who began in the Iriſh Tongue to miniſter Comfort to him,) as a man of uncertain Faith and Credit, and a depraved Life, who had broken his Vow by abjuring the Rule of *Franciſcans*. 1591.

He is executed at *Tyburn*.

This Year the Queen to her great Commendation founded a Colledge at *Dublin*, the chief City of *Ireland*, to the Holy and Undivided Trinity, and for the Promotion of Learning, in the ſame place where in old time ſtood the Monaſtery of *All Saints*, and endowed it with Academicall Priviledges of Teaching, Reading, and conferring Scholaſticall Titles and Honours upon Learned men, called *Degrees*, (the ſame which the Biſhop of *Rome* about the year 1320. had granted to this City) that ſo ſhe might propagate and advance both Religion and Civility through the whole Iſland, and the Inhabitants might be eaſed of a great Charge they were at in ſending their Children to places at a far Diſtance. Which Colledge verily now beginneth to flouriſh both in number of Students, and the happy Increaſe of Learned men.

An Univerſity erected at *Dublin*.

A little before this time *Hugh O-Donell*, whom Sir *John Perott* Lord Deputy had by a Wile inticed into a Ship, and ſhut him up in the Caſtle of *Dublin* cloſe Priſoner, leſt, being a man of a turbulent Spirit, he ſhould raiſe any new Commotions, eſcaped Home out of Priſon, and gave the Lord Deputy to underſtand by Letters, that his Father had made over to him the Authority of *O-Donell*, that is, the Sovereignty and Government of *Tir-Conell*: and from that time he began to rebell in *Ireland*, as *Bothwell* did in *Scotland*. Of whom (though I

O-Donell rebelleth in *Ireland*.

1591.

Troubles in *Scotland.*

would not willingly intermeddle in Scotiſh matters) ſome things are to be ſpoken, inaſmuch as thoſe Matters are ſo interwoven with Engliſh Affairs, that by underſtanding them ſome Light may ariſe to the enſuing Diſcourſe, which otherwiſe muſt of neceſſity be involved in much Obſcurity.

Bothwell ſetteth upon the King's Court.

Bothwell, having been accuſed to have conſulted with Witches, had now eſcaped out of Priſon, and being inflamed with an implacable Hatred againſt *Maitland* Lord Chancellour, (whom he ſuſpected to be the chief Authour of his Accuſation,) and that he might ſeize both him and the King into his Power, about the end of *December* brake into the King's Court at *Edenborough* with certain Confederates of the Scotiſh and Engliſh Borderers, attempted to break open the Queen's Chamber with a Hammer, to ſet Fire on the King's Chamber, and to poſſeſs himſelf of the Lord Chancellour's Houſe, all at once. But by the Concourſe of the Citizens he was repulſed and fled. Some of his Followers were hanged: and the Hammer was faſtned to the Queen's Chamber-door in memory of the Fact.

The Five and thirtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1592.

Bothwell proclaimed Traitour.

IN the beginning of this Year the King proclaimed *Bothwell* "to "have been the Authour of this dangerous and infamous At- "tempt: That he was a man ſo wholly made up of Vices, that "he had renounced all Vertue, and out of an inſolent Pride and "Perverſeneſs contemned both God and the Authority ordained by "God: That after his Return out of *Italy* he had engaged himſelf "in all Commotions, though they concerned him nothing at all: "That he had wickedly ſlain *David Humes*, for which notwithſtan- "ding he had his Pardon; and ſo heaping one lewd Deed upon ano- "ther, he was afraid the Law would proceed againſt him; and the "rather, becauſe a Wizard or Fortune-teller in *Italy* had told him "that Deſtruction threatned him from the juſt Judgement of his "King: That this Fear was increaſed when he had deſperately ſlain "*William Stewart* of *Achiltre*, the King's Servant: That from thence "forward he aſſociated himſelf with all impious and bloudy Fel- "lows, and ſuch as were like himſelf: That he conſpired with the "Pope and the *Spaniard* for the Deſtruction of both Kingdoms: "That afterward he ſided with thoſe who at *Dee-Bridge*, at a great "Diſtance from the Court, had out of private Spleen taken up Arms "againſt ſome of the Court: That they preſently upon the King's "marching laid down their Arms; but he encamped himſelf near "*Edenborough*, the King's Seat, intercepted ſeverall perſons, and retired

1592.

"retired not till ſuch time as the King was in the Field ready to encounter him: That ſoon after, betaking him to Diabolicall Arts, "he conſulted with Necromancers and Witches about making away "the King whilſt he was abſent in *Denmark*, out of a Fear of the "Puniſhment he had deſerved, and Hopes of Impunity, and the "Crown to boot: That hereupon being caſt into Priſon, when he "was juſt now to be delivered upon certain Conditions, the Conſcience of his Wickedneſs galling him, he brake out of Priſon, and, "gathering together a Rabble of debauched Fellows, ſet upon the "King's Houſe, with no other Intent but that, having made away the "King, and troden Juſtice under Foot, he might dominear the more "licenciouſly: That he ſearched narrowly for the King, ſet Fire to "his Chamber-door, attempted to open the Queen's Chamber with "a Hammer, ſlew ſome of the King's Servants, wounded others; "and this for no Reaſon but out of Malice againſt the King. The "King therefore commanded that no man ſhould lodge, relieve or "ſuccour him or his Aſſociates, upon ſuch Pains and Penalties as are "appointed for Receivers and Harbourers of Traitours.

The Earl of *Murray* ſlain.

How the Earl of *Huntley*, by Authority of this Proclamation, and the ſetting on of the Chancellour, with a Party of Armed men proſecuted the Rebell, and aſſaulted the Earl of *Murray*'s Houſe, who had harboured *Bothwell*; how *Murray* was ſlain, *Huntley* for the ſame impriſoned, and after a ſhort time delivered upon Security given for Appearance to his Triall, and then returned Home, where he was ſadly tormented and turmoiled by the *Clan-Hattens* and *Murray*'s Friends bent upon Revenge, and both ſuſtained and returned many and great Dammages; belongeth properly to the Scotiſh Hiſtory: But it much concerneth the Engliſh Story to adjoyn theſe few Scotiſh Matters following.

Bothwell ſetteth again upon the Court.

Bothwell having gathered together a tumultuary and rude Band of men out of the Borders and in *England*, where he had lurked, returned into *Scotland*, and ſet once again upon the King in the Moneth of *June* at his Houſe at *Falkland*; but with no better Succeſs then before: for no ſooner did he ſee the Courtiers begin to make Reſiſtence, but he fled with Fear and Haſte into *England*. Yet was the Chancellour removed from the Court by his Friends means. The *Jeſuites* in the mean time tempted and tampered every-where with the Noblemen for the Advancement of the Popiſh Religion. In like manner the Miniſters, leſt Religion ſhould receive any Detriment, preferred a Bill in Parliament, that they who would not profeſs the Religion eſtabliſhed in *Scotland* ſhould forthwith be Excommunicate; and if they would not then profeſs it after a Year, all their Lands and Goods ſhould be confiſcate during their Lives. Amongſt thoſe whom they Excommunicated was one *George Kerr*, a Doctour of the Law, who intending a little before the end of the Year to goe into *Spain*, the Miniſters ſo ſubtilly and cloſely purſued him, that they apprehended him as he was ready to take Ship, and while they

The *Jeſuites* promote the Romiſh Religion. The Miniſters beſtir them to the contrary.

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ſearched all his things, they found ſeverall Blanks, ſome in the form of Letters miſſive inſcribed to the King of *Spain*, others about ſecret Compacts, all of them ſubſcribed and ſealed with the Names and Seals of *William* Earl of *Angus*, *George* Earl of *Huntley*, *Francis* Earl of *Aroll*, and *Patrick Gourdon* of *Achindon*. But theſe things let the *Scots* write more at full, who know them more exactly.

An inquiry into Sir *John Perott's* Life.

The time now requireth that we return to Engliſh Matters; for *Ireland* was never more quiet. But there was a curious and rigid Inquiry made throughout the whole Iſland into the Life, Manners, Words and Actions of Sir *John Perott*, late Lord Deputy; whom for his Wiſedome and Pains taken in Diſcharge of his Truſt the Queen choſe into her Privy Councill; but *Hatton* Lord Chancellour, in Favour of a Dependent of his, and other his Adverſaries in the Court, laboured tooth and nail to put him from his Place, as a proud and haughty man. And ſo far was the matter brought, that having gotten one or two in *Ireland* to inform againſt him and accuſe him, though *Hatton* were now dead, in the Month of *Aprill* they called him to his Triall, *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer labouring what he could to the contrary. The Commiſſioners were *Henry* Lord *Hunſdon*, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Cecyl* the Lord *Burghley's* Son, (who was of late, for his great Hopefulneſs, and as a Comfort and Aſſiſtence to his Father, employed in State-Affairs, and called to be of the Privy Councill) Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and ſome of the Juſticers.

See in the Year 1587.

He is brought to Triall.

His Charge.

He was charged, firſt, to have wronged and abuſed the Queen's Majeſty by opprobrious Words, ſaying, "She was Illegitimate, "timorous and fearfull, and over-curious; that ſhe cared not for "military men; that ſhe had hindered him from bringing *Ulſter* into "Order; and that ſhe would one day ſtand in need of his Help. "Secondly, that he had relieved notorious Traitours and Romiſh "Prieſts. Thirdly, that he had held ſecret Correſpondence with the "Prince of *Parma* and the Queen's Enemies. Fourthly, that he had "cheriſhed the Rebellions of *O-Rork* and thoſe of the Houſe of *Burgh*.

His Anſwer for himſelf.

He could not deny but he had abuſed the Queen's Majeſty in Words; but anſwered, That thoſe words proceeded not from any ill Meaning: that he was ſorry at his Heart that they fell from him raſhly and unadviſedly through Anger and Indiſcretion, when he was hindered from perfecting what he had well begun in *Ireland*. The reſt of the Charge, as being neither proved by clear Evidence nor competent Witneſſes, he avoided, as being a man throughly averſe from the Popiſh Religion.

Amongſt his Accuſers and Witneſſes were *Philip Williams*, ſometimes his Secretary; *Dionyſe O-Roghan*, an Iriſh married Prieſt, to whom, after he had counterfeited his Hand, he had given a Pardon for his Life, with Intent to make uſe of him for the diſcovering the Practices of the Prieſts; and *Walton*, a man of a proſtitute Credit. Having now ſtifly defended his Cauſe till eleven of the Clock at night againſt *Popham* the Queen's Atturny and the reſt of the Lawyers, he was by the Jury of twelve men brought in guilty of Treaſon.

But

But the Sentence of Death was put off to another day: which being of neceſſity to be given, according to form of Law, was after twenty daies pronounced at the Inſtance of his Adverſaries. Upon which day it is reported that *Burghley* wept for the man's hard Fortune, and ſighing ſaid, *Hatred the more unjuſt it is, ſo much the more ſharp and cruell it is.* *O-Roghan* the Maſſe-Prieſt had a Penſion given him of forty Pounds a year. *Perott* died in the Month of *September* in the Tower of *London* of Sickneſs, when there was ſome Hope given him of Life, the Queen's Diſpleaſure being appeaſed. For at this time ſhe was often heard to commend that Reſcript of *Theodoſius*, *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, *If any man ſpeak ill of the Emperour, if it proceed of fooliſh Lightneſs, it is to be contemned; if of Madneſs, to be pitied; if of Injury and Deſpight, to be pardoned.*

1592. Condemned.

He dieth in Priſon.

His Lands came by a former Conveyance and the Queen's Favour to his Son, who married the Earl of *Eſſex* his Siſter. Thus did a well-deſerving and noble Gentleman procure his own Ruine through the unbridled and laviſh Saucineſs of his Tongue. For opprobrious Speeches do leave a deep and ſharp Impreſſion in Princes Minds.

We have formerly ſaid, that the French King encamped the laſt Year, when Cold weather came on, againſt *Rouen*, with the auxiliary *Engliſh* under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex*; and there he wintered in Miſery enough with the ſmall Forces he had. The Spring approaching, and the French King being tired out with the Inconveniences of a Winter Siege, and finding himſelf too weak to force that ſtrong City; he now deſiſted from making any nearer Approaches with his Army, (though 2000 freſh men were ſent him out of *England*,) and attempted nothing farther, nor hearkned to *Eſſex*, who, to win himſelf Glory, took upon him with the Engliſh Forces to make a Breach, and enter the City: (for the wary *French* thought it an improvident thing to expoſe that wealthy City, which they hoped might ere long be reduced under their Power, to the Pillaging of the *Engliſh*.) *Eſſex* hereupon being out of all Hope of doing any great Exploits, after he had in vain challenged *Villars*, Governour of *Rouen*, to a ſingle Combat, left his men much waſted and leſſened to the Truſt and Care of Sir *Roger Williams*, and bade the French King Farewell, haſtening over into *England*, being called Home by the Queen, and alſo advertiſed by his Friends, that his Adverſaries at Court had poſſeſſed the Queen's Ears, and, taking Advantage of his Abſence, cunningly drew her Favour from him. Within a few days after, the French King alſo himſelf, his men ſlipping daily away, the Enemy often ſallying forth, and the Prince of *Parma* being ready to come upon him, began to break up this lingering Siege, and leaving ſome of his Forces in the Camp, betook himſelf with the reſt to *Diep*. For the Prince of *Parma* being now called in a ſecond time by the French Leaguers, he and *Rainutio* his Son entred again with an Army into *France*, and, making Shew as if he would relieve the Garriſon in *Chaumert*, took *Chaſteau-Neuf*: and afterwards skirmiſhing with good Succeſs againſt the Kings Horſe at *Aumarl*, put ſuch Courage into

Eſſex returneth out of *France*.

The French King quits the Siege of *Rouen*.

Parma entreth again into *France*.

His Exploits.

1592. into thoſe of *Rouen*, that they ſallied forth, fell upon the King's Camp, and ſeized upon his Ordnance. *Parma* now came back to *Abbeville*, as if he would return Home. The King thought him to be returned, and for want of Victuals and Proviſion brake up his Siege, diſcharging a great part of his Army. But the Prince of *Parma* preſently taking the Opportunity, purſued his Enterpriſe with greater Forces, took *Caudebeck*, and opened the River *Seine* for conveying of Victuals into the famiſhed Citie: entring *Rouen*, he confirmed the Rebels, and with a military Policy ſtill refuſing to engage with the Enemy, he returned Home indiſpoſed in Body, and not without the Loſs of many men. At which time how valiantly the *Engliſh* behaved themſelves in Fight, when the Van of the Leaguers were driven out of their Trenches at *Tvetot* and routed, the King himſelf teſtified in his Letters to the Queen ſent from *Viccara-Ville*, wherein he extolled Sir *Roger Williams* as another *Cæſar*, and commended Sir *Matthew Morgan*.

His Return.

The valour of the *Engliſh*.

The King, being well-nigh overwhelmed with the great Weight of this War, was compelled to fly again to Queen *Elizabeth* for a Supply of Proviſion for War and 6000 Men for the Britiſh Service. She conſented to ſend him 4000 men, ſome Pieces of Ordnance and Proviſion; contracting hereupon with *Beavoir Noclé* and *Sancy*, who were ſent Commiſſioners or Embaſſadours from the King, "That "the King ſhould neither make Peace with the Leaguers, unleſs they "firſt ſubmitted themſelves, and gave the King their Aſſiſtence to "expell the *Spaniards* out of *France*, nor with the *Spaniards*, but "with her Conſent: That he ſhould aſſign the *Engliſh* during their "Employment in *Bretaigne* a fortified Town and a Haven for a place "of Retreat: That he ſhould joyn unto them 4000 French Foot "and 1000 Horſe: That he ſhould repay within a Year the Charges "of Tranſporting, and the Money expended for the Souldiers Pay: "and That this Contract ſhould be recorded in the Chamber of "Accompts. Hereupon *Norris*, who had been called Home out of *Bretaigne* to inform the Queen of the State of things there, was ſent thither again in the Month of *October*. Where when the *French* joyned not with him, nor performed Promiſes, but himſelf was drawn out of *Bretaigne*, poaſted hither and thither, and commanded to ſerve with his Forces in *La Maine* and *Normandy*, whilſt the *Spaniards* ſtrengthened themſelves in *Bretaigne*, the Queen took it very ill, and in vain required the Performance of Promiſes by her Letters; and ſhe had gone nigh to have called her men Home, had ſhe not been certainly informed that the Prince of *Parma* had a Purpoſe to come now the third time into *France*, with Recruits for the Spaniſh Army in *Bretaigne*, and to ſeize upon the Port-towns there.

Succours ſent again to the French King. Upon what conditions.

Conditions not kept.

But while he was preparing for this Expedition, he died, when he had governed the *Low-Countries* under the *Spaniard* the ſpace of 14 Years. A Prince he was accompliſhed with all Vertues befitting a Commander, and had deſervedly gained both Love and Honour even amongſt

The death of the Prince of *Parma*.

1592.

amongſt his Enemies; whom Queen *Elizabeth* never named but with great Reſpect and Commendations, yet warily, leſt her Praiſes might turn to his Prejudice.

Raleigh ſent into *America*.

The Queen in the mean time (knowing well that the *Spaniard* carried on his Wars not ſo much by the Strength of *Spain* as with the Gold of *America*, whereby he every-where dived into the Secrets of Princes, corrupted and diſcovered their Counſels, and undermined their Subjects Fidelities) reſolved to ſend Sir *Walter Raleigh* with 15 Men of War into *America*, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Panama*, whither the Gold is brought to be ſhipped, or to intercept the *Spaniſh* Fleet. But being kept by contrary Winds full three Months in the Haven, he ſet Sail ſomewhat too late. Having paſſed the Spaniſh Cape called *Finis terræ*, or the Land's end, he received certain Intelligence, that the King of *Spain* had commanded that no man ſhould ſet Sail from *America* this Year. Shortly after a violent Tempeſt diſperſed the Engliſh Fleet all over the Sea, and drowned their Ship-boats, whereby he loſt the Opportunity of his Deſign, and, intending to return himſelf, divided the Fleet into two Parts: the one whereof he committed to Sir *John Borroughs* the Lord *Borroughs* his ſecond Son; the other to Sir *Martin Forbiſher*. To Sir *Martin* he gave in Charge to lie off and on upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, and to hinder the coming in of Shipping. And Sir *John Borroughs* he commanded to wait at the *Azores* for the coming of the Caracks out of the *Eaſt-Indies*. And this Deſign proved not wholly fruitleſs: for while the Spaniſh Admirall had an eye upon *Forbiſher*, he neglected the Defence of the Caracks. *Borroughs* (to ſay nothing of the ſmall Ships he took from the *Spaniards*, and out of what great Danger he happily freed himſelf by his great Valour, being hemmed in between the Spaniſh Shoar and the Enemie's Fleet,) arriving at *Santa Cruce*, a ſmall Town in the Iſle of *Flores*, after a few daies got Sight of a *Portugall* Carack attended upon by three Engliſh Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland*'s ready to fall upon her: but they could not come quite up with her by reaſon of a great Calm. But a Storm ariſing in the Night forced both the *Engliſh* and the *Portugueezes* to weigh Anchour. As ſoon as Day appeared, the *Engliſh* ſaw the *Portugueezes*, both Merchants and Mariners, unlading the Carack in all Haſte at the *Flores*, who, as ſoon as the *Engliſh* approached, preſently ſet Fire to the Ship. *Borroughs* being informed by one or two Priſoners he had taken that other greater Caracks were behind, diſpoſed all the Ships he had for the ſpace of two Leagues near the Iſland, and ſpred them to ſuch an Extent, that they might eaſily diſcern all things round about them at a great Diſtance. They had not long waited, when a huge Carack, called the *Mother of God*, which was 165 Foot long from the Prow to the Stern, and 7 Decks high, approached them, laden with rich Merchandize, and manned with 600 men.

The Deſign faileth.

He divideth his Fleet.

Borroughs chaſeth a Spaniſh Carack.

He taketh another.

This Carack the *Engliſh* played upon furiouſly with their Ordnance

1592. nance from all ſides with various Succeſs, being the more encouraged in Hope of a rich Prize. Yet they ſoon ſtood off, being terrified with the Talneſs of the Ship and the Multitude of Defendants, untill Sir *Robert Croſſe* laid the Queen's Ship called the *Providence* croſs the Prow of the Carack, and maintained the Fight three whole Hours alone. And then alſo the reſt on all ſides ſo ſet upon her, eſpecially at the Stern, that no man durſt any longer manage the Rudder. The firſt man that entred was *Croſſe*, followed ſoon after by others. Having gotten the Victory, they found all places full of ſlaughtered Bodies, and men half dead confuſedly mixt with the dead, and whole men with the wounded, which was a lamentable and ſad Sight to ſee: inſomuch as their Hearts were touched with Pity, and they uſed the Victory with Moderation and Mercy. The Booty which they brought Home was worth by Report one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds Engliſh, beſides what the Commanders, Seamen and Soultiers, out of their natural ravenous Greedineſs, had purloyned and imbezelled. But though ſtrict Inquiry were made by Commiſſioners after this kind of men, touching the Goods imbezelled, as if they had not payed the due Cuſtome; and a Proclamation put forth (as others had been oftentimes before) that they ſhould bring forth the Goods they had privily conveyed away, unleſs they would ſuffer Puniſhment for their Fault as Thieves and Pirates: yet for all this their Diſhoneſty was too hard both for the Induſtry and Care of the Commiſſioners, and the Rigour of the Proclamation, whilſt they forſwore what they were charged with. For they ſaid, *they had rather venture their Souls in the Hands of a mercifull God by Perjury, then their Fortunes gotten with Perill and Hazzard of their Lives in the Hands of unmercifull Men.*

The Booty.

A great part thereof imbezelled.

The baſe avarice of ſome Merchants.

And verily no leſs was the Diſhoneſty of certain Merchants, who out of an inſatiable Avarice, while the War thus openly brake forth (though it were not declared) between the *Engliſh* and the *Spaniards*, ſecretly furniſhed the *Spaniards* with Ordnance, as well Braſs as Iron, wherewith they furniſhed their Ships. Which as ſoon as the Queen found out, ſhe prohibited the ſame by a ſtrict Proclamation, under ſuch Penalties as are due to thoſe who aid the Enemies of their Country. And withall ſhe forbad the Iron-workers from thenceforth to caſt any Ordnance bigger then thoſe which are called Minions, and not of above ſixteen thouſand Pound weight.

A proclamation concerning Ordnance.

The Queen viſiteth the Univerſity of *Oxford.*

The Queen going on Progreſs in the Summer-months took her Journey through *Oxford*, where ſhe ſtayed ſeverall days, being entertained to her Satisfaction with elegant Orations, Comedies, and learned Diſputations, and nobly feaſted by the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Chancellour of the Univerſity. At her Departure ſhe bade them Farewell in a Latine Oration, wherein ſhe profeſſed, that ſhe preferred the ſincere and hearty Love of the Univerſity-men far before all other their Delights and Entertainments, though they were highly pleaſing to her. For which their Love ſhe rendred them abundant Thanks,

Thanks, uttered a ſhort Prayer, and gave them Counſell. Her Prayer was, That as ſhe wiſhed nothing more then the Safety of the whole Kingdome, with the perfect Happineſs, Security and Honour thereof; ſo alſo that the Univerſity (as being one of the Lights of the Kingdome) might daily ſhine more glorioully, and for ever flouriſh. Her Counſell was, That they would firſt ſerve God, not after the curious and novell Fancies of ſome, but according to the Laws of God and the Land; that they would not run before the Laws, but follow them; not diſpute whether better might not be enacted, but obſerve thoſe in force already; obey their Superiours; and, laſtly, embrace one another in brotherly Pietie and Concord. 1592.

This Summer, as alſo the laſt, there was ſo great a Drought all over *England*, that not onely the Fields were parched, but Fountains alſo were dried up, and a great many Beaſts died every-where for want of Water. The *Thames* alſo, the nobleſt River of all *Britain*, then which no River in all *Europe* hath a farther flowing in of the Ocean, (for it ſwelleth twice in a naturall day above 60 Miles from the Mouth of it, and is increaſed with the falling in of many Rivers and Streams from all parts,) failed ſo of Water on the fifth day of *September*, to the great Admiration of all men, that a man might ride over it near *London* Bridge, the Channell was ſo ſhallow. Whether this were occaſioned by that Drought, or the impetuous Violence of a North-Eaſt Wind, which blew furiouſly for the ſpace of two daies together, and as well drove the freſh Waters upward, as kept back the Sea-tide, I cannot ſay: eſpecially the Moon being now at full and inclining Southward, and the Æquinoctiall being at hand, at which times Sea-faring men have obſerved that the Tides riſe higheſt in the *Thames*. There were ſome who argued out of the Secrets of deep Philoſophy, that this happened by ſome hidden Quality and Force of Nature, ſaying that, *as the Quartan Ague cometh at its Hour; as the Gout obſerveth its Time; as a Purgation, if nothing hinder it, keepeth a ſet Day; and as the Birth is ready at its Month: ſo have the Waters their Diſtances of time in which they ebbe and flow. But ſome Diſtances, becauſe they are leſſer, are therefore eaſie to be obſerved: and ſome are greater, and no leſs certain. And what marvell, when we ſee that the Order of things and the Courſe of Nature proceedeth according to ſet and fixed Seaſons? The Winter hath never miſt its time; the Summer hath ſtill grown hot in its Seaſon; Autumn and the Spring come in their Turns as as they uſe to doe; as well the Solſtice as the Æquinoctiall keep their due times. There are alſo under the Earth certain Laws and Rules of Nature, not ſo well known to us, but yet no leſs certain. Believe, whatſoever thou ſeeſt above the Earth, the ſame to be alſo found beneath it.*

The *Thames* faileth of water.

A gueſs at the Reaſon thereof.

This Year quietly and peaceably departed this Life *Anthony Brown* Viſcount *Montacute*, (Son of *Anthony* Maſter of the Queen's Horſe and Standard-bearer of *England*,) whom Queen *Mary* honoured with this Title, becauſe his Grandmother was the Daughter and one

The death of Viſcount *Montacute*.

1592. of the Heirs of *John Nevill* Marqueſs *Montacute*; conferred upon him alſo the Order of the Garter, and ſent him to *Rome* with other Perſons, to tender Obedience to the See of *Rome* in the name and behalf of the whole Realm. Queen *Elizabeth* having had experience of his Fidelity held him in great Eſteem, (though he were a ſtrong Roman Catholick,) and a little before his Death gave him a Viſit. For ſhe knew that he adhered to that Religion becauſe he had been from a Child bred up therein, and out of the Perſwaſion of his Conſcience, not out of Faction, as many others did. *Anthony* his Son's Son ſucceeded him, who no-ways degenerated from his Grandfather.

And of *Henry* Lord *Scrope*. About the ſame time died *Henry* Lord *Scrope* of *Bolton*, who was alſo Knight of the Order of the Garter, and Warden of the *Weſt March* towards *Scotland*, a man often mentioned; leaving for Succeſſour his Son *Thomas*, born of *Margaret Howard*, Siſter to *Thomas* the laſt Duke of *Norfolk*.

And of Judge *Wray*. And (who muſt not be paſſed over in Silence) *Chriſtopher Wray*, Lord Chief Juſticer in the King's Bench, a man alſo already often made Mention of, and to be reverenced for his deep Learning in the Law, his Integrity and Conſtancy; happy in his Iſſue, and one who deſerved well of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Cambridge*. After him ſucceeded in this Office *John Popham*, the Queen's Atturney, a man of a cenſorious Sharpneſs and Severity.

The Six and thirtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1593.

A Parliament holden. IN the Month of *February* the Eſtates of *England*, being aſſembled in Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, made ſeverall Laws, for Reſtraining of Schiſmaticks and Popiſh Recuſants, who themſelves refuſed and diſſwaded others from going to Church; alſo about the Lands and Poſſeſſions of Monaſteries inveſted in King *Henry* the Eighth; for Relieving of diſtreſſed Souldiers and Sea-men; for prohibiting building of new Houſes within three Miles of the City of *London*; and concerning divers other matters. And when they had ſeriouſly conſidered (I ſpeak out of the very Acts of Parliament) with how obſtinate Minds the Enemies bent themſelves to work the Deſtruction of *England*, by ſuppreſſing its Confederates in *France*, *Scotland*, and the *Low-Countries*, and ſeizing upon Places convenient for Invading of *England*; they thought it very neceſſary to grant the Queen a Supply by Subſidies, for the Defenſe of the Land againſt the impending Dangers. Acknowledging therefore and extolling the great and heroick Magnanimity in their Princeſſe, a Woman, together with her provident Care of and ſingular Goodneſs

Subſidies granted.

neſs towards her Subjects, who (leſt ſhe ſhould burthen her People with Payments) had in a War carried on with ſuch happy Succeſs againſt a wealthy and potent Nation ſpent ſo much Money out of her Treaſury as never any of her Predeceſſours did, and that not onely in defending her own Kingdoms, but alſo in juſtly relieving her Confederates according to Contract; they with moſt thankfull and ready Hearts granted, the Clergy two entire Subſidies, and the Laiety three, with ſix Fifteens and Tenths, to be payed at ſuch a prefixed time. But they humbly prayed, that in regard theſe Proceedings were to be left to Poſterity upon Record, it might be in expreſs words provided, that theſe ſo many and ſo large Subſidies, beyond what former Ages had ever heard of, and now granted extraordinarily to ſo Excellent a Princeſs upon ſuch urgent Occaſions, might not be drawn into Example for the future. 1593.

The Queen being preſent upon the laſt day of the Parliament, to put Life (as it were) into the Laws by her Aſſent, profeſſing her intire Love to her Subjects, in the firſt place proteſted, that ſhe had always employed her whole Cares and Endeavours to the Advancement of God's Glory and the Good of the Commonwealth, and upon theſe two ſhe had expended whatſoever they had hitherto contributed. Then with a fluent Eloquence and Princely Boldneſs ſhe briefly ran over, how far ſhe had ever been from any cowardly want of Courage, for, relying upon God, and truſting to the Shield of a good Conſcience, ſhe could not fear, no not the moſt potent Enemies. Laſtly, to encourage them the more, ſhe diſcourſed elegantly of the Fortitude and Valour of the *Engliſh*, and amongſt other things, that the very Enemy did acknowledge the *Engliſh* Nation, out of an inbred Courage and Spirit, to be ready for any dangerous Exploits; and this they had often found by Experience to their Coſt, though they diſſembled it, and ſhould find it more fully, and to the greater Glory of the *Engliſh*, provided they did not ſleep in Security, ſo as to be taken unprovided. For no man will dare to provoke a Nation furniſhed with Courage and Arms for Revenge, and think to eſcape unpuniſhed. In concluſion, ſhe thanked them for their Subſidy-money, promiſing that ſhe would dedicate all her Cogitations to God and the Commonwealth. The Queen's Speech to the Eſtates in Parliament.

How ſhe performed this towards God, by inflicting Puniſhment on *Henry Barow* and his Sectaries, who (by ſowing monſtrous Opinions, condemning the Church of *England*, and derogating from the Queen's Authority in Eccleſiaſticall Matters,) began to diſturb the Peace of the Church, let the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorian relate. But how towards the Commonwealth, may appear by this that followeth. *Barow* a Sectary put to death.

As ſhe uſed great Care and Diligence to weaken the *Spaniards*, to cumber and buſy them elſewhere, and to remove them out of *Bretaigne* in *France*; ſo uſed ſhe no leſs to keep them from Landing in *Scotland*, fearing leſt the turbulent Confuſion which I mentioned to Her Care for *Scotland*.

1593.

Danger from the *Spaniards* on that ſide.

be in *Scotland* might open an Entrance for the *Spaniard*, to the Deſtruction of both Kingdoms. For ſhe had ſome time ſince received certain Intelligence, (as I ſaid before) that the Popiſh Noblemen in *Scotland* had by the cunning Practices of the Prieſts conſpired to call the *Spaniards* into *Scotland*, to change Religion there, and to attempt *England* on that ſide: and that to this purpoſe *Creichton* the *Jeſuite* had ſeverall times croſſed the Seas into the *Low-Countries* and *Spain*, which *Creichton* for his great Age ſhe had before releaſed out of Priſon upon his faithfull Word and Promiſe, that he would plot nothing againſt *England*. She foreſaw alſo how eaſily the Common people of *Scotland* in the Weſtern parts, being for the moſt part poor and needy, might be corrupted with Spaniſh Gold; how full of Havens and Harbours thoſe Coaſts were, where they might land without any Hinderance; how warlike the Nation was, and abounding in Horſe; how eaſie the Entrance was from thence into *England*, as it were by the Back-door; moreover, how uncertain and fickle the Loyalty of the *Engliſh* bordering upon *Scotland* was, who were moſt of them Papiſts, and the reſt deſirous of Innovation and Change, whoſe Eſtates and Hopes lay in their Swords; and that there was always in ſuch caſe more Courage and Reſolution in the Aſſailers then in the Defenders, who, as it were, caſt the Dice for their own Share onely, but thoſe for other mens.

She adviſeth the King.

His ready Care for his Country.

Of theſe things therefore ſhe informed the King of *Scots*, and adviſed him to ſuppreſs thoſe Scotiſh Noblemen betimes, and to exerciſe his Royall Authority againſt his Seditious Subjects, leſt he might ſeem to reign upon Courteſy and at their Pleaſure. Theſe very things he had already begun to doe of his own Accord, by making ſtrict Laws againſt Papiſts and their Favourers; by puniſhing *David Graham* of *Fentre*, who was one of the Acceſſaries to the Conſpiracy; and by proſecuting the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Aroll*, whom he ſoon defeated.

Bothwell in *England*.

Bothwell lurked in the mean time in *England*, where he wrote diſſembling and flattering Letters to the Queen, (though he had formerly deſerved very ill at her Hands,) promiſing that if he might be received into the King's Favour, he would faithfully ſerve the King, and weaken the Spaniſh Faction in *Scotland*; and earneſtly beſought her to mediate with the King for his Pardon.

The Lord *Burgh* Embaſſadour into *Scotland*.

But ſhe, (as ſoon as ſhe underſtood that the King took great Diſtaſt that he was entertained in *England*,) deteſting the man's impious Boldneſs, (who had once or twice endeavoured Violence againſt his Prince, the expreſs Image of God, and had put him in great Fear,) ſent the Lord *Burgh* or *Borough* Embaſſadour into *Scotland*, to aſſure the King, that *Bothwell* had ſecretly crept into *England*, and that ſhe would puniſh thoſe who had harboured him; as alſo to incite the King againſt the Spaniſh Faction, and procure a new Aſſociation of the Proteſtants in *Scotland* for the Preſervation of the King and the Defenſe of Religion, with united Hearts and Hands,

Hands, againſt all Forreiners and Seditious Subjects: which was a while after entred into. 1593.

The King being returned out of the Northern Parts, the Lord *Borough* required theſe things of him in Writing: "That he would "inform the Queen of the Deſigns of the *Spaniards* againſt *England*: "That he would maintain the Dignity of his Royall Majeſty by ex- "ecuting Juſtice: That if he could not inflict Juſtice upon the Per- "ſons of his Traitours, yet he would confiſcate their Goods and "Eſtates: That he would take for his Counſellours men of appro- "ved Truſt and Fidelity: That he would ſatisfy the Queen of theſe "things under his own Hand, that ſo ſhe and the reſt of the Princes "of the ſame Religion might ſee how providently carefull and rea- "dy he was to reſiſt the Enemy: laſtly, That he would take Order "for firmly keeping and maintaining Peace on the Borders. If theſe things were performed, he promiſed that the Queen would be wanting in no good Offices to him; and acquainted him how ſeverely ſhe had puniſhed thoſe *Engliſh* who had harboured *Bothwell*. His Demands and Promiſe from the Queen.

To theſe Demands the King anſwered particularly from Point to Point: "That he had truly informed her of all things he knew con- "cerning the *Spaniards* Deſigns: That he had proſecuted his Re- "bels as far as conveniently he could; that he had put ſome of "them to Death, and puniſhed others in their Goods and Eſtates; "that he had appointed Lieutenants in their Countries, and would "proſcribe them by Act of Parliament; that after their Proſcripti- "on he would confiſcate their Eſtates: That he would take for his "Counſellours men of ſolid Judgement, and ſound in Religion, and "true Lovers of their Country: That he would atteſt all theſe "things under his Hand: That he would take the beſt Courſe he "could concerning the Buſineſs of the Borders. But it was good "Reaſon, that for the Performance of theſe things the Queen ſhould "ſupply him with Money, to enable him to reſiſt as well the *Spani- "ards* as his own Rebels, who were now grown very rich and pow- "erfull. Laſtly, he required that ſhe would puniſh *Bothwel's* Fa- vourers, and (ſeeing he was a man for his inexpiable Crimes to be worthily deteſted of all Princes for Example's ſake) that ſhe would deliver him up into his Hands, if he now abode in *England*. Foraſ- much as he could not but account the Friends of ſuch an Enemy in the number of his own Enemies. The King's Anſwer. His Demands.

Nevertheleſs, certain *Scots* having perſwaded the Queen that the King favoured the Popiſh Earls in *Scotland*, Anſwer was made to *Robert Melvill*, when he demanded the Delivery of *Bothwell*, and alſo Aſſiſtence againſt the Rebels, "That *Bothwell* ſhould be delivered "according to the Agreement in former Treaties, or elſe turned out "of *England*: That by the League Aſſiſtence was not to be given "but againſt Strangers. Yet was there ſome Money ſent: and *Both- well*, who was proclaimed Traitour by the Eſtates of *Scotland*, re- turning privily Home, was about the ſame time unexpectedly brought by *Bothwell* demanded out of *England*. The Queen's Anſwer. *Bothwell* returneth into *Scotland*.

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Pardoned by the King upon Conditions.

by his Friends into the King's Chamber, where he fell on his Knees at the King's Feet, threw his Sword on the Ground, and begged Pardon; and, through their importunate Interceſſion, obtained the ſame upon certain Conditions. Viz. "That he ſhould depart from "the King's Preſence; That he ſhould appear to his Triall concer- "ning the Crime objected againſt him for Conſulting with Witches; "That he ſhould attempt nothing againſt the King's Officers; "That if he were acquitted of the Crime of Conſulting with Wit- "ches, he ſhould depart the Realm, and reſide for a time in ſuch a "place as the King ſhould appoint or approve of. Nevertheleſs, the

He behaveth himſelf moſt inſolently.

next day after he was acquitted he forcibly carried away ſome of the King's Officers out of the Court; and ſo ſtrong grew his Faction in the Court, that the King, for his own Security, and the Tranquillity and Quiet of the Realm, not onely reſtored him and his Rebellious Followers to their Poſſeſſions, but alſo removed from the Court the Chancellour, the Treaſurer, the Lord *Humes*, and *George Humes*, whom he looked upon as his moſt faithfull Servants.

But the truth is, within one Moneth, when the King had with a troubled Mind conſidered ſeriouſly with himſelf, how theſe things, which were moſt unbeſeeming his Majeſty, were unjuſtly extorted from him and againſt his Will, he declared in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, that he was in no better a Condition then a meer Captive, and was flatly *Bothwell*'s Priſoner; and that he could no longer endure, that his Subject, who had thrice lewdly aſſaulted his Houſe, ſhould triumph over him and his Miniſters, men of ſo good Merit and Deſert. And he ſoon prevailed with the Eſtates to declare him a free Prince, and that he might exerciſe his Regall Authority and chuſe his Counſellours and Officers at his Pleaſure. Hereupon he calleth back his Chancellour and the reſt of his Friends to the Court, and repealeth thoſe things which he had againſt his Will granted to *Bothwell*.

The King vindicateth his Authority.

Bothwell and his Aſſociates again pardoned.

Yet ſuch was the Mildneſs of his Nature, that he vouchſafed to grant him (though a man that had ſo ill deſerved) and all his Complices a Pardon for all Miſdemeanours paſt, and to reſtore them to their Eſtates, ſo as they would with Submiſſion ſue to him for the ſame, and that his Companions would live quietly at Home, and not come at the Court unleſs they were called; that *Bothwell* ſhould within a prefixed time depart beyond Sea, and continue in ſome certain Places abroad as long as the King thought good. Thus did the Court in a ſhort time ſee divers Changes; and *Bothwell*, meditating greater Miſchiefs, lived in Exile for a little time, or rather lurked in the Confines of both Kingdoms.

Bothwell baniſhed.

The Scotiſh Miniſters troubleſome.

Yet was not *Scotland* wholly quiet, the Miniſters of the Word being very angry, and putting the King to Trouble, becauſe he did not proſecute the Papiſts with Fire and ſword; againſt whom they themſelves aſſembled, and, not expecting the King's Command, convocated the Barons and Burgeſſes to conſult about them, leſt Religion and the Commonwealth might receive any Detriment.

At

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Queen *Elizabeth* cleareth herſelf of Calumnies concerning her favouring the *Turk*.

At this time were ſet forth in *Germany* certain ſcandalous Libels againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, as if ſhe had invited the *Turk* to make War upon Chriſtendome, and the Letters which ſhe had ſent to the *Turk* were publiſhed, but moſt unfaithfully falſified and corrupted, many things being added, and divers contumelious and ſcandalous matters falſly and maliciouſly feigned and deviſed. The Queen hereupon ſent a Meſſenger to the Emperour, and cleared herſelf ſo far from theſe Calumnies and Aſperſions, that the Books were prohibited, and Copies thereof publickly burnt at *Prague*: and ſhe both offered and did her beſt Endeavour to remove the *Turk* from his Attempts; which the Emperour gladly and thankfully acknowledged. And the truth is, there paſſed nothing betwixt the *Turk* and her, more then that her Subjects might trade ſecurely in his Empire: in which reſpect ſhe had an Agent at *Conſtantinople*, to negotiate the Merchants Concernments at their own Charges, juſt as the *French* King, the *Polonian*, the State of *Venice*, and others alſo, had.

She endeavoureth to reconcile the *Swede* and *Moſcovite*. The *Tranſylvanian* and *Turk*.

She earneſtly alſo endeavoured, as an honourable Umpire, to make Peace between the *Swede* and the *Moſcovite*: as alſo between the *Turk* and *Sigiſmund Bathor*, Prince or *Vaivod* (as they call him) of *Tranſylvania*. For whereas the *Turk* incroached beyond the Bounds heretofore agreed upon, and impoſed Taxes upon him not onely contrary to the Tenour of the League, but alſo above the Means and Ability of the Country; the Prince earneſtly requeſted her by *Stephen Kakaſy*, that *ſhe would imploy all the Intereſt and Credit ſhe had in the* Turkiſh *Court, that nothing might be exacted above the ancient Agreement, or any Incroachment be made upon the Bounds and Limits of his Country*. Which (foraſmuch as the Buſineſs concerned a Chriſtian People and Province) ſhe, according to the Commiſeration wherewith ſhe was wont to relieve the Afflicted, willingly undertook, and diligently proſecuted with effect.

Norris his acts in *Bretaigne*.

In vain did *Norris* ſpend all the laſt Winter in *Bretaigne*, ſtill expecting Marſhall *D' Aumont* and *Fr. Eſpinay* of *Saint Luke*, who had promiſed to joyn their Forces with him: during which time Sickneſs conſumed many of the *Engliſh*, and the Queen disburſed weekly for their Pay above 3200 *l.* Engliſh. But now at laſt, in the Month of *April*, *Eſpinay* joyned his Troups with him: upon which they ſoon defeated *Ravendere*'s Company at *Saint Supplice*, forced *Guerch* to yield, and put to Flight the Forces of the Governour of *Lavall*, killing many of them; but *Randolph*, *Purley* and *Chriſtmas*, ſtout Engliſh Commanders, were ſlain in the Service.

The French King reconciled to the Church of *Rome*.

When *D' Aumont* ſtill delayed his coming into *Bretaigne*, and as yet no Place of Safety and Retreat was aſſigned the *Engliſh*, as had been agreed, the Queen called *Norris* Home: *D' Aumont* on the other ſide made humble Interceſſion by Letters to the Queen, that he might not be recalled; yea, he earneſtly beſought her that a new Supply of men might be ſent over.

Whilſt the Queen, upon account of Religion, did with ſo great Expen-

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An Agent ſent into *France*.

The King declareth the cauſe which moved him to change his Religion.

Expences and ſuch carefull Thoughts relieve the French King, who now diſtruſted his own Condition, and ran a great Hazzard; a ſtrong Rumour was ſpred in *England*, that he either would, or had already embraced the Romiſh Religion. Hereupon was *Thomas Wilkes* ſent over into *France*, to underſtand the Certainty thereof; and if he had not yet changed his Religion, to diſſwade him by ſolid Reaſons contained in Writing. But before his Arrival the King had made a publick Profeſſion of the Roman Catholick Religion at *Saint Denys*; although ſome Papiſts of Religious Orders at that very time plotted againſt his Life. But he ingenuouſly declared to *Wilkes* the Cauſes that moved him to forſake his Religion, which were to this Purpoſe. *When I was firſt* (ſaith he) *admitted King of* France, *I took an Oath that I would within ſuch a prefixed time be inſtructed in the Roman Catholick Religion: neither was I admitted upon any other Condition. This Inſtructing I have deferred now full four Years: neither did I at laſt condeſcend unto it but againſt my Will. For the King my Predeceſſour being taken away, his Counſellours and Officers were of neceſſity to be retained by me: to their Votes and Suffrages, as being the greater Number, I was in all Conſultations to yield; and by their politick Arts and Diſcoveries all my Deſigns againſt the Leaguers have been ſo prevented, that for the moſt part they have failed of Succeſs. Thoſe Proteſtants whom I had taken into my Privy Council were ſeldome preſent in Council, being too intent upon their own Affairs: ſo as being forſaken by them, in whom I had put my chief Truſt and Hope, and withall fearing leſt I ſhould alſo be forſaken of the Papiſts, I could doe no other but acquieſce in their Counſels. I alſo ſeriouſly proteſt, that as ſoon as I was called to the Crown, 800 Gentlemen and nine Regiments of Proteſtants returned to their own Homes, neither could I by any means keep them with me, inſomuch as I had none but my domeſticall Servants of my Chamber left about me. The Papiſts, when they ſaw me thus forſaken of mine own Party, began to dominear, and preſs me to change my Religion, ſaying, That the Catholicks could not with a ſafe Conſcience obey an Heretick. Yet I delayed the matter from day to day ſo long, till I found mine own Weakneſs, (that, being upholden with but ſmall Help of Friends, I was altogether unable to reſiſt the joynt Forces of the Pope, the* Spaniard *and the Leaguers,) and that a Third Faction, conſiſting of the Princes of the Bloud, the great Officers of the Realm, the Prelates, and a great number of the Gentry, plotted with the Governours of the Provinces and Cities, to abandon me, as a profeſſed Heretick, and to cantonize the Provinces amongſt them. When I could not otherwiſe prevent theſe mens Deſigns, I gave them my faithfull Promiſe that I would be inſtructed in the Roman Catholick Religion. They allowed me a Month or two for my Information therein, and ſent to* Rome *to procure an Abſolution, and my formal Receiving into the Boſome of the Church. The Leaguers, to prevent this, made all the Haſte they could to chuſe another King; many of the Nobility promiſed their Service to the Duke of* Guiſe *as their future King, provided the Governments which*

which they then held might be granted them for a perpetual Inheritance and Propriety. I therefore deliberately reſolved forthwith to embrace the Catholick Religion. Yet did the Prelates refuſe to admit me into the Church without firſt conſulting the Biſhop of Rome; *untill with much adoe I perſwaded them to admit of my Converſion without Inſtruction or Diſputation. Hereby I wholly joyned to me the Third Faction, I prevented the Election of the Duke of* Guiſe, *I gained the Love of the French People, I made the Great Duke of* Florence *my faſt Friend in matters of greateſt Concernment, and I freed the Reformed Religion from all Blot or Imputation, wherewith it muſt neceſſarily have been branded, had my Converſion been wrought either by Inſtruction or Diſputation.* 1593.

Morlante in the mean time telleth the Queen all the very ſame things, and with fair and ſpecious words offereth her all Kindneſſe in the King his Maſter's behalf. She, being much troubled and diſquieted in Mind, ſnatched up her Pen, and a while after ſent this Letter to him.

The Queen's Letter of complaint concerning his changing his Religion.

Alas! what deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighs have I felt at my Heart for the things which Morlante *hath told me of? Alas! is the World come to this paſs? Was it poſſible that any Worldly matter ſhould make you quit the Fear of God? Can we expect any happy Iſſue of ſuch a Fact? Or could you think that he who hath hitherto with his own Right hand upholden and preſerved you, would now forſake you? It is a very dangerous thing to doe Evill that Good may come of it. Yet I hope a ſober Spirit will put you into a better Minde. In the mean time I will not omit to make it a principall part of my Prayers, the recommending you to God, beſeeching him that the Hands of* Eſau *may not loſe you the Bleſſing of* Jacob. *Whereas you do religiouſly and ſolemnly offer me your Friendſhip; I know to my great Coſt I have well deſerved it: neither ſhould I repent that, had you not changed your Father. Verily from henceforth I cannot be your Siſter by the Father; for the truth is, I ſhall ever more dearly love and honour mine own Father, then a falſe and counterfeit one: which God knoweth very well, who (I beſeech him) bring you back again to a better Mind.*

Subſcribed,

Your Siſter, if it be after the old manner; as for the new, I have nothing to doe with it.

Elizabeth R.

This her great Grief ſhe ſought to allay by reading the Sacred Scriptures and the Writings of the Holy Fathers, likewiſe by frequent Conferences with the Archbiſhop; and whether out of the Philoſophers Books alſo, I know not. Sure I am that at this time ſhe had *Boëtius* his Books *De Conſolatione* daily in her Hands, and tranſlated them very handſomely into the Engliſh Tongue.

She tranſlateth *Boëtius*.

Wilkes in the mean time complained to the French King, that his

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his Promiſes as to things in *Bretaigne* were not performed; and that *D' Aumont*'s Lingring was a notorious Dammage to the Queen, both in the Loſs of her men and Expenſe of Money, and to the King no way ſerviceable or advantageous; alſo that the Queen would not augment her auxiliary Forces in *Bretaigne*, or maintain them there, unleſs ſome ſafe Place of Retreat might be granted them. The King laid the Fault upon the great Negligence of *D' Aumont*; promiſed to remedy all Inconveniences, and to reſolve upon ſome Courſe with his Councill about a place of Retreat. Of all theſe things he alſo informed the Queen at large by *Moüy*, a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, acknowledging himſelf beholden to her both for the Safety of his Perſon and Royal Dignity; and promiſed, that as ſoon as his Affairs were ſettled, and the Truce ended, he would march with an Army into *Bretaigne*. In the mean time a Contract was made between the Queen and him at *Melun*, in the Month of *Auguſt*, under their Hands and Seals, *bonâ fide* and in the word of Princes, that with united Forces they ſhould make War offenſive and defenſive againſt the *Spaniard*, as long as he ſhould make War with either of them; and that they ſhould make no Peace with him but by mutual Conſent, and both of them to be comprehended in the Peace.

The French King excuſeth his breach of Promiſes.

He maketh a Contract with the Queen.

The *Engliſh* neglected.

For all this was *Bretaigne* neglected by him, *France* being lamentably afflicted with War in the very Bowels and Heart of the Kingdome: neither could the *Engliſh* obtain either *Pimpol*, or the Little Iſle of *Brehac* with other Iſles adjacent, for a Place of Retreat, but upon very unreaſonable Conditions, to wit, that they ſhould not fortifie there, nor lodge in Prieſts or Gentlemens Houſes. Nevertheleſs the Eſtates of *Bretaigne* made Suit to the Queen that the *Engliſh* might not be called Home, which was now in Conſultation: And upon their earneſt Entreatie ſhe commanded her Forces to ſtay, where they were diſperſed in the Country Villages, and expoſed to the Enemy and hard Weather, enduring a miſerable Winter, foraſmuch as *Pimpol* was too little to quarter them all. Neither ceaſed the Queen to admoniſh the French King how much it imported him to hold and maintain the Sea-coaſt, which, being once reduced into the Enemie's Power, would both open an Entrance for them at their pleaſure, and very hardly be recovered. She recommended again and again the Reformed Religion and the Profeſſours thereof to his Care and Protection by Sir *Robert Sidney*. He promiſed, that as he had been hitherto their Protectour, ſo he would not for the future fail them, though moſt of the nobler ſort of them had forſaken him. But when *Sidney* moved him concerning *Breſt* for a Place of Retreat for the *Engliſh*, and a Caution for her Money, (which the Queen much deſired,) he ſtopped his Ears thereat: For the *French* could not endure to hear that the *Engliſh* ſhould get Footing in *France* by holding any Place, much leſs any Port-towns; haply, not forgetting how eaſily they in times paſt (being poſſeſſed of ſome Ports) over-ran *France* with their victorious Arms, and how hardly they were

Yet the Queen thinketh it neceſſary to defend *Bretaigne*.

She recommendeth the Proteſtants to his Protection.

The *French* miſtruſtfull of the *Engliſh*.

were at laſt diſpoſſeſſed again. So the Counſell which ſhe had given againſt the *Spaniards*, the *French* turned againſt the *Engliſh*. 1593.

The Queen alſo, to ſecure her own People againſt the *Spaniards*, ſtrengthened the Iſles of *Silly* with a Fort built in the Iſle *Saint Marie's*, which, in reſpect of the Plot thereof, being faſhioned like a Star, ſhe called *Stella Maria*, placing therein a ſtrong Garriſon: ſhe alſo fortified the Iſles of *Garnſey* and *Jerſey* lying over againſt *France*, and other Places, with great Charge, and much Alacrity, though the Times were then ſomewhat ſad and melancholick. She fortifieth the Iſlands in the Britiſh Sea.

For all this Year *London* was grievouſly afflicted with the Peſtilence, *Saturn* paſſing through the uttermoſt Parts of *Cancer* and the beginning of *Leo*, as in the Year 1563. inſomuch as there died this Year of the Peſtilence and other Diſeaſes within the City and the Suburbs 17890 perſons, beſides *William Roe* Mayor and three Aldermen: *Bartholomew* Fair was not kept, and *Michaelmas* Term was kept at *Saint Albans*, twenty miles from the City; where *Richard Hasket* was condemned and executed for Treaſon, who, being ſent under-hand by the Engliſh Fugitives, perſwaded *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby* (whoſe Father *Henry* was lately deceaſed) to take upon him the Title to the Crown, deriving his Right and Claim from his Great-grandmother *Mary*, the Daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh, and made him large Promiſes of Men and Money from the *Spaniard*; threatning the Earl with ſudden and aſſured Deſtruction unleſs he did it, and withall concealed the Buſineſs. But the Earl, fearing leſt ſome Trap were laid for him, impeached the man; who by his own voluntary Confeſſion acknowledged his Fault at the Bar, deteſting and curſing thoſe who had given him the Counſell. Yet thoſe Threatnings failed not of Performance: for the Earl, after four Months, died miſerably of a ſtrange kind of Death, as in its proper place we ſhall declare. A great Peſtilence in *London*. *Hasket* hanged.

Within the Compaſs of this Year quietly departed this Life two noble Earls of *England*, both of the Order of the Garter, *viz. Henry Stanley*, before mentioned, Earl of *Derby*, the Son of *Edward* by *Dorothy* the Daughter of *Thomas Howard* the firſt Duke of *Norfolk*; who begat on *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* by *Eleanor Brandon*, (Niece to *Henry* the Eighth by his Siſter the Lady *Mary*,) *Ferdinand* and *William*, who ſucceeded him in their order: and *Henry Ratcliffe*, Earl of *Suſſex*, Governour of the *Great Port*, or *Portſmouth*, leaving his onely Son *Robert*, by *Honora* the Daughter of *Anthony Pound*, behind him. In his Command ſucceeded *Charles Blount*, who was afterward Lord *Mountjoy*. The death of *Henry* Earl of *Derby*. Of the Earl of *Suſſex*.

Theſe were accompanied into another Life by three noble Barons, *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, that great Souldier, of the Order of the Garter; whom *Thomas* his Son by *Jane Sibyll Morriſon* ſucceeded: *Henry* Lord *Cromwell*, Grandſon to that *Thomas* Earl of *Eſſex* ſo much ſpoken of, who is reckoned amongſt the Sports and Mockeries of Fortune; whom *Edward*, his Son by *Mary*, the Daugh- The Lord *Grey*. The Lord *Cromwell*.

1593.

The Lord *Wentworth.* *Christopher Carlile.*

ter of *John Powlet* Marquess of *Wincheſter*, ſucceeded: and *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*, to whom was born by *Anne Hopton Thomas* his Son and Heir.

Neither is *Chriſtopher Carlile* to be paſſed over in Silence, whoſe martiall Proweſs was famous by Sea and Land, both in the *Low-Countries*, *France*, *Ireland*, and in *America* at *Cartagena*, *S. Domingo*, &c. as I ſaid in the Year 1585. who with thoſe above named this Year alſo departed into a better Life.

The Iriſh Lords complain.

In *Ireland O-Conor Dun*, *Mac-Davy*, *O-Brien*, great Lords in *Connaught*, and ſome others, complained that they were unjuſtly vexed and troubled with Law-ſuits about Lands anciently belonging to the *Mortimers* Earls of *March*; which notwithſtanding they had uſurped to themſelves, not by any Right, but onely by long Preſcription of Time. Alſo the powerfull Lords of *Ulſter*, who had for ſome conſiderable time ſtood in Fear leſt the Engliſh Laws impoſing on them, and the dividing their Territories into Counties, would by little and little diminiſh their Tyranny over the People, (as they had ſeen come to paſs in *Monaghan*,) began to hatch the Rebellion, which they had long brooded in their Minds. And firſt *Hugh O-Donell* ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Montroſſe*. At this time Grudges aroſe betwixt the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and Sir *Henry Bagnall* Marſhall of the Iriſh Army, whoſe Siſter the ſaid Earl had forcibly taken to Wife. The Earl complained before the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellour, and others, "That all that part of *Ulſter* which he had with "great Pains and Expenſe of his Bloud reduced to the Queen's O-"bedience turned to the Profit of the Marſhall alone, and nothing "to him: That the Marſhall had falſly accuſed him of Treaſon, ſub-"orning the vileſt and baſeſt men for Witneſſes againſt him: That "he had incited and moved the Lord Deputy to deſtroy and ruine "him: That he had laid a Plot for his Life, and had falſely and "unfaithfully reported his Anſwers to the Queen. And indeed the Marſhall found Credit in the Court, till the Earl wrote Letters into *England*, and offered to ſtand Triall either in *England* or *Ireland*. Yet it is believed for certain, that he and the Lords of *Ulſter* had had ſecret Conſultations, and were entred about this time into a League to maintain the Romiſh Religion, (for Religion is of late everywhere made a Cloak for Rebellion,) to exclude the Engliſh Sheriffs and Garriſons out of their Territories, to protect one anothers Rights, and defend themſelves againſt the Injuries of the *Engliſh*. *Mac-Guire*, a powerfull Lord in *Fermanagh*, was the next after *O-Donell* that was put forward to ſtrike up his Drums; a man of a moſt turbulent and quarrelſome Spirit, who complained that he and his were undeſervedly vexed and diſquieted by the Sheriff. He brake into the neighbouring Countries to plunder them, and entred into *Connaught* accompanied with *Gauran* a Prieſt, who was by the Pope deſigned Primate of *Ireland*. This Prieſt exhorted him to rely upon God, and trie his Fortune, promiſing him aſſured Victory. But it fell out

They begin to rebell.

Grudges betwixt the Earl of *Tir-Oen* and *Bagnall*.

A League of the Iriſh Lords in *Ulſter*.

Mac-Guire begins to ſtir.

Put to flight.

out otherwiſe, *Mac-Guire* being put to Flight through the Valour of Sir *Richard Bingham*, and the Primate with many others ſlain. Shortly after *Mac-Guire* brake forth into open Rebellion, whom *Tir-Oen* proſecuting under a diſſembled ſhew of Duty, received a Wound with great Commendation for his Courage and Fidelity. *Dowdall*, a valiant Engliſh Captain, wone *Iniskellin*, a Strong hold of *Mac-Guire*'s in the Lake *Erne*, putting the Garriſon to the Sword. And about this time the native *Iriſh* (who are commonly unfaithfull to the *Engliſh*) were firſt taken on for Commanders and Souldiers, but very improvidently, as the wiſer ſort then judged, and the *Engliſh* found afterward by Experience.

1593. Breaketh out into open Rebellion.

His Strong hold taken.

Meanwhile the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, watching his Opportunity, *Turlogh Leinigh* being dead, who laſt bare the Title of *O-Neal*, aſſumed the ſaid Title to himſelf, (in compariſon whereof the very Title of *Cæſar* is contemptible in *Ireland*,) contrary to what he had ſworn, and which was prohibited by a Statute that made it Treaſon. But he excuſed himſelf, ſaying that he did it leſt others of the Houſe of *O-Neal* ſhould uſurp the ſame; promiſing again to renounce it, yet earneſtly intreating that he might not be obliged by Oath to doe it. He alſo intercepted the Sons of *Shan O-Neal*, (whereof one or two, I know not by whoſe Connivence, had made their Eſcape out of Priſon,) leſt they ſhould hinder his Deſigns; and being often commanded by the Lord Deputy to ſet them at Liberty, he refuſed to doe it, (for ſuch was the Love and Authority they had amongſt their People that they could eaſily have overthrown and ruined him,) but on the contrary complained heavily of the Lord Deputie's Ill will towards him, the cunning Plots of the Marſhall, and the Injuries offered him by the Garriſon-ſouldiers: all which notwithſtanding he ſoon after cunningly diſſembled, and, as if he had forgotten all, he went to the Lord Deputy upon his bare Word, ſubmitted himſelf, profeſſed all Obedience, and ſo returned Home.

Tir-Oen uſurpeth the Title of *O-Neal*.

He intercepteth *Shan O-Neal*'s ſons.

The Seven and thirtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1594.

THis ſecret Conſpiracy in *Ireland*, plotted in *Spain*, the Queen hoped might eaſily be diſſolved, if ſhe could firſt break the Neck of that *Spaniſh* Faction in *Scotland* which more openly diſcovered itſelf. Having therefore her Advice asked by the King of *Scots* concerning a Decree made by the Eſtates of *Scotland* for Preſervation of Religion and the Realm, ſhe ſent *Edward* Lord *Zouch* into *Scotland*, to confirm and encourage the Noblemen of the Engliſh Party, and to require a greater Severity to be uſed towards thoſe of the Spaniſh Party then that Decree ſeemed to contain: foraſmuch as it was notoriouſly known that they went to Maſs, harboured

The Lord *Zouch* his Embaſſie into *Scotland*.

1594. boured *Jeſuites* and Prieſts, had ſent blank Papers into *Spain*, ſigned and ſealed with their Hands and Seals; and that the *Spaniard* had now a Purpoſe to attempt *England* with their Help by a Land-expedition, which he could doe no good upon by his Navall Forces.

The King's Anſwer.

The King anſwered, "That he would ſo proceed againſt thoſe "Papiſts as the Laws of the Kingdome would warrant. If after "Admonition they returned not to their Obedience, he would pro-"ſecute them till ſuch time as he either reduced them into Order, or "expelled them the Realm; provided the Queen (whom it equal-"ly concerned) would joyn her Forces with his. The Lord *Zouch* ſtifly urging him to a rigorous Proſecution of them; the King asked him whether he were under the Command of any other: whether the Queen would preſcribe him after what manner he, who was an abſolute King, ſhould govern his Subjects: proteſting that he would reſolutely and conſtantly defend the true Religion, and religiouſly maintain Amity with the Queen. Yet now and then he complained that *Bothwell*, his moſt malicious Rebell, was harboured in *England*; whereas himſelf had lately delivered up *O-Rork*, an Iriſh Rebell, into the Queen's Hands.

Bothwell rebelleth again.

And not long after this *Bothwell* again ſet up the Banner of Rebellion againſt his King, by whoſe Contrivance and Setting on let the *Scots* ſpeak. True it is, the Miniſters of *Scotland* complained daily to the Queen, accuſing the King as more favourable to the Papiſts, and leſs gracious to them. *Bothwell* entred into *Scotland* with four hundred Horſemen of the Borderers, and came as far as *Leith* without Reſiſtence, where, in fair and ſmooth words, as Rebels are wont, he publiſhed abroad this Writing following, the better to colour his Treachery.

His cloak for his Rebellion.

"Foraſmuch as God's true Religion, the King's Safe-"ty and Honour, Juſtice, the Commonwealth, and the advantage-"ous Amity betwixt the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, are "now brought into extreme Perill and Danger by means of certain "pernicious Counſellours, who, having wrought themſelves to ſit "at the Helm of the Commonwealth, do ſuffer Maſs-prieſts to wan-"der up and down the Towns and Villages, and, having ſent Hoſta-"ges into the *Low-Countries*, invite the *Spaniards* to come over to "ſuppreſs Religion and ruine the Commonwealth, and to break a-"ſunder the Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*: He, with the Noblemen "Barons and Burgeſſes aſſociate with him, have, for the preventing "of ſo great Miſchiefs, determined, in the Fear of the higheſt Lord, "and with all due Reſpect and Obedience to the King, to proſecute "theſe Counſellours in an hoſtile manner, untill they ſhall be either "brought to their Triall, or driven out of the Kingdome, and o-"penly proclaimed Traitours to their Country; and this without "all Delay, foraſmuch as the *Spaniards* are now ready to arrive. "Wherefore he beſeecheth the King, exhorteth the Noblemen, and "commandeth the Common people, that forthwith they joyn their "Forces to aſſiſt in this ſo pious, juſt and neceſſary a Cauſe; and

"prayeth

1594.

"prayeth the Magiſtrates alſo to be aiding with their Authority. "And thoſe who ſhall aſſiſt the ſaid Counſellours he pronounceth to "be Rebels againſt the King, and to be puniſhed with the greateſt "Severity.

To this effect he wrote to the Synod which was then held at *Dunbar*, and to the Engliſh Embaſſadours, who were ſaid too openly to favour his Attempts. The very ſame day that he heard the King's Forces were marched out of *Edenborough*, which is ſcarce three miles off, againſt him, he alſo divided his Troups in two parts, and marched out of *Leith*. But being in number too weak, (for there were but few that joyned with him,) and knowing well how to avoid the Danger, he turned aſide into By-waies; and once falling upon the King's Forces on the Deſcent of an Hill as they purſued him, he beat them back, taking ſome few Priſoners; but not a man was ſlain. Then retired he to *Dalkeith* in good Order, and from thence, out of Conſcience of his Rebellion, (which ever hath its Sting) he betook himſelf to his uſuall Lurking-places on the Borders of both Kingdoms. But the Queen commanded, by Proclamation all over the Borders, that no man ſhould dare to harbour or aſſiſt him. Which was very acceptable News to the King, who thereupon readily offered her all kind Offices of Love, and ſummoned the Eſtates of the Realm about Proſcribing the Popiſh Earls. The Lords, whereof but few came to the Aſſembly, refuſed to give their Votes againſt them; for although the Evidence was clear concerning the blank Papers, yet nothing could appear touching their Deſign but upon Preſumptions. Nevertheleſs by the Votes of the Miniſters and Burgeſſes, who were far the greater Number, they were proſcribed, their Coats of Arms (after the Scotiſh manner) torn in pieces, and thrown out at the Windows of the Town-houſe, and the Proſcription publickly proclaimed by an Herald. Then was *Argyle* ſent againſt them, who having in a hot Battell at *Genlivet* received the Overthrow, the King himſelf with a tedious and difficult Journey marched into thoſe parts over the rough and craggy Mountains, permitting *Huntley*'s Houſes at *Strathbolgy*, *Slany* and *Newton*, to be razed to the ground, and driving the Earls to thoſe Streights, that *Huntley* withdrew himſelf, firſt to his Aunt the Counteſs of *Sutherland*, and from thence into *France*, and the reſt fled the Land.

This mutuall Love and Amity betwixt the Queen and the King, together with his immovable Conſtancy in Religion, which could not be overcome with profers of Money, nor Intreaties, nor Promiſes, nor any ſubtill Arts of the Papiſts, as alſo the ſtrict Laws made againſt *Jeſuites* and ſuch kind of men, the Execution of *Graham* of *Fentre*, the forwardeſt man of all thoſe that favoured the Spaniſh Party, the granting of Supreme Authority in matters Eccleſiaſticall to the King by the Eſtates, and the Aſſociation againſt the Papiſts; all theſe (I ſay) did ſo daſh all their Hopes of Reſtoring the Popiſh Religion in *Scotland* and *England*, that ſome of them in *England*, who

The King marcheth againſt him.

He is put to flight.

The Papiſts in *Scotland* proſcribed.

Argyle defeated by them.

They fly the Land.

Their hope of the King is fruſtrate.

Conſultations of the Papiſts againſt him.

1594.

who had before been great Aſſertours of his Mother's Title, began now to think of ſubſtituting ſome Engliſh Papiſt in the Kingdome of *England*.

They propoſe others to the Crown.

When they could not agree upon a fitting Perſon of their own Religion, they caſt their Eyes upon the Earl of *Eſſex*, (a man who never approved the putting of people to Death merely for their Religion,) pretending his Title from *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, King *Edward* the Third's Son, from whom he derived his Pedigree. The Fugitives were for the *Infanta* of *Spain*. But becauſe they feared that the Queen and the Eſtates would by Act of Parliament prevent it, by impoſing an Oath on every man to the contrary, they held it ſufficient if they could ſet the King and the Earl of *Eſſex* at Enmity about it. And indeed there was a Book ſet forth to this Purpoſe, and dedicated to *Eſſex*, under the counterfeit Name of *Dolman*: which was a remarkable piece of Malice of *Parſons* the *Jeſuite* againſt *Dolman* a Prieſt of a quiet Spirit, (if we may give credit to the Prieſts,) for the true Authours of the Book were *Parſons*, a deadly Adverſary of *Dolman*, Cardinall *Allen*, and Sir *Francis Ingleſield*.

Parſons and others oppoſe his Title in a Book ſet forth.

In this Book, without any Regard had to Right by Birth, they declare, "That the ancient Laws of the Land concerning Hereditary Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* are to be altered; That "new Laws are to be introduced concerning Electing the King; "That no man but a Roman Catholick, how near of Bloud ſoever "he be, is to be admitted King. Moſt of the Kings of *England* they reproachfully traduce as wrongfull Poſſeſſours of the Crown; and all in *England* of the Bloud Royall as either Illegitimate, or uncapable of Succeſſion: the certain and undoubted Right of the King of *Scots* to the Crown of *England* they moſt unjuſtly ſeek to weaken and overthrow; and (which I am aſhamed and troubled to ſpeak, foraſmuch as *the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve Knowledge, and they ſhould ſtand having their Loyns girt with the Truth*,) do by forged Devices as falſely entitle the *Infanta Iſabella*, the King of *Spain*'s Daughter, to it, becauſe ſhe was a Roman Catholick. Firſt, becauſe ſhe deriveth her Deſcent (as in this Book is declared) from *Conſtance* the Daughter of *William* the Conquerour, King of *England*, the Wife of *Alan Fergant* Earl of *Bretaigne*: whereas notwithſtanding *Guilielmus Gemeticenſis*, who lived at that time, teſtifieth in his laſt Book that ſhe died without Iſſue; and with him unanimouſly agree all the Writers of the Affairs of *Bretaigne*. Secondly, becauſe ſhe draweth her Lineage from *Eleanor* the eldeſt Daughter of King *Henry* the Second, married to *Alphonſus* the Ninth King of *Caſtile*: whereas *Innocent* the Third Pope of *Rome* ſheweth in *Matthew Paris*, pag. 381. that *Maud* the Wife of *Henry Leo* Duke of *Saxony*, and Mother of the Emperour *Otho* the Fourth, was his eldeſt Daughter; of whom alſo *Robert* Abbot of *Saint Michael's Mount* (who chriſtened her at the Font) writeth, that ſhe was born in the Year 1162. Thirdly, becauſe

Their pretenſes for the Title of the Infanta of *Spain*.

cauſe ſhe was deſcended from *Blanch* the eldeſt Daughter of the ſaid *Eleanor*: which *Roderigo* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, in his ninth Book and fifth Chapter, and *Innocent* Pope of *Rome*, of more Credit then he, both of them living in the ſame Age, do convince of Falſity. Fourthly, becauſe ſhe was iſſued from *Beatrice* the Daughter of *Henry* the Third King of *England*: forgetting in the mean time that ſhe had two Brethren, *Edward* the Firſt, King of *England*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, from whom (beſides the Royall Family) are ſprung a great many of the Noblemen in *England*. Fifthly, they challenge a Title to the ſaid *Infanta* by the Houſe of *Portugall*, as alſo to the Dukes of *Parma* and *Braganza*, from *Philippa* the Daughter of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, whom they affirm to be his eldeſt Daughter by his firſt Wife *Blanch*: whereas *Froſard*, who lived in the Court at the ſame time, ſheweth, fol. 169. of the ſecond Part of his Hiſtory, that his eldeſt Daughter was *Elizabeth*, married to *John Holland*, who was afterwards Duke of *Exceſter*, from whom a numerous Iſſue of Noblemen is ſpred all over *England*. But theſe and other Genealogicall Dreams ariſing out of the crude Vapours of Perfidiouſneſſe, wherewith that Book is full ſtuft, I have already refuted; which they, unmindfull of their Profeſſion, in Contempt of the Authority of the Council of *Trent*, (forbidding their intermeddling with Secular Affairs,) and of the Council of *Toledo*, and of their own Laws reviewed the Year paſt at *Rome*, obtruded on the World, to curry Favour with the *Spaniard*, to delude and abuſe men, to make way for Tumults and Seditions, and to ſet up Ladders for Ambitious men to climbe unto their own Downfals; and, with palpable Violation of the Truth, covered them under the ſpecious Cloak of Religion. Yea, ſo far they proceeded, that they compelled the Engliſh Prieſts in the Spaniſh Seminaries (I ſpeak it upon their own Credit) to ſubſcribe to this forged Title of the *Infanta*. Yet all this, not long after, when King *James* was by the general Suffrages of all people proclaimed King of *England*, this *Parſons* excuſed in a Letter to a Friend of his, as not proceeding from any Intention to doe King *James* a Prejudice, but out of an earneſt Deſire to win him over to the Romiſh Religion; and he hoped he ſhould be excuſed, ſince thoſe Injuries had not prejudiced the King's Title: (becauſe, forſooth, this his Wickedneſſe failed of the Succeſſe he aimed at.)

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Parſons excuſeth all this.

But whilſt theſe Fugitives are finding a falſe Heir in *Spain*, God, who laughed at their Inventions, raiſed up a Son in *Scotland* to King *James*, the undoubted Heir of the Crown of *England*: for on the 19. of *February* was born *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, the Love and Delight of *Britain*, to whom Queen *Elizabeth* was Godmother, ſending *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex* on an honourable Embaſſy thither to that Purpoſe.

Henry Prince of *Scotland* born.

As theſe learned Engliſh Fugitives ſtudied by their Pens to advance the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England*: ſo others of their Religion

Treaſon plotted againſt the Queen's life.

1594.

By *Lopez* and others.

ligion secretly endeavoured the same by the Sword, sending privily certain Cut-throats to murther Queen *Elizabeth*: as some *Spaniards* attempted to poison her. The *Spaniards*, suspecting the Fidelity of the *English* in a matter of so great Weight, used the Help of *Roderigo Lopez*, a *Jew* by Religion, the Queen's domestick Physician, and of *Stephen Ferreira Gama* and *Emanuel Loisie*, *Portugueezes*; (for many of that Nation crept into *England* in those days, as Retainers to the exiled Don *Antonio*:) who, being apprehended by means of Letters intercepted, were about the end of *February* arraigned at *Guildhall* in *London*, and charged from their own Confessions to have conspired to make away the Queen by Poison. *Lopez*, having been for a long time a man of noted Fidelity, was not so much as suspected, (save that outlandish Physicians may by Bribes and Corruption be easily induced to become Poisoners and Traitours,) till he confessed

Their Confessions.

"That he was drawn in by *Andrada* a *Portugueeze* to employ his best and secret Service for the King of *Spain*; that he had received from his intimate Counsellour, *Christophoro Moro*, a rich Jewell; that he had divers times thereupon advertised the *Spaniard* of such things as he could come to the Knowledge of; that at length, upon an Agreement to receive 50000 Ducats, he had promised to poison the Queen; and that he had signified as much to the Count *de Fuentez*, and *Ibara* the King's Secretary in the *Netherlands*. *Stephanus Ferreira* confessed, "That the Count *de Fuentez* and *Ibara* had acquainted him both by Letters and word of mouth that there was a Plot laid to take away the Queen's Life by Poison; that he wrote Letters, after *Lopez* his dictating, wherein he promised the same should be effected, upon Condition that 50000 Ducats should be payed for the Service; also that *Emanuel Loisie* was secretly sent unto him by *Fuentez* and *Ibara*, to urge *Lopez* to dispatch the matter with all Expedition. *Emanuel* confessed, "That Count *Fuentez* and *Ibara*, when he had given them his faithfull Promise to conceal the Design, shewed him a Letter which *Andrada* had written in *Lopez* his name about making away the Queen; and that he himself was likewise sent by *Fuentez* to deal with *Ferreira* and *Lopez* for hastening the Queen's Death, and to promise Money to *Lopez* himself, and Honours and Preferments to his Children.

Lopez seeketh to clear himself.

At the Bar *Lopez* spake not much, but cried out, "That *Ferreira* and *Emanuel* were made up of nothing but Fraud and Lying; that he intended no Hurt against the Queen, but abhorred the Gifts of a Tyrant; that he had presented that Jewell to the Queen which was sent him from the *Spaniard*; and that he had no other Design in what he did, but to deceive the *Spaniard*, and wipe him of his Money. The rest spake nothing for themselves, onely throwing the whole Blame upon *Lopez*. They were all of them condemned, and after three months put to death at *Tyburn*; *Lopez* affirming that he loved the Queen as well as he loved *Jesus Christ*: which coming

They are condemned and executed.

from

from a man of the *Jewiſh* Profeſſion moved no ſmall Laughter in the Standers by. 1594.

The next day after theſe were condemned was alſo *Patrick Cullen* condemned, an Iriſh Fencing-Maſter, who had been laden with great Promiſes by the Fugitives in the *Low Countries*, and ſome time ſince ſent privily over, with Money to bear his Charges, on purpoſe to kill the Queen. Who as good as confeſſing his Crime, and the ſame being alſo proved againſt him by ſufficient Evidence, he was taken and executed when he was otherways ready to die of a languiſhing Sickneſs. *Edmund York* alſo and *Richard Williams* were apprehended as ſet on by *Ibara* and thoſe Fugitives to kill the Queen; as alſo other Incendiaries employed to fire the Navy with Balls of Wild-fire. As likewiſe *Cullen* and others.

Thus the Engliſh Fugitives, as well Prieſts as other lewd and villainous perſons, out of an impious Opinion deeply ſettled in their Minds, that Princes excommunicate are to be rooted out, and the Spaniſh Miniſters out of a virulent Hatred, did by all means, and now more violently then ever before, bend themſelves to work the Deſtruction of the Queen. But ſhe remained undaunted, and with a maſculine Courage and provident Caution (repoſing her Truſt in God) contemned theſe treacherous Practices, often calling to mind that of the Kingly Pſalmiſt, *Thou art my God; my times are in thy Hands.* Yet did ſhe advertiſe *Erneſt* Archduke of *Auſtria*, Governour of the Low-Country Provinces for the *Spaniard*, of theſe Treacheries plotted by *Ibara* and other Spaniſh Miniſters and Engliſh Fugitives againſt her Life; and prayed him to inform the King his Maſter thereof, that he might wipe away from himſelf the Aſperſion of the ſaid Crime by puniſhing his Officers and Miniſters, and delivering into her Hands thoſe Engliſh who had been the principall Contrivers of ſo grand Impiety, namely, *Hugh Owen*, *Thomas Throckmorton*, *Holt* the *Jeſuite*, *Giffard* and *Worthington*, Profeſſours of Divinity, &c. leſt by cheriſhing ſuch wicked perſons he might wrong his Royall Reputation and Honour amongſt all good men. The Queen informeth the *Spaniard* of theſe things.

And leſt the *Spaniard* ſhould demand *Antonio Perez*, his late Secretary, who was fled his Country for Tumults which he had raiſed in *Arragon*, and was now abiding in *England*; ſhe proteſted that he was ſent over into *England* by the French King to his Embaſſadour without her Knowledge, and that ſhe neither did nor would relieve him with Penſion or Protection. Verily ſhe deteſted the man, who had, contrary to his Allegeance, divulged his King's Secrets; and *Burghley*, Lord Treaſurer, ſcarce vouchſafed him a Conference or ſpeaking to. Indeed *Eſſex* entertained him in his Houſe, and ſupplied him largely with Money, uſing him as his Counſellour, yea as an Oracle, as one much verſed in the Secrets of the Spaniſh Court, and a ſubtill Politician: yet was he notwithſtanding (as ſuch kind of men uſually are) ſo toſſed with the Mockeries and Shufflings of Fortune, that he called himſelf *Fortune's Monſter*, and ſet the ſame for a Symbol on his Picture. *Antonio Perez* a Spaniſh Fugitive ſlighted in *England*.

Now began that violent Fury of the League to be allayed, which

1594.

The *French* League diſſolved.

had hurried and toſſed *France* for about the ſpace of eight Years. For when the King (who had happily weakened the Leaguers by his Arms, and by his Arts and Policies disjoyned them, embracing the Romiſh Religion the laſt Year,) was in the beginning of this Year ſolemnly inaugurated, and had granted a Truce, ſome of the Noblemen being wone by large Promiſes ſtrove who ſhould return firſt to his Obedience; others ſubmitted upon Condition that he would permit them to hold the Governments which they had gotten, (in like ſort as *Hugh Capet* in times paſt, to win unto him the Hearts of the Noblemen, had granted them the hereditary Poſſeſſion of their ſeverall Governments.) Hereupon ſome of the rebellious Cities ſurrendred themſelves, others were ſuddenly ſurprized; yea even *Paris* itſelf, inviting the King ſecretly into the City, was yielded up to him with feſtivall Rejoycings of the Citizens, and the *Spaniards* (having now their Hope of getting the French Scepter and of the Marriage of the *Infanta* with the Duke of *Guiſe* quite daſhed, through the Emulation of the Duke *De Mayn* againſt his Nephew,) were diſmiſſed from thence with Bag and baggage, and not without Taunts and Scoffs from the *French*, who repented them of what they had lately done. But in regard thoſe *Spaniards* who were called into *Bretaigne* by the Duke *de Mercœur* ſtood out obſtinately, and ſtrengthened the maritime places with ſtrong Garriſons, to keep the Poſſeſſion they had gotten; *Norris* (who had been called Home out of *Bretaigne* to inform the Queen in perſon of the ſtate of the War there,) was commanded again into *Bretaigne*, with Charge to take in the *Spaniards* Fort at *Crodon* near the Haven of *Breſt*, and arrived at *Pimpol* with freſh Forces on the firſt of *September*. At which time Marſhal *D' Aumont* and Sir *Thomas Baskervill*, who had the Command of the *Engliſh* in the Abſence of *Norris*, beſieged *Morlaix*, and upon the coming of *Norris* took it by Compoſition. And though by Contract with the French Embaſſadours in *England*, it had been agreed, that if it were taken in, it ſhould be delivered to the *Engliſh* for a place of Retreat; yet *D' Aumont*, to prevent it, added amongſt the Articles of Surrender, that no man but a Roman Catholick ſhould be received into the Town. Then *Quimpercorentin* being taken by the Marſhall and Sir *Henry Norris*, the *French* and *Engliſh* made their Approach on the firſt of *November* to the Fort of the *Spaniards* at *Crodon*, where Sir *Martin Forbiſher* with ten Engliſh Men of War rode at Anchour expecting their coming. This Fort is compaſſed on two Sides with Water; to Land-ward there ſtand two high and large Forts, between which there runneth a Wall 37 Foot wide, and within that a thick Earthwork: the Forts were defended on each Side with Rocks, whereupon Pieces of Ordnance were planted. The *Engliſh* and *French* having drawn ſeverall Battering-Pieces out of the Ships, caſt up Mounts, and drew a Trench on that Side of the Fort that looked to Land-ward. The *Spaniards* ſallying forth to hinder the Works were beaten back. But Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Serjeant-Major of the *Engliſh*,

Paris and other places reduced.

Norris returneth into *Bretaigne*.

Morlaix taken.

The *Engliſh* deluded.

Quimpercorentin taken.

The Fort at *Crodon* attempted.

gliſh, a famous old Souldier, having made his Will the day before, was ſlain with the Shot of a Piece of Ordnance. On the 23. day of the Month with 700 Shot of great Ordnance a ſmall Breach was made, and the Counterſcarp thrown down, which *Liſter* an Engliſhman ſeized upon with his men. But whilſt the forward young men with fiery Spirits preſſed on farther, and the Enemy made a ſtout Reſiſtence, ſeverall of them were ſlain, together with *Bruder*, *Jackſon* and *Barker*, Captains of approved Valour; others wounded, and many dangerouſly ſcorched with Gunpowder. Some taxed *Norris*, as if he were over-prodigall of Bloud, and thruſt his men too raſhly into Dangers. And indeed the Queen, out of her innate Tenderneſs and Pity, commanded him by her Letters to have more Reſpect to the Safety of his men then to his own Honour, and not to expoſe their Lives to maniſeſt Dangers in a War undertaken for the Aſſiſtence of others; ſaying, "That the Bloud of man is not to be uſed and "thrown away prodigally; that the deſperate and daring Boldneſs "of martiall men in queſt of Glory is rather to be reſtrained, then "precipitated and puſhed forward into notorious Hazzards. By this "means others would not blame him for want of Prudence, nor con-"demn him of Unmercifulneſs; and herſelf ſhould the more com-"mend his Love to and Care of her People. But this Letter came too late. During the Heat of this Siege *D' Aumont* and *Norris* thought good to undermine the Eaſtern Bulwark on that Side where the *French* were poſted, and to blow it up: which took effect, and opened a great Breach. Now they fall upon the Fort on all ſides. *Latham*, *Smith* and others, with the *Engliſh*, ſtormed the Weſtern Bulwark, whilſt the *French* ſet upon the Eaſtern, and the reſt the Wall betwixt both on the South; and this laſted from Noon till four of the clock. At length the *Engliſh* made themſelves Maſters of the Weſtern Work, and *Thomas de Parades*, the Commander of the *Spaniards*, being ſlain, entred the Fort, plucked down the Spaniſh Flags, and opened an Entrance for the reſt, who put the Garriſon Souldiers, in number about 400, to the Sword, and laid the Fort levell with the Ground; and this on the very day that Don *John d' Aquila* was approaching to relieve them. Neither was this Victory gotten by the *Engliſh* without Bloud; many valiant Souldiers being ſlain, and Sir *Martin Forbiſher* wounded with a ſmall Shot in the Hip, who brought back the Fleet to *Plymouth*, and then died. A valourous and ſtout man he was, and to be reckoned among the famouſeſt men of our Age for Counſell and Conduct, and Glory gotten by Navall Exploits, as by what I have before ſpoken of him plainly appeareth.

1594. Hard ſervice, with ſome loſs to the *Engliſh*.

The Fort taken.

The death of *Forbiſher*.

Not long after, upon certain Notice that divers Spaniſh Commanders were come into *Ireland* to raiſe a Rebellion, *Norris* was called Home again out of *Bretaigne*. The Ships which ſhould tranſport him, when they arrived at *Morlaix*, were prohibited to enter the Haven; inſomuch as they were conſtrained in ſharp cold Weather to

Norris called home out of *Bretaigne*.

1594.

to put to Sea again, and to goe to *Ruſcon*, an unſafe Rode. Which the Queen took ſo much the worſe at *D' Aumont*'s hands, becauſe he was beholden to the *Engliſh* for the taking of *Morlaix*.

Richard Hawkins's Voiage to *America* with three Ships.

And not onely in *France*, but alſo in the remote Parts of *America*, did the *Engliſh* at this time make War upon the *Spaniards*. For *Richard Hawkins*, Son to that moſt famous Navigator Sir *John Hawkins*, having received a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* to infeſt the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts, ſet Sail the laſt Year with three Ships and 200 Sea-men.

He loſeth two of his Ships.

He firſt touched at the Iſle of *Saint Anne*, where whilſt he ſtaied three Months to refreſh his ſick men, the leaſt of his Ships by chance took Fire, and was burnt down. Then over againſt the River of *Plate* he took a *Portugall* Ship: and the Report of his coming being brought to *Peru*, the Viceroy prepared a Fleet to intercept him. Then by means of a violent Storm another of his Ships returned into *England*, for which the Captain eſcaped not unpuniſhed.

Being thus left alone, and driven far from the Shoar, in the Latitude of 50 Degrees he fell upon a fruitfull Land, woody, and full of Harbours, which trending from Weſt to North he coaſted for the ſpace of 60 Leagues, till being driven back by a contrary Wind, he entred into the Streight of *Magellan* a little before the end of *January* this Year, which he found to be nothing elſe but a Sea full of Iſlands: in this Streight he came to the 56. Degree of Latitude. After he had wandered ſix Weeks amongſt theſe Iſlands and uncertain Tides, not without many and great Dangers, he got out into the open Sea, and was the ſixth man, according to the *Spaniards* Account, that had the Glory of paſſing this Streight. And now ſailing along the Coaſt of *Chili* in the South Sea, he ſeized upon five Ships laden with Merchandize at *Villa pariſſa*; one whereof with the Maſter he carried away, the reſt he ranſomed for 2000 Ducats, whereas they were eſteemed at more then 20000. Afterwards he made towards *Arica*, where *Bertrand di Caſtro*, being ſent forth by the Viceroy with eight Ships firſt ſet upon him, to his own Loſs, his Powder and Shot failing him; and again, being better furniſhed with all Proviſion, he ſet upon him the ſecond time in the Bay of *Attacame*, but with no better Succeſs: for they fought ſmartly hand to hand, and many were ſlain on both ſides; inſomuch as the *Spaniards* thought it the ſafer Courſe to play upon them with their Ordnance at a Diſtance, and ſhoot their Ship through. Which when they had done three whole days together without Intermiſſion, *Bertrand* ſent his Glove, and offered *Hawkins* and the reſt their Liberty in the King's Name, if they would yield themſelves. This Condition he and moſt of the reſt accepted, as being ſore wounded, and unable to make longer Oppoſition: whereupon *Bertrand* uſed them very civilly. But there aroſe a Queſtion, whether Faith were to be kept with them; whether *Bertrand*, who was not deputed a Generall immediately from the King, but mediately by the Viceroy, could give ſuch Aſſurance in the King's Name to *Hawkins*, who produced a Commiſſion received

He paſſeth the Streight of *Magellan*.

He taketh Prizes.

He is taken.

A Diſpute whether faith were to be kept with him.

received immediately from his Queen. At length moſt were of this Opinion, that the Faith given in the King's Name was to be kept, in regard he was no Pirat, but a lawfull Enemy: neither could the *Spaniard* goe by other military Laws in the South Sea, then ſuch as were agreeable to thoſe in practice in other Parts. 1594.

Nevertheleſs *Hawkins* was ſent into *Spain*, and there kept in Priſon ſome Years, *Bertrand*, to his great Commendations for his Honeſty and fair Dealing, ſoliciting that the Articles which he had given might be kept, but not prevailing. But it ſeemed good to the *Spaniards* to uſe this Severity for a Terrour, leſt others ſhould dare to enter into the South Sea; till at laſt the *Conde di Miranda*, Preſident of the Councill, declared poſitively that he was to be diſcharged, for that in matters of War Promiſes deliberately made by the King's Captains upon Conditions are to be kept, otherwiſe no man would ever yield himſelf.

He is ſent Priſoner into *Spain*.

He is ſet at liberty.

But *James Lancaſter* engaged with the *Spaniards* in another Part of *America* with better Succeſs, being ſent forth with three Ships and a long Pinnace by certain Merchants of *London*, whoſe Goods the *Spaniards* had ſeized upon. For he took 39 Ships of the *Spaniards*; and then joyning to his Company *Venour* an Engliſh-man, and certain *Hollanders* and French-men who were roving for Booty in that Sea, he reſolved to make an Attempt upon *Fernambuc* in *Braſil*, where he underſtood that vaſt Treaſures were unladen out of a wrecked Carack which came from the *Eaſt-Indies*.

Lancaſter's Expedition.

Severall Ships taken.

But when he ſaw the Enemy ſtanding thick on the Shoar, he took the choiſeſt men of the *Engliſh*, and put them into Boats, which he cauſed to be rowed with ſuch Violence to the Shoar that they were ſplit in pieces. Which bold Undertaking ſucceeded happily. For through their Valour the Enemy being driven to the higher Town, he became Maſter of the lower Town with the Haven, and defended it completely 30 Days againſt all their ſubtill Strategems and open Aſſaults, refuſing all manner of Parley with them, diſappointed their Fireworks againſt his Fleet, and laded about 15 Ships with the Treaſure of the ſaid Carack, as alſo with Sugar, which is here made in great plenty of the ſweet Moiſture of Canes, together with *Braſil* Wood, which hath its name from this Province, and is in great Requeſt for Dying of Cloaths, and with Goſſipine or Cotton; and after returned ſafe Home.

He taketh *Fernambuc*.

Whether this that followeth be worthy the remembring I know not, unleſs as it may ſerve for Inſtruction to ambitious Youth. Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and Sir *Anthony Shirley*, young Engliſh Knights, had ſerved ſo valiantly in the Wars of *France* under the King, that he choſe them into the Order of *Saint Michael*, and they took the Oath according to the uſuall Form. Returning with the Ornaments and Badges of the Order, and ſhewing themſelves openly accoutred with them in the City and Court, the Queen took Diſpleaſure, that they, as if they had been another's Subjects, had, without acquainting her,

Whether Honours conferred by Forreiners be to be admitted.

1594. her, taken an Oath and received the Order of another King; and caſt them into Priſon for it. Yet out of her Clemency ſhe would not have them proceeded againſt according to Law, in regard of the Ignorance of their young Years, and her ſingular Kindneſs and Reſpect to the French King, who had conferred ſo great an Honour on them. But ſhe commanded them to make a Reſignation, and ſend back their Ornaments, and procure their Names to be taken out of the Memorialls of that Order. Which when the French King heard, it is reported he ſaid merrily, *I could wiſh the Queen would doe me the like Favour, and chuſe ſome ambitious French-men which ſhe ſhall next ſee in* England *into the Order of King* Arthur's *Round table.* For that Order, ſo much talked of in old Stories, was long ago grown out of Uſe; as of late times alſo that of *Saint Michael* in *France* hath through Confuſion of the Times grown ſo baſe, that a Nobleman of *France* ſaid, *That the Chain of Saint* Michael *was formerly a Badge of Noblemen onely, but now it was a Collar for all ſort of Animals.* But I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſe-where of Honour received from Forreiners.

The death of Cardinall *Allen.*

At *Rome* died about this time *William Allen*, commonly called the Cardinall of *England*, of whom I have made Mention ſeverall times before. He was born in the County of *Lancaſter* of honeſt Parentage, and allied by Kindred to ſome Noble Families. Brought up he was at *Oxford* in *Oriall* Colledge, where in Queen *Marie*'s daies he was Proctour of the Univerſity, and afterward a Canon in the Church of *York*. As ſoon as Religion changed in *England*, he departed the Land, and at *Douay* in *Flanders* (where an Univerſity was erected in the Year 1562.) profeſſed Divinity, and had a Canonſhip given him in the Church of *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be founded at *Douay* for the *Engliſh*, as another afterward at *Rhemes*, (where alſo he had a Canonſhip conferred upon him,) and a third at *Rome*, and two others in *Spain*, for the Conſervation of the Romiſh Religion in *England*: for the Zeal whereof he caſt off both his Love to his Country and his Duty to his Prince, and inſtigated both the *Spaniard* and the Biſhop of *Rome* to the Conqueſt of *England*; and upon that Account engaged himſelf in dangerous Counſells and Deſigns, after that *Sixtus Quintus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, had honoured him with the Title of Cardinall of *Saint Martin in the Mounts*, and the *Spaniard* with an Abby in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and had nominated him alſo to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mechlin*. For when that vaſt Armado threatned *England*, he brought into the *Low-Countries* a Bull of Excommunication againſt the Queen, and cauſed it to be printed in Engliſh: and withall he wrote an Admonition to the *Engliſh*, to adhere to the Biſhop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*. But being diſappointed of his Hopes he returned to *Rome*, where, weary of the Diſſenſions and Animoſities of the Engliſh Fugitives, as well Students as Gentlemen, amongſt themſelves, he died in the 63. year of his age, and was buried in the Engliſh Church of

of the *Holy Trinity*. He wrote in Latin a Book of the Euchariſt; in Engliſh, an Apology for the Seminaries, another for the Engliſh Catholicks, a third for Sir *William Stanley*, who betrayed *Deventer* to the *Spaniards*. He wrote alſo the aforeſaid Admonition, and a Book of Purgatory. Other Works of his I never ſaw. 1594.

At this time alſo rendred his Soul to God *John Piers* Archbiſhop of *York*, a great Divine, and a moderate man, who was for a long time the Queen's Almoner. To whom in that See ſucceeded *Matthew Hutton*, being tranſlated thither from the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm.* And of *John Piers* Archbiſhop of *York*.

About the beginning of this Year died *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, of whom I made Mention the laſt Year, in the Flower of his Youth, not without Suſpicion of Poiſon, being tormented with cruell Pains and frequent Vomitings of a dark colour like ruſty Iron. There was found in his Chamber an Image of Wax, the Belly thereof having Hairs thruſt through it of the ſame Colour that his own were, put there (as the wiſer ſort judged) to remove the Suſpicion of Poiſon. The matter vomited up ſo ſtained the ſilver Baſons that by no Art poſſible they could be brought again to their former Brightneſs; and his dead Body, though rolled in Sear-cloaths and wrapped in Lead, yet ran with ſuch corrupt and ſtinking Humours, that no man could for a long time endure to come near his place of Buriall. No ſmall Suſpicion lighted upon the Gentleman of his Horſe, who, as ſoon as the Earl took his Bed, fled away with his beſt Horſe. His Brother *William* ſucceeded him in the Honour of the Earldome of *Derby*; betwixt whom and the three Daughters of the Lord *Ferdinand* there grew a Suit for the Dominion of the Iſle of *Man*. The Queen, knowing that the *Engliſh* Fugitives and the *Spaniards* caſt their Eyes upon that Iſle, committed the Government thereof to Sir *Thomas Gerard* Knight, for his known Fidelity, and in reſpect of his near Neighbourhood unto it, till the Right ſhould be decided. In the mean time the Queen's Counſellours learned in the Laws, ſubtil and quick-ſighted in ſuch Caſes, inſiſted out of the Niceties and deep Points of Law, that the Right of that Iſland belonged to the Queen, and that the *Stanleys* and Earls of *Derby* had poſſeſſed it wrongfully for the ſpace of 200 Years paſt. For (to fetch the matter a little higher) *Henry* the Fourth, as ſoon as he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Crown of *England*, proſcribed *William Scrope* Lord of the Iſle of *Man*, and gave the ſame to *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*. This *Henry*, the ſixth year after, brake forth into Rebellion: whereupon the ſame King, the next year following, granted it by Letters Patents to *John Stanley* for Life, whereas the ſaid Earl of *Northumberland* was not then proſcribed by Authority of Parliament, nor his Lands adjudged forfeit to the King. A Month after an Agreement was made between the King and *Stanley*, that thoſe former Letters Patents for Life, and ſome other Letters Patents granted by the King, ſhould be ſurrendred and cancelled, and the Iſland ſhould be granted anew to *Stanley* and his Heirs in theſe words: *We, in regard the ſaid*

And of the Earl of *Derby*

The Title of the Earls of *Derby* to the Iſle of *Man* controverted.

1594. John Stanley *hath ſurrendred up to us the ſaid Letters Patents in our Chancery to be cancelled, have granted unto the aforeſaid* John Stanley *the Iſland aforeſaid*, &c. Upon theſe Words, and obſervation of the Time, that thoſe former Letters Patents were granted for Life before ſuch time as the Earl of *Northumberland* was proſcribed, the Lawyers were of Opinion that the King could not by Law make any ſuch Grant for Life, becauſe the Forfeiture was not yet adjudged to him; and conſequently that the latter Letters Patents, being grounded upon the Surrender of the former, were nothing worth; but that the King was deceived by a falſe Suggeſtion, and therefore the Grant was void. But the Queen gave over the Title, and an Agreement was made between the Uncle and his Nieces.

However by the Queen left to them.

Gregory Fienes or *Fenis*, the laſt Lord *Dacres* of this Sur-name, and therefore to be mentioned, exchanged alſo this Year Life for Death. He was a man of a crack'd Brain, Great-grandſon of *Richard Fienes* of the ancient Family of the Earls of *Bononia*, to whom *Henry* the Sixth and *Edward* the Fourth, Kings of *England*, adjudged the Title of Lord *Dacres*, becauſe he had married the Heir female of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*. He was the Son of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, who was ruined in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth being ſcarce 24 years old. For Man-ſlaughter having been committed by ſome of his domeſtick Servants as they were ready to goe forth with him on Hunting, (at which Fact notwithſtanding he himſelf was not preſent,) he was called in Queſtion for it, and perſwaded by the Courtiers, who cunningly gaped after his Eſtate, that there was no way to ſave his own Life and his Servants, unleſs he confeſſed the Crime, and caſt himſelf upon the King's Mercy. Which when he had ignorantly and unadviſedly done, he was forthwith condemned, and the next day but one hanged. Yet thoſe circumventing Courtiers miſſed of their Hope, for the Eſtate came by Law to his Siſter *Margaret*, who was married to *Sampſon Lennard*; and the Title of the Barony of *Dacres* was granted to the ſaid *Margaret*, and confirmed to her Son *Henry Lennard*.

The death of the Lord *Dacres*.

I may not omit theſe following Perſons, who likewiſe within the compaſs of this Year fulfilled their Mortality. *viz.* *William* Lord *Euers*, who left behind him *Ralph* his Son and Heir by *Margery Dimmock*: *Giles* Lord *Chandos*, who died without Heirs male, and was ſucceeded in his Dignity by *William* his Brother: Laſtly, *William Blount* Lord *Montjoy*, a man of a feeble and decayed Body through the Intemperance of his Youth; ſucceeded by his Brother *Charles*, Governour of *Portſmouth*.

And of the Lord *Euers*.

Lord *Chandos*.

Lord *Montjoy*.

Sir *William Ruſſell* Lord Depury of *Ireland*.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, being called Home, in the Month of *Auguſt* was ſubſtituted in his Place Sir *William Ruſſell*, the youngeſt Son of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, *Henry Duke* and *Edward Herbert*, who were ſent with Victuals and Men to relieve the Garriſon in *Inis-kellin* beſieged by *Mac-Guire*, being a little before put to Flight by the Rebels, and receiving no ſmall Overthrow.

As

1594.

As ſoon as he had received the Sword of Authority, *Tir-Oen*, having received Letters of Protection, came to him, beyond all mens Expectation, and, falling on his Knees, humbly craved Pardon in Writing for his not coming to the former Lord Deputy when he was commanded. He excuſed it by ſaying his Adverſaries had laid a Plot for his Life. He complained that through their falſe Informations he had loſt the Queen's Favour, whom he acknowledged to have been nobly bountifull unto him, and that as ſhe had raiſed him to the Height of Honour, ſo ſhe might eaſily caſt him down again, and throw him out of *Ireland*. He prayed that the Equity of his Cauſe might be weighed in an equall Balance; and made large Promiſes, that whatſoever ſhould be commanded him he would readily and willingly perform, in raiſing the Siege of *Inis-kellin*, and expelling the Iſland-*Scots*. He proteſted before God and man, that though by the Inſtinct and Direction of Nature he had ſaved his Life from the Malice of his Adverſaries, yet would he never take up Arms againſt the Queen's Majeſty. Laſtly, he humbly beſought the Lord Deputy and the Councill of *Ireland*, that they would earneſtly intercede with the Queen for receiving him again into her former Favour.

To whom *Tir-Oen* ſubmitteth himſelf.

There was then preſent Sir *Henry Bagnall*, Marſhall of the Iriſh Army, who exhibited Articles againſt him, accuſing him, "That he "had under-hand ſent *Mac-Guire* with *Gauran* the Primate, of whom "I have ſpoken before, into *Connaught*; that he had held Corre-"ſpondence with *Mac-Guire*, *O-Donell*, and the other confederate Re-"bells; that he had aſſiſted them by *Cormac Mac-Baron* his Brother, "and *Con* his baſe Son, in waſting of *Monaghan*, and beſieging of "*Inis-kellin*; and had by Threats withdrawn the Captains of *Kilulto* "and *Kilwarny* from their Allegeance to their Prince. All theſe things he ſtifly denied, and, as having the Teſtimony of a clear and good Conſcience, he profeſſed that he would renounce his Letters of Protection if theſe things could be proved againſt him.

He is accuſed by *Bagnall*.

Hereupon it was ſeriouſly debated amongſt the Councill whether he ſhould be detained to make Anſwer. The Lord Deputie's Opinion was that he ſhould be detained: the reſt, either out of a vain fear leſt they ſhould ſeem to violate the Priviledge of his Protection, or out of Favour to him, thought rather he was to be diſmiſſed, and the matter to be put off to another time. To whoſe Opinion, as being the greater Number, and more experienced in the Iriſh Affairs, the Lord Deputy, though unwillingly, aſſented. He was therefore diſmiſſed, his Accuſers and the Witneſſes which were preſent not being ſo much as heard. Which much troubled the Queen, foraſmuch as his wicked Deſigns and Practices were evident and apparent to all men, and the Queen herſelf had ſignified her Pleaſure that he ſhould be detained till he ſhould acquit himſelf of the Crimes objected againſt him. Yet gave he very great Hopes to the Councill both of *Ireland* and *England* of his faithfull Obedience, readily promiſing

He is diſmiſſed;

and promiſeth great matters.

1594. missing whatsoever almost they propounded to him: namely, "That "he would keep his Brother *Cormac* and his Party from aiding *Mac-* "*Guire* and the Rebels; that he would doe his best to drive the "Island-*Scots* out of *Ireland*; that he would perswade *O-Donell* to "doe the like; that in the Absence of the Lord Deputy he would "defend the Borders with his own Troup of Horse; that he would "perform the Canon or Composition for Provision of Victuals; "that he would erect a Prison at *Dunganon*; that he would admit "a Sherif and Justicers in the Country of *Tir-Oen* upon certain Con-"ditions; and that he would become Surety that *Turlogh Mac-Henry* "should not admit the Island-*Scots* into *Ireland*.

The Lord Deputy pursueth the Rebels.

The Lord Deputy marching shortly after to raise the Siege at *Inis-kellin* put the Rebels to Flight, relieved the Town, and strengthened the Garrison. Then did he vigorously pursue *Feagh Mac-Hugh*, who was up in Rebellion in *Leimster*, and, making as if he went on Hunting, he missed narrowly of taking him. For he drave him out of his House at *Ballencure* into the steep Vallies which they call *Glinnes*; there he placed a Garrison, and sending forth Parties hunted after him so narrowly through the By-waies and difficult Passages, that almost no one day passed wherein, according to the Manner of the Country, they sent not in some of the Rebels Heads. They also took *Feagh*'s Wife *Rhise*, a Woman of a manly Courage and Spirit above that of her Sex, who, for a Terrour to others, was adjudged to be burnt; but by the Queen's Mercy her Life was spared. Sir *Henry Bagnall* was sent by the Lord Deputy to another part of *Ireland*, where he freed the Castle of *Monaghan* from a dangerous Siege which *Mac-Guire* and *Mac-Mahon* had streightly laid to it, and put a fresh Garrison into it. But the Lord Deputy, having dismissed *Tir-Oen*, could by no means perswade him to return to him again, though he oftentimes sent for him very kindly: but at first he made Excuses, as if he stood in fear of the Marshall; and shortly after, as though he had forgotten his Obedience, he began to talk in high Terms of a Truce and Peace, which things Princes are not content to hear from their Subjects: insomuch as men marvelled to see how much he was changed from the man he was, who a little before had submitted himself with so great Dejection of Spirit.

Tir-Oen shews what he is.

The

1595.

The Eight and thirtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1595.

NOw both the Queen and all *England* with her made open ſhew of great Joy for the approved Friendſhip of the King of *Scots*, and his ſingular Care to maiotain Peace with *England*. For he commanded by Proclamation that Leavies of men ſhould be made all over *Scotland* to reſiſt the *Spaniards*, who, as he had heard, had prepared an huge Armado for the Deſtruction of all *Britain*. And that he might the more eaſily and ſucceſsfully oppoſe them, he exhorteth all his Subjects, in the firſt place, for the Good of the Commonwealth, to lay aſide thoſe deadly Feuds and Animoſities which the *Scots* above all People do maintain and practiſe among themſelves. He ſtreightly alſo commandeth the Borderers (ſome whereof, allured with Spaniſh Gold, had broken into *England* to plunder the Country, purpoſely to break off the Amity betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*,) not onely that they ſhould attempt no Hoſtility againſt *England*, but alſo careſully preſerve that Friendſhip and good Underſtanding which the near Kindred betwixt the two Princes, the Profeſſion of the ſame Religion, and the likeneſs of Language and Manners, had procured, unleſs they would chuſe to be proclaimed Enemies to their Country. Much to the ſame purpoſe alſo did the Queen ſet forth a Proclamation. And whereas Dammages had been done on both Sides, it was agreed that Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed on both Sides to hear and examine the ſame, that Juſtice and Peace might be mutually maintained betwixt both Nations.

The King of *Scots* prepareth againſt the *Spaniards*.

Reſtraineth the deadly Feuds of the *Scots* amongſt themſelves. And the Inſolency of the Scotiſh Borderers.

In the ſecond Month of this Year *Edmund York*, Nephew to that *York* who betrayed the Fort of *Zutphen* to the *Spaniards*, and *Richard Williams*, both apprehended the laſt Year, as hath been ſaid before, ſuffered Death at *Tyburn* for High treaſon. For *York* confeſſed, "That *Holt* the *Jeſuite*, *Hugh Owen*, *Jacomo de Franciſco*, and o-"thers, had offered him an Aſſignment of 40000 Ducats, ſubſcribed "with the Hand of *Ibara* the *Spaniard*, if he would either kill the "Queen himſelf, or aſſiſt the ſaid *Richard Williams* in killing her: "that this Aſſignment lay in *Holt*'s Hands for his Uſe: that *Holt*, "kiſſing the conſecrated Hoſt, ſware that the Money ſhould be paid "as ſoon as the Murther was committed: and that he bound *York* "and *Williams* by Oath and the Sacrament of the Euchariſt to diſ-"patch it. And indeed (as I ſaid before) the Villany of the Fugitives in relation to ſuch wicked Attempts as theſe was notorious about this time: while ſome encouraged Murtherers to commit Parricide upon the Queen; others, greedy to get their Money, offered themſelves to commit the Fact, and, being once hired to doe it, preſently revealed the ſame; and others, falſe and treacherous amongſt themſelves,

York and *Williams* executed for Treaſon.

1595.

themſelves, put one another forward to their Deſtruction before they were aware of it, intrapped one another with cunning Devices, and many times charged one another with notorious Falſities.

The French King declareth War againſt the *Spaniard*.

Now did the French King reſolve to declare War againſt the *Spaniard*, who, endeavouring to get the Scepter of *France*, had raiſed a dangerous War in that Kingdome, and with daily Excurſions infeſted the Inhabitants of *Cambray*, who lived under the Protection of the French King.

He informeth the Queen of it.

This the King ſignified by Letters to the Queen, and deſired her that they might reſolve upon ſome Courſe for the joynt proſecuting the War againſt the *Spaniard:* and withall he complained, that the calling Home of the *Engliſh* out of *Bretaigne* would be prejudiciall to him, and advantageous to the Enemy.

The Queen's Anſwer.

His Purpoſe to declare War the Queen commended, and wiſhed him happy and good Succeſs in it. She anſwered, that ſhe, for her part, had already ſo openly made War againſt the *Spaniard* by Sea and Land, both in the *Netherlands*, in *Spain*, *Portugall* and *America*, that it was notoriouſly known to the whole World. And if the French King had performed as much by an offenſive War, (who had hitherto onely defended himſelf,) the *Spaniard* had not been able to hurt either of them. She ſhewed him how there was a Neceſſity of calling Home the *Engliſh* out of *Bretaigne*, in regard Rebellions grew hot in *Ireland:* neither were they by Contract to ſtay any longer in *Bretaigne*, the *Spaniards* being once removed out of the Fort at *Breſt*. She complained again that the *Engliſh* were there ill treated, the promiſed Aſſiſtence not joyned with them, and *Morlaix* not delivered them for a place of Retreat, according as had been agreed by Contract.

The War waxeth hot.

No ſooner had the *French* and the *Spaniard* ſounded the Trumpet of Defiance, but a lamentable War aroſe in the Countries of *Luxenburg* and *Picardy*, *Chaſtellet* and *Dourlans* are taken by the *Spaniards*, and *Cambray* aſſaulted. Hereupon Monſieur *Chevalier* was ſent by the King's Councill into *England*, to make earneſt Suit that ſome auxiliary Forces might be ſent over into *Picardy* within fifteen days after the Date of the Letters, whereas he had ſpent twelve of them in his Journey, and there were but three then left to raiſe and ſend over the men.

The Queen ſendeth Aid to the *French*.

Yet was there a Leavy of men diſpatched without Delay, who were to be ſent over, if need were, to *Calice*, *Boulogne*, *Diep*, and other Sea-towns: and this was forthwith ſignified by Sir *Roger Williams* to the King and the Governours of the Towns aforeſaid. At the ſame time the King's Councill in *Bretaigne* made earneſt Requeſt by Letters for Aſſiſtence alſo to be ſent thither. But in regard they neither wrote for any certain Number, nor for what Uſe, nor aſſigned any place of Retreat, ſhe could give them no poſitive Anſwer.

Rumours were now abroad, and thoſe not ſlight or uncertain, but unanimouſly brought from all parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were ready to ſet Sail with a ſtronger and better appointed Armado then

then before for the Conqueſt of *England*. Whereupon choiſe Leavies of Men were made in all the maritime Counties of *England*, and ſure Watch and ward appointed to be kept upon the Sea-coaſt. Two Fleets were prepared; the one to encounter them in the Britiſh Sea, the other for *America* under the Command of *Hawkins* and *Drake*. All men buckled themſelves to War, lamenting that ſo many men of prime Valour, who might have done their own Country excellent Service, and ſo much Money, were loſt in *France*; (for the Voiage to *Breſt* coſt 47243 Crowns of the Sun, and above 200640 more were expended upon the Forces under the Earl of *Eſſex*, beſides Money lent;) and the wailing Women with freſh repeated Sorrow lamented that their ſlain Sons and Brethren were not reſerved for theſe Times.

1595. She prepareth againſt the *Spaniards* Invading *England*.

In the mean while *Lomeney* poaſteth hither out of *France*; and though he concealed not that *Cambray* was then taken, yet did he urge that ſome auxiliary Forces might forthwith be ſent over into *Picardy*, and that afterward Commiſſioners might be appointed to treat about the Managing of the War. Which when it ſeemed both to the Queen and her Councill prepoſterous, he grew impatient, and imputed the Loſs of *Cambray* to the Queen, ſaying that ſhe rejoyced in the King's Miſery, and thereby would force him to make a ſpeedy Peace with the *Spaniard*. She anſwered him *extempore* face to face, and ſhortly after by Letters and by Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, who then bare the place of her Embaſſadour with the French King, *That ſhe took it very much to Heart that* Cambray *was loſt, but more that the Loſs thereof was imputed to her by* Lomeney, *becauſe Succours were not ſent out of* England. *She made it appear they could not be ſent at ſo ſhort a Warning: neither was it any point of Wiſedome in her to venture them againſt the Enemie's Army fluſh'd with Victory*, (*the* French *having been once or twice defeated by them*,) *leſt ſhe might be thought wholly to neglect the Safety and Welfare of her People. That ſhe was ſo far from rejoycing at the King's Miſery, and forcing him thereby to make a Peace with the common Enemy, that neither the King himſelf, nor any man elſe, could have ſo much as the leaſt Suſpicion thereof, if he would but call to mind what Offices of Friendſhip ſhe had ſtill performed towards him. She promiſed for the future all the Help and Aſſiſtence ſhe was able to yield him, conſidering they were embarked and toſſed as it were in one and the ſame Bottom. Neither could any man juſtly blame her for want of Diligence and Induſtry againſt the* Spaniard, *who, from the time that the* Spaniard *firſt ſhewed his Hatred againſt the* Engliſh, (*and that for no other Reaſon but becauſe ſhe was willing to deliver her Neighbours from the Yoak of his Tyranny*,) *never ceaſed to weaken his Forces by Sea and Land, and to divert them another way: and now at this very Inſtant ſhe was wholly employed in ſending forth both a Fleet and an Army againſt him. Therefore ſhe was juſtly to be excuſed if ſhe did not inſtantly aſſiſt him, unleſs ſhe ſhould have expoſed* England *and* Ireland, *without Means to defend them, to her Enemies, who lay ready to invade them. And whereas ſome French-men privately whiſpered as if ſhe ſuſpected the*

The French King demanderh greater Aid.

The Queen's Anſwer.

King's

1595.

She cleareth herſelf of ſome things objected by the *French*. She friendly admoniſheth the French King.

King's Conſtancy, or looked upon his Proſperity with an Envious eye; ſhe proteſted that ſuch Thoughts (as altogether unbeſeeming a Prince) never once entred into her Heart, who was moſt aſſured of the conſtancy of his Friendſhip, and to whom ſhe ever wiſhed from her Soul all the Happineſs he could deſire.

Beſides this, ſhe commanded *Edmonds* to mind the King ſeriouſly of theſe things. *That it is a neceſſary Point of Wiſedome in Kings both to bear with and refrain from many things privately, although againſt their Minds, that they may ſatisfie and content their People, and keep all ſafe and ſecure; foraſmuch as the Love of the Subject is the greateſt Strength of Kings. Which ſeeing the King himſelf moſt wiſely did, it was neceſſary that ſhe alſo ſhould doe the like, and omit nothing for the Preſervation of her People, who were ſo dear unto her, and for whoſe ready Obedience, Fidelity and Valour, ſhe acknowledged herſelf deeply bound to Almighty God. Which things even* France *itſelf could teſtifie, where very many of them had manfully and faithfully ſpent their Bloud, and more were ready and willing to doe it, did not the Tears and Lamentations of Mothers, Children, and other near Relations, call upon them to breathe awhile, eſpecially ſeeing the Enemy did now manifeſtly threaten both* England *and* Ireland. *If the King would weigh theſe things impartially, ſhe doubted not but he would take theſe her Anſwers in good part, and ſtop his Ears againſt thoſe who, for the Advantage of the common Enemy, laboured to diſſolve the Amity that was betwixt him and her, and by diſſolving the ſame endeavoured to work both their Deſtructions. That it was the great Buſineſs of ſome men by bad Offices to rob Princes both of the Lives of their ſtouteſt Subjects, and of the Love of the reſt. Yet could ſhe by no means believe that by ſuch Arts and Practices he would ever be drawn to enter into a Peace with the* Spaniard *without Regard had of* England, (*as* Lomeney *had often inſinuated,*) *becauſe more Supplies were not ſent him out of* England. *Yea, ſhe was certain that ſo great a Prince as he, if he would reſpect his own Reputation, remember his Vows and Promiſes, and not forget the Deſerts of the* Engliſh, *would never ſuffer ſo dangerous and unworthy a Thought to enter into his Breaſt, which in another he would think worthy to be damned beneath the Pit of Hell. But if he ſhould be drawn thereto by the Popiſh Leaguers, (which God forbid,) yet ſhe hoped God's Aſſiſtence would never be wanting to* England. *That when ſhe once could ſee to what End the Spaniſh Preparations tended, ſhe would willingly afford him all the Aſſiſtence ſhe conveniently could, leſt the Adverſaries hence-forward, as heretofore, ſhould reap Advantage by his Neceſſity.* Theſe things *Edmonds*, and afterward Sir *Henry Unton* the Embaſſadour Leiger, upon his Return into *France*, laid open to him more at large.

The King perſwaded by ſome to Peace with the *Spaniard*. Diſſwaded by others.

But the truth is, the Troubles of *France* daily increaſing, many men urged the King to make a Peace with the *Spaniard*, perſwading him that the Queen did nothing but feed his Ears with a vain Sound of Words. Others deterred him from it, eſpecially *Catharine* of *Navar*, the King's Siſter, the Duke of *Bouillon*, and Sir *Henry Unton* the

the Engliſh Embaſſadour: letting him know, there could be but ſmall Hopes of Peace with the *Spaniard*, who had ſo long detained *Navar*, his Anceſtours Kingdome, from him; had diſturbed and embroiled *France*, and deſigned it for himſelf; had laid Claim to *Little Bretaigne* for his Daughter, as her Inheritance; and had arrogated to her a pretended Title to *England* in printed Books, againſt the known and undoubted Right of the King of *Scots*; inſomuch as he ſeemed to have ſwallowed in his vaſt Hopes the Monarchy of all *Europe*. 1595.

When the King ſtopped his Ears at all this, the Queen began to miſtruſt his Fidelity, eſpecially when ſhe underſtood for certain from the Colledge of Cardinals, that he was admitted by the Biſhop of *Rome* into the Boſome of the Church of *Rome* with Benediction upon no other Conditions then theſe, and in theſe words. *He ſhall abjure all Hereſies, and profeſs the Catholick Faith, in ſuch Form as ſhall be here done by his Embaſſadours. He ſhall introduce the Catholick Faith into the Principality of* Bearne, *and ſhall nominate Catholick Magiſtrates in the ſaid Province. He ſhall procure within a Year the Delivery of the Prince of* Conde *out of the Hands of Hereticks, whom he ſhall cauſe to be inſtructed and brought up in the Catholick Religion. The Decrees of the Councill of* Trent *ſhall be publiſhed and received throughout the whole Kingdome of* France. *He ſhall nominate to the vacant Churches and Monaſteries ſuch perſons as are ſound and Catholick, and free from all Suſpicion of Hereſie. He ſhall doe his beſt Endeavour that the Churches and Clergy be inveſted anew in their Livings that have been ſeized upon without any judiciall Proceeding. In beſtowing of Magiſtracies and Dignities he ſhall take Care that Catholicks onely be preferred, and that Hereticks, as near as may be, be expelled. The Concordates ſhall be obſerved, and all Abuſes removed which have crept in contrary to the ſame. The Abſolution in* France *granted by the Biſhops ſhall be condemned. He ſhall write Letters to all the Princes of Chriſtendome, wherein he ſhall give Notice of his Converſion, Abjuration, and Profeſſion of the Catholick Faith.*

The Queen miſtruſteth him.

The Terms of his Reconciliation to the Roman Church.

In the mean time the *Spaniards*, under the Leading of *Didaco Brochen*, put to Sea with four Gallies, and arriving in the Month of *July* very early in a Morning in *Cornwall* from the oppoſite Parts of *Bretaigne*, ſuddenly fired the Church of *Saint Paul*, which ſtood alone in the Fields, *Mouſe-hole*, *Neulin*, and *Penſans*, three poor Fiſher-towns, and preſently retired, not having ſlain or taken ſo much as one man. And theſe were the firſt and laſt *Spaniards* that ever made any hoſtile Landing in *England*.

Some *Spaniards* land in *England*.

But greater matters were undertaken againſt the *Spaniards* by ſome Engliſh-men upon private Accounts, and by the Queen publickly. For Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Captain of the Queen's Guard, having defloured one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, (whom he after took to Wife,) and being therefore thrown out of Favour, and kept ſeverall Months in Priſon, but now at length ſet at Liberty,

Raleigh's Deſign to find out *Guiana*.

1595. though baniſhed the Court, following his own *Genius*, which carried him altogether to diſcover remote Countries, and to ſearch out the hidden Secrets of Nature, undertook a Voiage to *Guiana*, a Country much ſpoken of by the *Spaniards* to abound with Gold: which Voiage he hoped would redound both to the Honour and Profit of his Country, while it would open a way both to come at great Treaſure, and to annoy the *Spaniard* more in the inner Countries of *America*; where he thought they might have greater Miſchief done them then on the Sea-coaſt, for there the Towns are never rich, but when the Treaſure is brought to them to be carried after into *Spain*.

His Voiage. From *Plymouth* therefore he ſet Sail on the 6. of *February*, and on the 22. of *March* arrived at the Iſle of *Trinidado*, eight Degrees on this ſide the Equinoctiall Line, where he eaſily took the little City of *Saint Joſeph's*, and the Governour *Antonio Bereo*; but found not ſo much as one Piece of Silver Coin. Having inquired many things of *Bereo*, who had made diligent Search for Mines of Gold in *Guiana*, he left his Ship at *Trinidado*, and with ſome Pinnaces and 100 men entring into that vaſt and many-mouthed River *Orenoque*, ſearched for *Guiana* by the ſpace of 400 Miles, amongſt winding Shallows and dividing Waters, being ſcorched with the reflecting Beams of the Sun directly over him, incommoded with violent Showrs, and wraſtling with many Difficulties; till the Air growing more winterly in the Month of *Aprill*, all places were in a manner overflown by the Waters coming down, ſo that of neceſſity he was forced to return, and that not without Danger. If any man deſire more, let him reade an elegant Book of his concerning this matter, wherein he moſt accurately deſcribeth the Countries, as if he had been born and bred there, and relateth many things of the Riches of *Guiana*, which he concludes from the reſplendent Marchaſites there found, from the Spaniſh Writings, and upon the Credit of the Barbarians or Savages, whom yet he underſtood not, and his own credulous Hope. Some things alſo he reporteth which ſeem fabulous, *viz.* of the *Amazons*, and of a Nation which by reaſon of the Height of their Shoulders have their Face in their Breaſt: a thing which the Poets and far Travellers no-where find. In his Return he fired *Cumana*, becauſe the Inhabitants refuſed to give Money to redeem it; as alſo he did ſeverall Cottages at *Saint Marie's* and *Rio de la Hach*. Neither did he deſiſt to proſecute his Enterpriſe once or twice afterward with great Expence, though the *Spaniard* to hinder him had placed a Colony at *Trinidado*.

He enters the River *Orenoque*.

His Hiſtory of thoſe Parts.

His Return.

The *Engliſh* infeſt the Weſtern Ocean. At the ſame time *Amias Preſton* and *Sommers* ſacked the Iſland of *Porto Santo* near *Madera*, *Cobe* near *Margarita*, the little Town of *Coros*, and the little City of *Saint Jago de Leon*; but ſpared *Cumana* for Money. Some few Months before alſo three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* ſet upon a huge Carack which took its Name from the *Five Wounds of Chriſt*: ſhe by chance took Fire as they were in Fight,

Fight, and was burnt with all the Merchandize in her: and the Fire flamed out ſo vehemently, that the *Engliſh* had much adoe to eſcape, but the *Portugueezes* threw themſelves into the Sea. Theſe things and ſome others were done by Private men. 1595.

But the Queen, being advertiſed that a great Maſs of Treaſure was brought to *Porto-Rico* in the Iſle of *Boriquena* or *Saint John's*, for the Uſe of the *Spaniard*, that ſhe might cut off the Sinews of War by Intercepting the ſame, and withall buſie him with her Arms in that other World, ſent thither Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Francis Drake* with equall Authority at Sea, and Sir *Thomas Baskervill* as Generall over the Land-forces, with 6 of the Queen's Ships, and 20 other Men of war. Theſe ſet Sail from *Plymouth* on the laſt of *Auguſt*, and the 27. day after arrived at *Grand Canary*. This Iſland *Drake* and *Baskervill* were minded to conquer, both for Honour, and for the Convenience of better Victualling the Fleet. *Hawkins* was of a contrary Opinion, who affirmed that the Fleet was ſufficiently victualled already, and that no time was to be loſt untill the main Enterpriſe was effected. At length, being perſwaded by *Baskervill*, who undertook to win it in four daies, and by the Sea-men, who pretended lack of Victuals, he aſſented. But *Baskervill* being ready to land, and perceiving the Difficulty, the Townſmen being prepared to fight, and the Sea beating furiouſly upon the Shoar, gave over the Attempt. From thence ſailing the ſpace of a full Month, they came to the Iſle of *Dominica*, or *Santo Domingo*: At which time 5 Spaniſh Ships, ſent forth to obſerve the *Engliſh*, and bring the Treaſure from *Porto-Rico*, lighted upon an Engliſh Pinnace that ſtraied from her Company; by the Maſter and Mariners whereof (put to Torture) when they underſtood that the *Engliſh* had a Deſign upon *Porto-Rico*, they plied thither with Sails and Oars, making all the Speed they could, giving them Notice that the *Engliſh* were coming. They preſently hid their Gold and Silver, and ſent forth ſmall Veſſels to all the Iſlands and Sea-coaſts, to give the *Spaniards* Intelligence thereof; who, being now forewarned, were ſufficiently armed. The *Engliſh* ſtaying in the Iſle of *Dominica* to build Pinnaces, delayed time, and came too late to *Porto-Rico*. Where they had no ſooner caſt Anchour in the Road, but the Enemy played upon them with their Ordnance from the Forts, and at Supper-time Sir *Nicholas Clifford* Knight and *Brute Brown* were mortally wounded with a Shot, whereof they died within a day or two. The ſame day *Hawkins* died of Grief, occaſioned by Grudges ariſen betwixt him and the reſt of the Commanders, and was much miſſed and lamented of the Sea-men. The *Spaniards* had ſtopped up the Mouth of the Haven by ſinking a great Ship therein, from which they had continued long Maſts on both ſides quite to the Forts which defend the Entrance. Within ſtood to oppoſe them thoſe five Spaniſh Ships ballaſted with Sand, filled with Muskettiers, and furniſhed with Ordnance. Nevertheleſs *Baskervill* put his men into Boats and Pinnaces, and attempted to

An Expedition to *America* upon the Queen's account.

Canary attempted in vain.

And *Porto-Rico*.

The death of Sir *John Hawkins*.

1595.

Small Towns taken.

enter by Force, and fired one or two of the Spaniſh Ships; but being beaten back with the Loſs of many of his men ſlain by a Showr of ſmall Shot, he had no liſt to renew the Aſſault. From thence ſailing to the Continent, they burnt *Rio de la Hach*, a ſmall Town, the Inhabitants whereof offered 34000 Ducats to redeem the ſame; they fired alſo ſome Villages about it. Then they burnt *S. Martha's*, in which was not ſo much as a Grain of Gold or Silver to be found. After this they took *Nombre de Dios*, empty both of People and Treaſure, and burnt it likewiſe, together with all the Shipping there.

They march towards *Panama* without Succeſs.

From thence they marched with 750 armed men towards *Panama*: but when they had for a day or two with great Difficulty made their way through cumberſome narrow and dirty Paſſages, being aſſailed on either ſide with many Volleys of Shot out of the Woods, and finding at the Entrance of that Neck of Land a Fort to oppoſe them, underſtanding alſo there were two more to ſtop their paſſage more within, they returned to their Ships weary, half ſtarved for lack of Victualls, and with their Companies much weakned. And now they turned their Courſe towards the Iſle of *Eſcudo*, and from thence to *Porto Bello*.

The death of Sir *Francis Drake*.

In the mean time, *viz.* on the 28. of *January*, died Sir *Francis Drake* of the Bloudy-flux, together with Grief for his ill Fortune, and, after the manner of Funerals at Sea, was caſt overboard with a Peal of Ordnance, almoſt in the ſame place where firſt he began to grow famous to the World by his fortunate Succeſſes. Of whom if any man deſire to underſtand more, let him ſee what I have written in the Year 1580.

An Encounter with the Spaniſh Fleet.

In their Return, on the South ſide of *Cuba*, near to the Iſle of *Pines*, the Spaniſh Fleet met them, which waited for their coming: but at the firſt Encounter *Baskervill* and *Throughton*, the latter in the Vice-admirall, the other in the Admirall, did ſo entertain the *Spaniards*, that with ſmall Loſs received, and greater given, (if a man may believe them,) our Fleet eſcaped.

The Fleet returneth home.

At length, after eight Months being abroad, they returned into *England* with very little Purchace, after they had fired a few ſmall Towns, but much Shipping. For the *Spaniards* in *America*, who had lived heretofore in Safety and Security for a long time by reaſon of the great Remoteneſs of the Place, having now many times of late ſuſtained great Loſſes at the hands of the *French* and *Engliſh* that ventured thither, had fortified themſelves ſtrongly with Works, and were provided with all things needfull for their Defenſe.

Money demanded of the Eſtates of the *Low-Countries*, by *Burghley's* perſwaſion.

Whilſt the *Engliſh* attempted theſe things in the Weſtern World, a Controverſie formerly ariſen (but with no hoſtile Intention) betwixt the Queen and the Confederate Eſtates gathered Strength by little and little, and by little and little vaniſhed, in this following manner. *Burghley*, Lord Treaſurer, had made appear to the Queen what a vaſt deal of Money had been ſpent upon the Low-Country War ſince the Year 1585; what a huge quantity of Gold and Silver had been ſent over out of *England* thither, and there new coined by the Eſtates, to their great Gain and Advantage, and never brought back

back again into *England*; what a number of valiant Engliſh-men had been conſumed in their Quarrel; what great Expenſes ſhe was of neceſſity to be at to quench the Flames of the Iriſh Combuſtions, and divert the Attempts of the *Spaniard*: moreover, how by the Queen's Help the Eſtates had defended themſelves, greatly offended their Enemies, ſettled their Commonwealth, which before ſtood tottering and wavering, much increaſed their Wealth by Traffick, and their Power by the Addition of ſome Territories, and likewiſe relieved their Neighbours. The Queen being in a manner weary with the Tedioufneſs of the War, and the greatneſs of the Expenſe, repreſented all this to the Eſtates by Sir *Thomas Bodley* her Embaſſadour Leiger; eſpecially that *England* was much exhauſted both of Wealth and Military men by means of her long War againſt the *Spaniard*, whom ſhe had made her Enemy meerly becauſe ſhe had aſſiſted them in the extremity of their Danger. She required therefore "that they would eaſe her of the Charge of maintaining her "auxiliary Forces; that they would repay ſome part of her Ex- "penſes, and appoint Commiſſioners to ſettle a Courſe how the "whole Summe diſburſed upon their Account, and due to Sir *Hora-* "*tio Pallavicini*, (to whom ſhe had a long time payed great Intereſt,) "might at length be repayed. 1595.

The Queen's Propoſitions.

The Eſtates acknowledged and extolled the many and great Courteſies of the Queen, accounting themſelves bound to her, next under God, for all their Proſperity. But they proteſted "that they had laid "out ſo much Money in the Year 1588. againſt the Spaniſh Armado, "the next Year following in the *Portugall* Expedition, and afterward "in the Voiage to *Breſt*, and had ſuſtained ſuch great Loſſes of late "by an extraordinary Inundation, that they were not ſo provided of "Money as that they could pay their Debts, unleſs they ſhould too "much oppreſs their miſerable People, and cut the Throat of their "Cauſe. That they were ſo far from finding any leſſening of their "Expenſes by the Addition of Territories and Towns taken from "the Enemy, that their Charges were rather increaſed in fortifying "the ſame, and placing of new Garriſons therein. And for their "Traffick, it was and had been expoſed to great Loſſes by Arreſts in "*Spain*, and Depredations of the *Engliſh* and *Dunkirkers*. They "confeſſed they had relieved the French King, but not by reaſon of "any Abundance of their Wealth, or out of an inſolent Oſtentation, "nor that they intended to fly to his Protection, and neglect *Eng-* "*land*; but that they might divert the Enemy, and keep that King "from making Peace with the *Spaniard*, to which he might other- "wiſe be driven by Indigency, Diſſenſions at Home, and corrupt "Counſells. Nevertheleſs, ſome Part of the Money they promiſed to repay.

The Eſtates Anſwer.

They offer a part.

The Queen required a greater Part then was profered. They ſtood ſtifly upon it, that by the Contract in the Year 1585. the Money was not to be repayed before the War was ended, and that the Queen

More demanded. Their Anſwer.

1595. Queen ought not to fly back from her Agreement, if she at all respected her Honour.

The Queen's Reply. She was of a contrary Opinion, grounded upon these Judgments of the Lawyers and Politicians. *All Contracts with a Prince are understood to carry an Interpretation of sincere Fidelity without Fraud; neither is a Prince bound by his Contract, when it really appears that the Contract turneth to the publick Detriment and Dammage. The Peace is not broken if a Prince goe back from his Contract, when it is done upon some new intervening Accident, and so the Case comes to be changed from what it was; concerning which other Provision would have been made, if it had been at all foreseen or thought upon. Leagues and Contracts of Princes ought not to be cavilled and shuffled withall, neither are they to be observed with them that break Agreements. A Prince is not bound to a Contract solemnly made in a Case respecting his State and Dignity, if it tend to the Prejudice and Detriment of his Subjects. Every Contract, though sworn to, is to be understood to bind, Things continuing in the same state and Condition, but not if they be changed Every man is more strongly obliged to the Commonwealth then to his own Promise.* And upon the Authority of *Seneca*: *A wise man doth not change his Resolution if all things continue as they were when he made it: therefore he never repenteth him, because no better thing at that time could be done then was done, no better thing concluded on then was then concluded.* Concerning these matters there were many, various and nice Disputes: as also whether the Estates were bound to pay ought to the Queen's Successours, if any thing should happen to her other then well, since by the Contract neither were they bound to assist, nor the others to pay them: and whether that Debt demanded in *Pallavicini*'s name were not to be demanded rather from those of *Brabant*, *Flanders* and *Artois*, forasmuch as the Contract was made while they were confederate, and before the present Confederacy of the United Provinces. But *Bodley* brought the Estates at length to that pass, that, for fear of the Displeasure of so great a Princess, they propounded these Terms following. "That they would forthwith ease the "Queen of all the Charges she was at about the auxiliary Forces of "the *English*, (to wit, 40000 Pounds yearly.) That they would "pay 20000 Pounds Sterling for some Years, assist her with a cer-"tain number of Ships, and neither make Peace nor treat with any "without her Consent. That after Peace concluded, they would "pay her 100000 Pounds yearly for four Years. Howbeit upon "these Conditions, that 4000 men should be allowed them out of "*England*, and all manner of Debts quite wiped off. They made humble Suit that these Offers might be accepted for the Reasons before mentioned. Moreover, they shewed how ticklish a Condition their State was in; the People being amazed and startled at the great Power of the Enemy, who now kept so many Armies on foot, the Provinces disagreeing about the Method of raising Contribution-money, the principall Lords at odds amongst themselves, many revolting

Lib. de Beneficiis cap. 13.

They make new Proposals.

volting from the received Religion, and the Emperour by his Embaſſadours labouring to induce the People to accept of Peace: inſomuch as if this Ten-years Debt ſhould now be rigidly exacted, it was to be feared the Conſequence would be lamentable to the Confederate Provinces. 1595.

The Queen would not admit their Excuſe upon account of Poverty, but admitted it out of Commiſeration, leſt ſhe might ſeem willing to diſſolve their Confederacy, to drive them to Deſpair, or to give cauſe of Rejoycing and Triumph to the Enemy; upon Condition that they ſhould joyn 30 Ships ready furniſhed with her Fleet which ſhe now prepared againſt the *Spaniard*, and give a monthly Pay for ſome time to the Engliſh Auxiliaries. And thus this Controverſie was as it were laid aſleep till the Year 1598. Which the Queen accepteth. And the controverſie is laid aſleep.

In *Germany* in the mean time the *Hanſe*-Towns complained to the Emperour and the Eſtates of the Empire, that their Priviledges about payment of Cuſtoms, granted in former times by the Kings of *England*, were of late infringed, their Goods taken from them in the *Portugall* Expedition, and Monopolies of Engliſh Merchants erected in *Germany*. Complaints of the *Hanſe*-Towns againſt the *Engliſh*.

To theſe things the Queen made Anſwer by Doctour *Chriſtopher Parkins*, *That thoſe Priviledges were for ſome Abuſes and other reaſonable Cauſes revoked in the Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth by Authority of Parliament*, (*from which there was no Appeal*,) *as things not convenient for thoſe Times, having been firſt granted when Traffick and Sailing were neglected amongſt the* Engliſh; *but now the Caſe was altered, and therefore the Practice of them was in the Reign of Queen* Mary *wholly inhibited. That the Queen never ſought an utter Abolition of their Priviledge*, (*which yet by Act of Parliament ſhe might lawfully have done*,) *but in the firſt Years of her Reign had granted them ſome other new Priviledges for a while, as the Condition of the Times would bear, till they themſelves, not giving any Warning, expelled the* Engliſh *for no Cauſe at all out of* Hamburg, *without any Reſpect had to the Amity with them. Yet after that, ſhe determined to allow them the ſame way and courſe of Trading which the* Engliſh *had; but they utterly refuſed it, unleſs they might enjoy a greater Priviledge: whereas it is neither the Cuſtome elſe-where, nor a thing to be endured, that Forreiners ſhould be preferred before the naturall Subjects of the Land in trading for thoſe Commodities which are peculiar to every Country; which yet by thoſe Priviledges they ſtand upon. Beſides, the Commonwealth could not ſubſiſt, if no other Cuſtomes ſhould now be payed by the* Hanſe-Towns *then what were impoſed above* 300 *years agoe; if Priviledges granted to the Detriment of the Commonwealth ſhould be allowed of, and ſuch as have been formerly for juſt Reaſons revoked ſhould be renewed again at any man's Intreaty. Yet had ſhe lately offered them, for the Emperour's ſake, that they ſhould have in a manner the ſame Priviledges with the* Engliſh: *viz. That as to Cuſtomes for Cloaths exported hence, and for Merchandize uſually imported hither from the* Hanſe-Towns, *they* The Queen's Anſwer.

ſhould

1595. *ſhould pay no more then the naturall Subjects of the Land; but if they would bring in Merchandize from other Parts, as from* Spain *and the* Low-Countries, *into* England, *it ſhould be lawfull for them freely ſo to doe, paying a Peny in the Pound Cuſtome leſs then other Forreiners. But for Cloath, it ſhould not be lawfull for thoſe of the* Hanſe-*Towns to tranſport it into any other places but the* Hanſe-*Towns beyond the River* Ems *and the City of* Emden *towards the Eaſt and the* Baltick *Sea. That ſhe permitted them alſo to hold their Houſes at* London *and elſe-where in* England, *and to govern their Company in an honeſt way by their Alderman, ſo as nothing were done to the Prejudice of the Queen's Majeſty, or againſt the Laws of the Realm: though no ſuch thing be contained in any of their Priviledges, that they may of themſelves conſtitute an Alderman, or make Laws and Orders, and exerciſe Juriſdiction, in another's Kingdom, &c. That the Goods which they complain to have been taken from them were Munition for War, which they were carrying into* Spain *to ſerve againſt* England; *whereas this was no-way lawfull by their Priviledges, and Notice had been publickly given in all their Cities, that they ſhould not doe it, unleſs they would be reputed and taken for Enemies. That their Ships were again diſcharged, and nothing detained but onely the ſaid Munition for War, which it hath been conſtantly by the Law of Arms and the Conſtitutions of the Realm lawfull to detain. As for the Monopoly complained of, the* Germans *themſelves do teſtifie in their Writings, that the Way of the Engliſh-mens Trading amongſt them is far from a Monopoly. She hopeth therefore that the Decree of* Augſpurg *for prohibiting the Commerce of the* Engliſh, *procured by the* Hanſe-*Towns, would be ſuſpended; eſpecially conſidering that the Eſtates of the Empire have no Power to take Cognizance of Priviledges or other things whatſoever relating to the Rights and Laws of the Kingdome of* England, *which, being an abſolute and independent Kingdome, acknowledgeth no Superiour over it but its own Prince.*

The price of Grain abated by ſupplies from the *Hanſe*-Towns.

Nevertheleſs in the mean time great quantities of Grain were brought into *England* from the *Hanſe*-Towns, after that the Queen had given Leave to every man to bring it in without Cuſtome; which much abated the Price of Grain, which by continuall Rains in Summer, and private Tranſportation of it, was grown to that high Rate, that ſome of the Meaner ſort of people in *London* began to raiſe Tumults about it.

The death of the Earl of *Arundell.*

At this time died in the Tower of *London Philip Howard* Earl of *Arundell*, who, having felt the Queen's mild Severity, continued wholly fixed upon his Meditations from the time that he was condemned in the Year 1589. and tying himſelf to a ſtrict Religious Obſervance, pined away with that ſevere kind of Life, leaving behind him one onely young Son, *Thomas*, whom he had by *Anne Dacres* of *Gilleſland.*

And of the Lord *Vaux.*

Now alſo *William* Lord *Vaux* departed this Life a Priſoner at large, a man no leſs devoted to the Romiſh Religion; to whom ſucceeded his young Grand-ſon *Edward*, whom his Son had by *Elizabeth Roper.*

Theſe

1595.

These were accompanied by Sir *Thomas Heneage*, who was the Queen's Servant from his Youth, whom she first made Treasurer of her Chamber, then Vice-chamberlain, and Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; a man for his Elegancy of Life and Pleasantness of Discourse born as it were for the Court. He left onely one Daughter, who inriched and increased the Family of the *Finches* with a fair Estate and a numerous and hopefull Issue. And Sir *Thomas Heneage*.

In the last Month of the Year was *William Whitaker* delivered from the Prison of his Body, a Divine rarely accomplished with all Ornaments of Piety and Learning, the Queen's Professour of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge* for the space of 15 Years, and Master of *Saint John*'s Colledge there, who much weakned his Body with Study when that Question was bandied amongst the Divines there, *Whether true and justifying Faith may be lost*, and left a great Miss of himself to the University-men, whom by his Preaching, exemplary Life and Writings he very much profited. And of Doctour *William Whitaker*.

In the same Month departed this Life Sir *Roger Williams*, Knight, a Welsh-man, of the Family of *Penrose* in *Monmouth-shire*, who first was a Souldier of Fortune under the Duke of *Alva*, and afterward, having happily run through all the Parts of military Discipline, might have been compared with the famousest Captains of our Age, could he have tempered the Heat of his warlike Spirit with more Wariness and prudent Discretion. In this certainly he excelled many, that being a rude and unlearned man, and onely taught by Experience, he wrote with exquisite Judgement the History of the Low-Country Wars at which he was present; and in an excellent Book hath maintained the Military art now practised and in Use before that of former Ages, not at all pleasing thereby the old Souldiers and lovers of Archery. At his Funerall in *Paul*'s Church the Earl of *Essex* was present in Mourning, and as many military Officers as were then in the City. And Sir *Roger Williams*.

The next day after his Funerall died also Sir *Thomas Morgan*, who was present with his Kinsman Sir *Roger* at his Death. He also was a Welsh-man, and a Knight, well stricken in years, born of the noble Family of the *Morgans* of *Pencarne* in the same County, who, being bred up to the Wars from his Youth, purchased by his military Valour and Moderation of Spirit great Commendations amongst all men, but greater with the Queen for his untainted Fidelity; for he put into her Hands an Assignment of a large yearly Summe of Money made to him under the *Spaniard*'s Hand to draw him to his Party, contenting himself with a mean Stipend which he received from her. And Sir *Thomas Morgan*. His Fidelity.

Russell Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, foreseeing by that which I have related towards the end of the last Year a Storm of War arising, made earnest Suit by his Friends in *England* that some experienced Souldier might be sent over to assist him with his Counsell and what else he should need him in; and above all men he wished for *Baskervill*,

1595.

Sir *John Norris* sent into *Ireland*.

though he named not the man. But Sir *John Norris* was sent, whom he little expected, a man throughly trained up to military Discipline, valiant against all Dangers, and famous for his worthy Exploits. As soon as *Tir-Oen* heard that he was coming with 1300 old Souldiers which had served in *Bretaigne* and the *Low-Countries*, and with a Supply of other men out of *England*, and that the *English* had a Design upon the Castles of *Baliſhanon* and *Belyck* at the Entrance of *Lough Earne*, he, being conscious of his own Guiltiness, unexpectedly ſtaulted the Fort at *Black-water*, by which lies the Passage to the Country of *Tir-Oen*, and took it by Surrender, whilst *Edward Cornwallis*, the Governour thereof, was negligently absent.

Tir-Oen taketh the Fort at *Black-water*.

In perplexity what to doe.

And at one and almost the same Instant, wavering and unresolved in Minde, he both wrote Letters to the Earl of *Kildare*, offering him his Assistence against the Injuries done him by the Lord Deputie's Officers; and, on the other side, promised the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry Wallop* Treasurer of the Army, that he would continue in his Allegeance, and besought the Lord Deputy and Sir *John Norris* by Letters that he might be favourably dealt withall, and that he might not against his Will be forced to the Breach of his Fidelity. But these Letters *Bagnall* the Marshall intercepted, and (as the Earl afterward complained) suppressed them, to his great Dammage and Disadvantage.

He is proclaimed Traitour.

For presently after, in the Month of *July*, he was by publick Proclamation in English and Irish proclaimed an Enemy to his Country and a Traitour, by the Name of *Hugh O-Neal* the Son of *Matthew Fadareugh*, that is, *the Black-smith*, the base Son of *Con O-Neal*. In the Proclamation was first set forth his Ingratitude towards the Queen, who had relieved him in his Necessities with a yearly Pension, raised him to the Honour of an Earl, inriched him with large Possessions above other Earls in *Ireland*, and had pardoned him for the Wrongs he had done to his Neighbours, and his barbarous Cruelty against *Shan O-Neal*'s Son, whom he had strangled, without permitting his Cause to be heard. Then how unworthily he kept in Prison *Shan*'s other Sons bound in Irons; and how perfidiously he inticed the Lords of *Ulster* to joyn in Rebellion with him. Lastly, a Pardon is promised to all those that would desert him; and all and every person is forwarned not to assist the Rebels in any way whatsoever.

The Rebels strength.

At this time were mustered by the Rebels in *Ulster* about 1000 Horse and 6280 Foot, and in *Connaught* 2300, which were also all of them at *Tir-Oen*'s Beck. And of these many were expert Souldiers, having been trained and exercised to their Arms from the time that the Lord Deputy *Perott* had appointed every Lord of *Ulster* to have such a Number of men exercised and in readiness to resist the Island-*Scots*; others had been bred up in the Low-Country War, whom he also had sent over to serve there, very improvidently in regard of the Inconveniences that followed thereupon; others had been

been perſwaded by the Lord Deputy *Fitz-Williams* to ſerve in the Engliſh Armies, and ſo had learn'd Experience. 1595.

And no leſs was the Number of the Engliſh Forces under Sir *John Norris*, who was commanded to march againſt the Rebels, thereby to prevent the Succours they expected out of *Spain*. For to him the Lord Deputy, by the Queen's Command, (that it might be done with the leſs Diſgrace to the Lord Deputy) gave the principall Power for matter of War, with the Title of *Generall of the Army in* Ulſter *in the Lord Deputie's Abſence*, and abſolute Authority to pardon all Rebels whatſoever. To what Intent this was done I know not: but certainly it was to the Admiration of moſt men, conſidering that the whole Force and Efficacy of Command conſiſteth in its lying in one man; and nothing is more monſtrous then a two-headed Command, nothing more deſtructive. Yet did the Lord Deputy joyn himſelf with him, and ſo they marched as far as *Armagh*, ſtriking ſuch a Terrour into the Rebels, that *Tir-Oen*, quitting the Fort at *Black-water*, ſet Fire on the Villages adjoyning and the Town of *Dunganon*, and burnt them down, demoliſhing a great part of his own Houſe there, and now, crying out that he was quite undone, ſought Lurking-places to hide himſelf in. But they marched on no farther, being not ſufficiently provided of Victuals, (by which means many Expeditions in *Ireland* have failed of Succeſs,) but made a Stand, and, having proclaimed *Tir-Oen* Traitour in his own Territory, and left a Garriſon in the Metropolitan Church of *Armagh*, returned. In their Return *Tir-Oen* diligently obſerved them, and now and then ſhewed himſelf at a good Diſtance. They ſtrengthened the Garriſon at *Monaghan*; and when they were now come near to *Dundalk*, the Lord Deputy, according to the Authority he had received, committed the Proſecution of the War to *Norris*, and, after many kind and obliging Expreſſions interchanged betwixt them, returned to *Dublin*, having a carefull Eye to the Affairs of *Leimſter*, *Connaught* and *Munſter*.

Norris ſtayed with a ſtrong Army in *Ulſter*, and did nothing anſwerable to the Expectation raiſed of him: either out of Emulation againſt the Lord Deputy, (which was perniciouſly cheriſhed at the Court with egregious Diſſimulation,) while the one could not brook an Equall, the other a Superiour; or out of the uſuall Craft of Sword-men, who deſire ſtill to lengthen out a War, knowing they are no longer eſteemed then they are needed; or elſe out of his favourable Inclination to *Tir-Oen*, his Good will towards him being as great as the Lord Deputie's Hatred againſt him. For whilſt he gave Ear to *Tir-Oen* and his Friends Stories, he tacitly blamed the Lord Deputy as too harſh with *Tir-Oen*, in that he thought no Peace was to be made with him. And indeed the Lord Deputy was perſwaded that *Tir-Oen* did nothing but ſeek Delays, and ſpin out time in Expectation of Succours from *Spain*; and therefore he refuſed all Parlies and Truces with him, as deceitfull on his ſide and pernicious,

Norris marcheth againſt *Tir-Oen*.

And with him the Lord Deputy.

They terrifie *Tir-Oen*.

And return.

Grudges betwixt the Lord Deputy and *Norris*.

1595. ſuppoſing that it neither ſtood with the Majeſty of the Queen nor his own Honour, to admit either Letters or Meſſengers from a proclaimed Traitour. *Norris* on the contrary, being apt to believe him, had great Hopes of drawing him to Conditions of Peace, inſomuch that he admitted him to a Conference; all men admiring that ſo great a Warriour as he ſhould come to a Conference before he did to a Battell with a proclaimed Traitour. But that ſubtill Fox encouraged this Hope in *Norris* by preſenting a feigned Submiſſion to him ſubſcribed with his own Hand, and by begging Pardon upon his Knees before *Norris* and Secretary *Fenton*; proteſting alſo, "That "he never waved his Obedience to his Prince (to whom he was ſo "much engaged) out of any Malice or Ambition; but that his "Friends, being eager to revenge ſome Injuries undeſervedly offe-"red unto him, and incenſed at a Plot laid for his Life, had broke "out into Rebellion. That this was his firſt Treaſon againſt the "Queen, which he promiſed to waſh away by his faithfull future "Obedience with his very Bloud; and withall to renounce the Title "of *O-Neal*, which he had taken upon him leſt others ſhould uſurp "it to defraud and cheat him thereof; and that from thence-for-"ward he would have nothing to doe with the *Spaniard*, (with "whom he affirmed he had had nothing to doe before the Month of "*Auguſt*:) deſiring that Mercy might be ſhewed him, and that theſe "things might be paſſed over in Oblivion, and a full Pardon granted "to him and his Friends. *O-Donell* in like ſort ſubmitted himſelf. Here-upon a Truce was concluded till the firſt of *January*, and two Hoſtages delivered. And ſhortly after *Feagh Mac-Hugh* with the ſame Mask of Diſſimulation, falling down with a lamentable Howling at the Lord Deputie's Feet, craved Pardon, and was received into Protection, living quietly for a little while after.

Tir-Oen ſubmitteth himſelf to *Norris*.

A truce.

The wiſer ſort have obſerved that this Conference, and theſe and ſuch like Truces, have been always very prejudiciall and hurtfull to the Queen: for the Rebels in the interim get clear Time to form and ripen their ſecret Plots and Deſigns, to ſtrengthen their Party abroad with new Confederacies, and at Home with freſh Recruits of Forces. For raſcally and baſe People daily aſſociated themſelves to them; whilſt the Engliſh Forces in the mean time lay idle at great Expences, and ate up the faithfull Subjects, foraſmuch as by the Truce they were not to live in the Enemie's Country.

Truces in *Ireland* have been ſtill hurtfull.

The

The Nine and thirtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1596.

1596.

IN the beginning of *January*, when the Truce was now expired, (though by the Wiles and Craft of the Rebels the Caſtle of *Monaghan* had been ſeized on by them in the mean time,) Sir *Henry Wallop* Treaſurer of the Army in *Ireland*, and Sir *Robert Gardiner* Chief Juſticer, men of great Gravity and approved Wiſedom, were ſent to treat with *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donel*, and the reſt of the Rebels, and to perſwade them to Terms of Peace. To theſe two men they made known their ſeveral Grievances and delivered their Petitions particularly man by man. A Conference with the Rebels.

Tir-Oen complained, "That Sir *Henry Bagnall*, Marſhal, had cunningly defrauded him of the Fruit of his Labours: That by his Lies and Artifices he had thrown him out of the Queen's Favour, and in a manner from his Degree of Honour: That he had intercepted his Letters to the Lord Deputy, Generall *Norris*, and others, and ſuppreſſed them, to his extraordinary Prejudice; and detained the Dowry aſſigned to his Wife: Proteſting that he never tampered with forrein Princes before ſuch time as he was proclaimed Traitour. He humbly beſought "That he and his might have their Offenſes pardoned: that they might be reſtored to their former Eſtates: that they might have the free Exerciſe of their Religion, (whereas there had ſcarce ever yet been any Inquiry made about Religion in *Ireland*, neither had the Thought of Religion once entred into the Conſpiratours Minds, and this was the firſt time that ever they pretended the ſame to ſtrengthen their Party:) "that the Marſhall might pay him 1000 Pounds Engliſh for his Wife's Dowry, ſhe being now dead: that no Garriſon-ſouldiers, Sheriſs, or ſuch kind of Officers, might be appointed in the County of *Tir-Oen*: that the Troup of 50 Horſe whereof he had had Command at the Queen's Pay might be reſtored to him: and that thoſe who had made a Prey of him and his might be brought to Puniſhment. If theſe things might be granted, he promiſed that he would omit no Duty of a faithfull Subject, and would ſuffer the Archbiſhop and Dean of *Armagh* to uſe and enjoy their Priviledges and Poſſeſſions." *Tir-Oen's* Complaint. His Demands

O-Donel, after he had mentioned the Fidelity of his Father and his Anceſtours towards the Kings of *England*, complained, "That "*Bome*, an Engliſh Captain, was ſent with a Band of men by the "Lord Deputy *Perott* into his Country, under Pretenſe of drawing "the People to Civility, where he was courteouſly received by his "Father, and had ſome Towns aſſigned unto him; yet did he leave "no kind of Injury unpractiſed againſt his Father, and advanced a "Baſtard to the Dignity of *O-Donel*: That the Lord Deputy *Perott* "had *O-Donel's* Complaint.

1596.

"had by a Wile intercepted him himſelf, thruſt him without Fault "into Priſon, and unjuſtly detained him there, untill by God's Provi- "dence he eſcaped out: That the Lord Deputy *Fitz-Williams* had "ſent for *Oen O-Toole*, the ſecond man in that Tract to *O Donel* him- "ſelf, upon publick Faith given him, and kept him, though innocent, "ſeven years in cloſe Cuſtody; and had vexed his Neighbours in "*Fermanagh* with intolerable Injuries: That he himſelf could find no "better way for his own Safety, then by helping his diſtreſſed

His Demands

"Neighbours. He deſired the ſame things which the Earl did, and alſo certain Caſtles and Lands in the County of *Slego*, and the Caſtle of *Slego*, which he claimed to be confirmed to him as his own Right. (For that Caſtle *Ulick a Burgh*, Enſign of the Garriſon, had lately betrayed to the Enemies, having treacherouſly ſlain *George Bingham* his Captain.) *Shan Mac-Brian* and *Mac-Phelim O-Neal* lamentably complained, "That the Iſle of *Magy* and the Barony of *Mau-*

The Complaints of others.

"*ghery-Mourn*, their Anceſtours Inheritance, were injuriouſly taken "from them; the firſt by the Earl of *Eſſex*, the other by Sir *Henry* "*Bagnall*: That he himſelf was kept in Bonds untill by Conſtraint "he reſigned his Title to *Bagnall*: and That he was now unde- "ſervedly vexed and wronged by the Garriſon in *Knoc-Fergus*. *Hugh Mac-Guire* highly complained of "the military Inſolency of "the Garriſon-ſouldiers in driving away his Cows: and That the "Sheriff ſent into his Territories had cut off the Head of his neareſt "Kinſman, and ſpurned it about with his Feet. *Brian Mac-Hugh*, *Oge Mac-Mahon* and *Ever Mac-Conly* complained, amongſt other things, "That the Lord Deputy *Fitz-Williams*, being bribed with "Gifts, had confirmed *Hugh Roe* in the Dignity of *Mac-Mahon*; and "ſoon after, becauſe he had, after the Cuſtom of the Countrey, with "diſplayed Banners exacted an Amerciament impoſed on his People, "hanged him up, and granted his Inheritance to Strangers, that ſo the

And their Demands.

"Name of *Mac-Mahon* might be utterly extinguiſhed. In a word, "they all made the ſame Demand above mentioned concerning the "Exerciſe of Religion. But theſe two laſt demanded farther, "That "they might freely enjoy all the Revenues, as well Eccleſiaſticall as "their own, within their Countries, for a yearly Rent in Money. When the Commiſſioners thought fit that ſome of theſe things ſhould be granted, ſome moderated, and ſome referred to the Queen's Plea- ſure; they propounded on the other ſide theſe Articles to the Re-

Articles propounded to the Rebels.

bels: "That they ſhould lay down Arms, diſmiſs their Forces, beg "Pardon for their Rebellion, admit Sheriffs in their Territories, re- "pair the Forts they had demoliſhed, not moleſt the Garriſon-ſoul- "diers, reſtore what they had rapaciouſly taken away, diſcover "upon Oath what they had treated with forrein Princes about, "and give their faithfull Promiſe never to have to doe for the future

And rejected

"with any Forreiners againſt the Queen. But they, being now grown inſolent, thought theſe Demands ſo unreaſonable, that they broke up the Conference, having firſt concluded a Truce till the firſt of

April

1596.

April upon theſe Conditions. "That no Hoſtility ſhould be committed on either Side: that the Engliſh Garriſon-ſouldiers ſhould "freely goe whither they would with their Victualls and Arms "ſhould forrage, fetch in Wood, and bring in Materials from within three Miles to fortifie their Garriſons whereſoever they ſhould "lie: that they ſhould by no means intice the Queen's faithfull "Subjects to Rebellion; and other like matters: that for Perfor-"mance of theſe things Hoſtages ſhould be delivered by *Tir-Oen*, "which ſhould either continue the whole time, or others ſhould "be appointed in their Rooms by turns. *O-Donel* could by no means be perſwaded to give Hoſtages. When they were ready to depart, *Tir-Oen* and *O-Donel* gave Notice by Letters, that they could perform nothing, unleſs *Feagh Mac-Hugh* in *Leimſter*, *Mac-Williams*, *O-Roro*, *O-Conor Dun*, and the reſt of the Rebels in *Connaught*, the *O-Railes* and thoſe in *Brenny*, might be pardoned, and reſtored to their ancient Poſſeſſions.

A new Truce, with the Conditions.

The Rebels ſtand upon new Terms.

The Queen, though both then and afterward ſhe would, for ſparing the Effuſion of Bloud, have willingly condeſcended to any Conditions of Peace not below her Majeſty, yet could ſhe not endure to hear that Rebels ſhould make Interceſſion to her for Rebels, who knew herſelf (as ſhe ſaid) how to diſpenſe her Mercy to ſuch as truly repented and were Suitours for it. Concerning the free Exerciſe of the Romiſh Religion, (whereof in their written Submiſſion they had made no Mention,) and alienating the Patrimony of the Church, ſhe anſwered, "That ſhe never had wittingly and "willingly granted, nor would ever grant, Liberty to any man to "break the Laws, or to ſeize upon the Livings of the Church. As "for the Injuries done them, ſhe would make them Satisfaction, "if they could once make it certainly appear what they were. "But the inſolent Injuſtice of her Officers and Rapines of the Gar-"riſon-ſouldiers ſhe utterly condemned. And to this purpoſe ſhe wrote to *Norris* and *Fenton*, whoſe eaſie Credulity *Tir-Oen* too much abuſed. But ſhe found that *Wallop* and *Gardiner*, her Commiſſioners, were not ſo prudent as they ſhould have been; and ſomewhat ſharply blamed them, that in all their Conferences and Letters they had given *Tir-Oen*, a Rebell openly proclaimed, and the reſt of his Party, too honourable Salutes and Appellations.

The Queen's opinion of things.

Tir-Oen in the mean time eagerly under-hand ſolicited the *Spaniard* by ſupplicating Letters and by his Agents to ſend them Aſſiſtence; till at laſt one or two Meſſengers came privately with Letters to the Rebels, with whom an Agreement was made, "That if "the *Spaniard* would within a prefixed time ſend a powerfull Army, "ſufficient to vanquiſh the *Engliſh*, they would joyn their Forces "with them: and in the mean time, if he would ſupply them with "Arms and Munition, they would refuſe all Conditions of Peace "whatſoever. To theſe Covenants *O-Rork*, *Mac-Williams* and others ſubſcribed; but *Tir-Oen*, being ſubtill and wary, ſubſcribed not:

The Rebels ſolicite the *Spaniard* for aid.

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Tir-Oen imparteth the *Spaniard*'s Letters to the Lord Deputy. He deludeth *Norris*.

not: yet is there no doubt but he conſented. The Letters which the *Spaniard* had written to him, ſtuft with large Promiſes, he under a cunning Shew of Dutifulneſs to his Prince ſent to the Lord Deputy; and withall, relying upon an aſſured Hope of the Spaniſh Aid, ſtarted back from his Submiſſion which he had made in writing, and his faithfull Promiſe to *Norris*. Which thing *Norris* (having been deceived by his own Credulity) ſharply and angrily expoſtulated with him, as if he had deceived him with fair Pretences. But he knowing well how to temporize, the Truce being now almoſt expired, came to a new Parley with *Norris* and Secretary *Fenton*, and a kinde of Peace, or rather Bargain, ſuch as it was, was made, and Hoſtages given. By their means a Pardon was drawn for *Tir-Oen* and his Party in the Country of *Tir-Oen*: which being for a while delayed, ſince the Lawyers in *Ireland* could not agree upon the Form; he alſo ſpun out the matter the ſpace of two Months, doubtfull whether he ſhould accept the Pardon, unleſs the Rebels in *Connaught* might withall be comprehended therein. Yet did he at laſt accept it, pretending ſingular Joy thereat, and ſaying many times, that it was far more welcome to him then the Letters Patents whereby the Honour of Earl was conferred on him: but yet he refuſed to ſwear Fidelity, and to forſwear forrein Aſſiſtence.

He receiveth his Pardon.

The Lord Deputy ſuppreſſeth *O-Maden*.

Whilſt Generall *Norris* made this Contract with *Tir-Oen*, the Lord Deputy marched againſt *O-Maden*, (who had kindled a new Rebellion,) and beſieged his Caſtle of *Clohon O-Maden*. The Garriſon, being ſummoned to yield, anſwered with barbarous Malapertneſs, that if all which were there were Lord Deputies, they would not yield up the Fort. But within a few daies the Caſtle was taken by Force, and the Garriſon put every man to the Sword. *Norris* and *Fenton*, marching into *Connaught*, had much adoe to draw the Rebels to any Conditions of Peace, for, being angry and mad againſt *Bingham*, they did nothing for a good while but ſeek Delaies, and in the end patched up a Peace not like to hold, by the Counſel (as is likely) of *Tir-Oen*. For he began to talk doubtfully again, "That "he could not but ſuſpect that he was deceitfully dealt withall, in "regard the Lord Deputy and Generall *Norris* agreed ſo ill toge-"ther; in-regard thoſe who ſolicited the Lord Deputy in his behalf "for Peace were ſlighted by him; in regard the Lord Deputy "ſeemed to breathe nothing but War, recruiting his Troups of Horſe "out of *England*, and detaining the King of *Spain*'s Letters before "mentioned; and in regard the Marſhall, his bitter Adverſary, was "newly returned out of *England* with freſh Inſtructions. Hereupon he ſent abroad his Plunderers, and began to waſte the neighbouring Countries. But ſoon after, being troubled with the Conſcience of his Crimes, and hearing that a Peace was like to be concluded betwixt *England* and *Spain*, he feigned himſelf to deſire Peace with all his Heart. I am weary of running over the particular Diſguiſes of his Diſſimulation. In a word, when any Danger threatned him from

And *Norris* the Rebels in *Connaught*.

Tir-Oen diſſembleth egregiouſly.

He playeth faſt and looſe.

from the *Engliſh*, he then both in Looks and Words bare ſuch a feigned Shew of Submiſſion, and pretended ſuch Repentance for his Faults, that he deluded the *Engliſh*, till the Opportunity of proſecuting him was loſt, and the Forces were of neceſſity to be ſeparated. And that he was alwaies believed, and a Pardon ſo often offered him, was eaſily effected through the gainfull Sloth and Negligence of the Commanders in *Ireland*, the Sparing of the Counſellours in *England*, and the Queen's innate Lenity, who wiſhed that the Robberies and Depredations of the Rebels (for a War ſhe thought it was not to be called) might be quelled without Bloudſhed. But how full of Treachery both his Heart and Hands were may appear by this that followeth. 1596.

His diſſembling diſcovered. By exciting the Rebels.

The ſame Month that he received the Draught of his Pardon, he, *O Donel*, *O-Rork*, *Mac-Williams*, and *Tribus Clan Shees*, ſent Letters privately to the Gentlemen in *Munſter*, wherein they put them in Hopes, and religiouſly promiſed them all Aſſiſtence, vowing and ſwearing to all that ſhould defend the Roman Catholick Religion, and joyn their Forces with them, that they would liſten to no Peace with the *Engliſh* wherein all the Confederates ſhould not be comprehended. Shortly after he encouraged *Feagh Mac-Hugh* (when he had alſo humbly craved his Pardon in Writing, and was now to receive it,) to raiſe a Rebellion again in *Leimſter*, which was before laid aſleep: who preſently at unawares ſeized upon the Fort near *Ballencore*, and razed it to the ground; and by ſtealth overran all *Leimſter* with his Depredations, though the Lord Deputy purſued him. He encouraged alſo *Peter* and *James Butler*, the Earl of *Ormond*'s Nephews, who were then in Rebellion. But all this he did cloſely and covertly.

He rebelleth again.

Winter coming on, his Diſloyalty, which he had hitherto covered with deep Diſſimulation, brake forth openly. For, contrary to the Conditions of the late Agreement, he publickly prohibited the carrying of Victuals to the Garriſon in *Armagh*; ſome Souldiers as they were carrying it, others as they were fetching in Wood, he ſlew by an Ambuſcado. And he himſelf aſſaulted the Garriſon ſo furiouſly, that he ſlew 30 of them. *Henry Oge*, *Man-Shan* his Son-in-law, he ſent forth to fire the Villages, and plunder the Country about the River *Boyn*; and by Strategem attempted the Caſtle of *Carlingford*.

He excuſeth himſelf.

Theſe things the Lord Deputy and the Council expoſtulated with him, and adviſed him, if he deſired the Safety and Welfare of his Hoſtages, and had no mind to be proclaimed Traitour again, that he ſhould forbear to infeſt the Garriſon-Souldiers, and to hinder the carrying of Proviſion unto them. He anſwered, "That for his part "he had ſtood to his Agreement; but that *Feagh Mac-Hugh* was "vexed by the Lord Deputy, if not contrary to Articles, yet con-"trary to Promiſe; and *Oen Mac-Collo* was baſely ſlain by the Gar-"riſon at *Kellas*. Theſe things made him ſuſpect what would be-"come of him and his Friends. He prayed therefore that, for an

Deſireth a new Conference.

1596.

entire compounding of things, a new Conference might be had with Generall *Norris* or the Lord Deputy. About which while Consultation was holden, he suffered *Armagh* to be relieved. Yet did *O-Donell* in the mean time rob and spoil in an hostile manner all the Province of *Connaught*. At last by procrastinating and shuffling he quite shifted off the Conference, with the vain Hope whereof he had again deluded *Norris*.

And shifts it off again.

Feagh Mac-Hugh slain.

Meanwhile the Lord Deputy with undefatigable Pains prosecuteth *Mac Hugh*: and at length the Rebells being put to Flight on all sides, and many of them slain; Colonell *Milburn* took him as he was flying out of breath to his Lurking-hole, stabbed and wounded him in severall places, and cut off his Head, which was sent to *Dublin*, to the great rejoycing of the People, a little before the Lord Deputy gave over his Place. About the same time also *James Butler*'s Head was sent to the Lord Deputy by *Thomas Lea*; and *Peter* his Brother was taken by his Uncle the Earl of *Ormond*, and hanged, though he were the next Heir of that House.

And other Rebels.

Calice besieged by the Cardinall of *Austria*.

In the midst of these Irish Bustles, *Albert* Archduke of *Austria* and Cardinall, whom the *Spaniard* had made Governour of the *Netherlands*, suddenly took off the Queen's Mind from Irish Affairs. For as soon as he had taken the Government upon him, he gathered the Spanish Forces together, as if he purposed to raise the Siege of *La Fere*, a Town of *Picardy*, but, contrary to the Expectation of all men, he turned aside to *Calice*, and besieged it, the first day taking the Castle of *Newenham*, and becoming Master of the Haven. As soon as the Queen heard by the Messengers who came trembling from the French King that *Calice* was besieged, she commanded a Body of men to be raised that very day, being Sunday, while men were at Divine Service, to assist the French King, and withall to provide for the Safety of *England*: For she could not but suspect that *England* might at last burn with the Fire kindled in her Neighbour's Country. This Army, so hastily raised, she committed to *Essex* as Generall: But before they were shipped, she had certain Intelligence that both the Town and Castle were yielded up into the *Spaniard*'s Hands: for when with continuall Thundring of his Ordnance (the Report whereof was heard as far as *Greenwich*) the Archduke *Albert* had much shaken the Walls, the Townsmen withdrew themselves into the Castle, which within a few days after was easily taken, with great Slaughter of the *French*. Hereupon the English Army was presently disbanded, and some Money lent the French King, the Duke of *Bouillon* and *Sancy* engaging for the same.

Calice taken.

Money lent to the French King.

Not many days passed before a far greater and more choise Army was raised in *England*, into which many Noblemen and Gentlemen voluntarily listed themselves. For a constant Rumour grew every day stronger and stronger, that the *Spaniard* with all his might and main prepared for War against *England* and *Ireland*; encouraged the rather, because he was now in Possession of *Calice*, (from whence

whence it was but a ſhort Cut over into *England*,) *Hawkins* and *Drake*'s Voiage had had ill Succeſs, and the Iriſh Rebels earneſtly urged the Succours out of *Spain*. The Queen, to ſcatter this Storm that was gathering, ſuppoſed it the beſt Courſe to ſet upon the Enemy in his own Ports, and to that end rigged a Fleet of 150 Ships, whereof 17 were of her Navy Royall, 22 Low-Country Ships, which the Confederate Eſtates joyned with hers, the reſt Pinnaces and Victuallers. In theſe were 6360 Souldiers under Pay, voluntier Gentlemen 1000, Sea-men 6772, beſides Low-Country-men. *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall of *England*, who were at great Charges toward this Expedition out of their own Eſtates, were made Commanders in chief with equall Authority, under the Title of Generalls; yet ſo as the Lord Admirall ſhould have the principall Authority and Dignity at Sea, the Earl of *Eſſex* at Land. To theſe were joyned for a Councill of War the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons: the firſt the Lord Admirall commanded, the Earl of *Eſſex* the ſecond, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were, Sir *Francis Vere* Lieutenant-generall or Marſhall, Sir *John Wingfield* Quarter-maſter-generall, Sir *George Carew* Maſter of the Ordnance, Sir *Coniers Clifford* Serjeant-major. The Colonels were, *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Sir *Edward Wingfield* Captain of the Voluntiers, and *Anthony Aſtley* Secretary of the Councill of War, who was to regiſter their Counſells with every man's Reaſons, and to record all their Actions and Enterpriſes.

1596.

A Fleet prepared againſt *Spain*.

The number of Ships and men.

The Generalls.

Commanders at Sea.

At Land.

The Queen gave theſe Inſtructions to the Generals. "Diligently "to inform themſelves what and how great Proviſion for War there "was in the Spaniſh Ships or Store-houſes, to be employed againſt "*England* and *Ireland*, or ſent to *Calice*, and to intercept the ſame, or "deſtroy it together with the Ships; yet ſo as they neither raſhly "hazzarded her Men nor Ships: (for ſhe had rather (as ſometimes "ſhe would ſay) that her Men ſhould be reſerved for the Defenſe "of their Country, then ſo to be ventured upon the doubtfull "Chance of War, that they ſhould come off without either Profit "or Glory.) That if they took any Towns, they ſhould ſpare the "Female ſex, the young and aged, and offer Violence to none but "ſuch as made Reſiſtence. That the Spoils and Booty ſhould be "ſafely reſerved to make good the Charges of the War, and to re-"ward ſuch as deſerved well. That the Counſellours ſhould freely "deliver their beſt and faithfulleſt Advices, and not divide them-"ſelves into Parties and Factions: and that they ſhould act or not "act according as moſt Voices carried it. That when they had de-"ſtroyed as much as they could of the Enemie's Shipping and Pro-"viſion, they ſhould ſend out ſome Men of war to intercept the In-

Their Inſtructions.

1596.

"dian Caracks, if they had any Intelligence of their coming. These Instructions being given them, she appointed a Form of Prayer to be used daily in every Ship, to crave God's Assistence and Blessing upon their Enterprises and Undertakings.

Arguments against this Expedition.

Against this Expedition some alleaged, that neither so many Souldiers nor so many Ships and Sea-men were to be hazzarded in this Expedition, lest haply in their Absence the *Spaniards*, who are ready to take all Opportunities, being lately encouraged with the unfortunate Success of *Drake* and *Hawkins*, should either come and invade *England* in the mean time, or overcome the English Fleet, and put the Land in Danger.

The Fleet putteth to sea,

Yet did the Fleet set Sail from *Plymouth* in the beginning of *June*, and was the first day driven back by a contrary Wind: but the next day after setting forward again with a fair and prosperous Wind, it bore far to the West, and passed the Coasts of *Portugall* undescried, and that was purposely done; for had it been descried, and had they attempted any thing in the hither Parts of *Spain* or in *Portugall*, the Alarm had presently been taken, and they had been prevented of all Opportunity of doing any great Exploit. For their Design was (which few of them were made acquainted with) upon *Gades*, so much renowned by the Poets for the Sun's Lodging-place, and by the ancient Geographers esteemed the uttermost Boundary of the Earth, at this day a famous Mart-town, which was easy to be defended, and had great Advantages to annoy its Enemy. And this was the Place designed for their Retreat in the Commissions or Instructions which were delivered under Seal to the Captains of every Ship, not to be opened before they had passed the *Sacred Promontory*, or *Cape Saint Vincent*, (unless they were separated from the rest of the Fleet by Tempest,) and to be thrown over-board into the Sea if they were in any Danger of the Enemy. Over against the *Sacred Promontory* they lighted upon an Irish Ship, the Master whereof informed them, that he came from *Gades*, and that all was there secure, not a word of the English Fleet; that there were no Forces in the Island but a small Garrison; that in the Haven rode at Anchour severall Galleons, Gallies, Men of war, and a great many Merchants Ships laden with Merchandize for the Indian Voiage.

towards *Gades*.

The Fleet arriveth at *Gades*.

Upon Sunday the 20. of *June* betimes in the Morning they cast Anchour near *Saint Sebastian's* Chappell on the West side of the Island. *Essex*, full of Courage and youthfull Heat, was of Opinion that the Forces were presently to be landed. *Raleigh*, and especially the Lord Admirall, were of a contrary Mind; which Lord never approved of rash and heady Counsells. Yet upon much Intreaty he consented that some should make Triall whether they could conveniently land there; but all in vain, the Sea beating violently with vast Waves upon the Shoar. Then did *Essex* earnestly urge that without all Delay they might set upon the Men of war, Galleons and Merchants Ships, that lay thick together in the Bay. But neither did this

An attempt to land in vain.

this pleaſe the reſt, foraſmuch as they rode under the Protection of the Forts, from whence, as alſo from the Ships and 15 Gallies, preſent Danger threatned them if they made that Attempt. 1596.

The next day did the Spaniſh Men of war remove at the coming in of the Tide towards a Point of Land called *Puntall*, and the Merchants Ships more inward towards *Port-Reall*. The *Engliſh* weighed Anchour and took their place: where they were furiouſly played upon with great Ordnance, on the one ſide from the Fort of *Saint Philip*, and on the other ſide from the Gallies.

Now was it reſolved to ſet upon the Spaniſh Ships; at which *Eſſex* was ſo overjoyed, that he threw up his Hat. This Task was committed to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Robert Croſſe*, and other Captains of ſmaller Ships: for it was not thought good, being now Ebbing water, to hazzard the taller Ships among the Shelves in a narrow Channell, and that but ſhallow. *Raleigh* therefore, (as had been reſolved,) in the middle of all the Channell, in the Ship called the *Waſt-ſpight*, directed his Prow againſt the Spaniſh Men of war, which preſently fell back. *Vere*, Lord Marſhall, thundered upon the Gallies out of the *Rainbow*; but they, lying ſafe under Protection of the Town, from their Fore-decks entertained him roughly, till the Earl of *Eſſex* came in to his Aid: for then they ſaved themſelves by Flight, and keeping along the Shoar, at the Bridge *Suaco*, by which the Iſland is joyned to the Main-land, they were hoiſted up with an Engine, and withdrew themſelves into the open Sea, except one or two, which Sir *J. Wingfield*, in the Ship called the *Vantgard*, hindered. In the mean time the Spaniſh Men of war were at Anchour at *Puntall*, and turned their Broad ſides upon the *Engliſh*. The Engliſh Ships, which by reaſon of the Shallowneſs of the Channell could not hitherto come near them, now when it was Floud came in with great Alacrity. *Eſſex* alſo with his Ship thruſt himſelf into the midſt of the Fight; as likewiſe did the Admirall himſelf with his Son. In the *Miranora* they fought ſmartly from Break of day till Noon; when the *Spaniards*, their Galleons being ſhot through and through and miſerably torn, and many men ſlain in them, reſolved to fire their Ships, or run them a-ground. Many of the Sea-men for Fear caſt themſelves over-board ſome whereof got to the Shoar, ſome were taken, ſome drowned; others as they ſwam cried for Quarter, and the Admirall pitying them, many of them were ſaved. The Admirall of the *Spaniards*, called the *Saint Philip*, Burthen 1500 Tun, was burnt, the Gun-powder being fired by a *Moor*: one or two more alſo, which were near her, took Fire, and periſhed with her. The *Saint Matthew*, by the Care of the Lord Admirall, and the *Saint Andrew*, by the Help of Sir *Thomas Gerard*, were both ſaved and taken.

As ſoon as this Sea-fight was ended, *Eſſex* landed 800 men at *Puntall*, a League from the City; and preſently ſent Sir *Coniers Clifford*, Sir

They ſet upon the Spaniſh Ships.

The Spaniſh Gallies withdraw.

Their Men of war attacked.

Ships burnt and taken.

Men landed.

1596.

Snaco Bridge broken.

They attempt the Town.

Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, to break down the Bridge *Snaco*, and the Engine whereby the Gallies had eſcaped, that there might be no Acceſs to the Iſland from the Continent: which they carefully and throughly performed. He himſelf put his men in order of Battell, and marched with all Speed to the City, together with the Earl of *Suſſex*, *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, *William Herbert* the Earl of *Worceſter*'s Son, *Bourk* an Iriſh-man, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Sir *Chriſtopher Saint-Laurence*, Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *Thomas Germin*, *Chriſtopher Heydon*, *Alexander Ratcliffe*, and the choice Flower of the Nobility. At firſt the Spaniſh Horſe and Foot ſhewed themſelves half a Mile from the Town, and preſently retired. By and by there iſſued forth more; whereupon he commanded his men to retreat in good Order, and (having drawn the Enemy farther on) to return and charge them: which was done ſo effectually, that they put them to Flight, and followed them ſo cloſe at the Heels, that they could ſcarce get in and ſhut the Gate after them. The Earl got upon a Bulwark newly begun next to the Gate, from whence he ſaw an Entrance into the Town, but ſo high and ſteep, that a man muſt leap down a Pike's length. Yet there leaped down *Evans*, the Earl of *Suſſex* his Lieutenant, *Arthur Savage*, Captain of the Earl's Company, *Pooly*, which carried the Earl's red Enſign, *Samuel Bagnall*, and others. Meanwhile Sir *Francis Vere*, Marſhall, having forced open the Gate, brake in, and with him the Earl himſelf. Now was there a ſharp Fight maintained in the Streets, till after half an Hour they made their way to the Market-place, where the *Engliſh* were much annoyed with Stones thrown down from the Tops of the Houſes, which were flat-roofed. Sir *John Wingfield* (who in the firſt Conflict killed a Spaniſh Commander, and was himſelf wounded, yet led on his men thus far,) was here ſhot in the Head, and died; divers others were alſo hurt, whereof *Samuel Bagnall*, having received eight Wounds, and *Arthur Savage*, all begoared with Bloud, were Knighted. At the ſame Inſtant almoſt the Lord Admirall, with the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *William Paget*, *Raleigh*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, *Richard Leviſon*, *Philip Woodhouſe*, *Robert Manſfield*, and the Sea-men, Sir *Edward Hobby* bearing the Flag before them, following haſtily entred the Town. Now did the *Spaniards* give over Fighting, and retired into the Caſtle and the Town-houſe. The Town-houſe was preſently yielded, the other the next day after, upon theſe Conditions. "That the Citizens ſhould depart in Safety with the Garments "they wore, and the reſt ſhould goe to the Souldiers for Pillage: "that 520000 Ducats ſhould be payed for their Ranſome, and for "the Payment thereof 40 of the principall Citizens ſhould be ſent "as Hoſtages into *England*. Shortly after Proclamation was made, that no man ſhould offer Violence to the *Spaniards*. The Women, Church-men and Citizens, were conveyed to *Porto Santa Maria*.

The Town taken,

and the Caſtle.

In the mean time *Raleigh* was commanded with the leſſer Ships, which

which could paſs up the Channell, to fire the Merchant-ſhips that were withdrawn to *Port-Reall:* but for their Redemption there were offered two Millions of Ducats. This the Lord Admirall would not hear of, ſaying, That he was ſent to deſtroy the Shipping, not to releaſe them for Money. Whilſt this Buſineſs was arguing, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* (moſt of the Merchandize being now unladen) commanded that the Ships ſhould be fired; and ſo they were all burnt, to the infinite Dammage of the Merchants. In the City was found a vaſt deal of Proviſion for War; and a great quantity of Money was pillaged, whilſt every one catch'd what he could. Underſtanding men have made it appear that the *Spaniard* loſt in Shipping taken and fired, great Ordnance ſunk and carried away, and in Victuals conſumed and deſtroyed, above twenty Millions of Ducats. Of the *Engliſh* no man of any great Note miſcarried but Sir *John Wingfield*; who was honourably interred with a military Funerall in the principall Church of the Town.

1596

The Merchant-ſhips fired.

The *Spaniard*'s Loſs.

About 60 Military men were Knighted for their Valour: *viz.* *Robert* Earl of *Suſſex*, Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, Don *Chriſtophoro* a *Portugueeze*, King *Antonio*'s Son, Sir *William Herbert*, *Somerſet*, *Bourk* an Iriſh-man, *William Howard* the Lord Admirall's Son, *Robert Dudley*, *George Devereux*, *Henry Nevill*, *Edwin Rich*, *Richard Leviſon*, *Antony Aſtley*, *Henry Lennard*, *Horace Vere*, *Arthur Throgmorton*, *Miles Corbet*, *Edward Conway*, *Oliver Lambert*, *Antony Cook*, *John Townſend*, *Chriſtopher Heydon*, *Francis Popham*, *Philip Woodhouſe*, *Alexander Clifford*, *Maurice Barkley*, *Charles Blunt*, *George Gifford*, *Robert Croſſ*, *James Scudamore*, *Vrian Leigh*, *John Lea*, *Richard Weſton*, *Richard Wainman*, *James Wotton*, *Richard Rudall*, *Robert Manſell*, *William Mounſon*, *John Bowles*, *Edward Bowes*, *Humfrey Druell*, *Amias Preſton*, *Robert Remington*, *Alexander Ratcliffe*, *John Buck*, *John Morgan*, *John Aldridge*, *William Aſhinden*, *Matthew Brown*, *Thomas Acton*, *Thomas Gates*, *John Stafford*, *Gillie Merrick*, *Thomas Smith*, *William Pooly*, *Thomas Palmer*, *John Lovell*, *John Gilbert*, *William Harvey*, *John Gray*, *John Van-Duvenvord*, *Melchior Lebben*, *Peter Redgemort*, *Nicholas Medkerk*.

Knights made.

After this an Agreement was made for Exchange of Priſoners on both Sides: and it was debated whether *Gades* was to be quitted, or holden. *Eſſex* was of Opinion that it was to be kept, becauſe it would be as it were a Thorn in the *Spaniards* Sides. He undertook to keep it with 400 men, ſo as he might be victualled for three Months. The reſt were of a contrary Opinion: for being every man ſufficiently inriched, their Minds were on their own Country, ſo as they would not grant him ſo much as one Ship, nor Victuals for a Month or two; whereupon he was conſtrained againſt his Will to leave *Gades*. Yet was the whole Iſland firſt ranſacked, the Forts razed, and many Houſes in the City defaced with Fire. On the fifth of *July*, having packed up their Spoil and Pillage, the whole Fleet ſet Sail from thence, with this Commendation given them by the *Spaniards*,

A conſultation on what beſt to doe with the Town.

They quit the Town.

1596.

ards. That in Sacred things the Engliſh *had ſhewed themſelves Hereticks; but in all other matters ſtout Souldiers, wiſe, and truly noble.* From thence they came firſt to *Faro* in *Algarbe*, whence the Inhabitants were all fled, and had carried away their Goods. A well-furniſhed Library was left behind, which fell unto *Eſſex* as Prize. There the Enemies Gallies, which had hitherto attended them at a Diſtance, came up nearer: but as ſoon as the Lord Admirall commanded them to be gone, they obeyed, and, turning their Oars, they very gladly bade the *Engliſh* Farewell at their Departure. At *Cape Saint Vincent* an impetuous and boiſterous North-wind carried the Fleet a great way out to Sea: and a Councill was called, to conſider whether they ſhould goe to the *Azores*, and there wait for the Indian Caracks. The Earl of *Eſſex* propounded that the Land-forces and thoſe Ships that wanted Victualls, or complained of the Sickneſs of their Sea-men, or other Inconveniences, might be ſent Home to *England*; and that he with two of the Queen's Ships and ten others might goe to the *Azores*. Neither did this pleaſe the reſt of the Councill, who complained of the Sickneſs of their Men and want of Victuals; and, except the Lord *Thomas Howard* and the Low-Country-men, ſcarce any man gave Aſſent to his Propoſall. When he could not prevail in this, he brought them by Intreaty, that every man ſhould write down with his own Hand what his Opinion was in this matter, that the Blame might not be after laid upon any man. At length with much adoe he obtained that they would goe to the *Groyn*: but not ſo much as a Ship was to be ſeen either there, or in the neighbouring Road at *Faroll*. When he earneſtly urged that the men might be landed, and the *Groyn* aſſaulted, and that they would coaſt along the Shoar of *Gallicia*, and ſet upon the Ships in the Havens of *Saint Andero* and *Saint Sebaſtian*; they would not ſo much as hear him, but every one hoiſting Sail made haſte for *England*, and left him behind with a few men. He complained that no more was done, and charged ſome of the Councill of War with ſeverall Miſcarriages: whereof they eaſily acquitted themſelves, and ſeemed to have acquired Profit and reall Honour enough, having done ſo much Dammage to the *Spaniard*, brought Home ſo much Spoil from the Enemy, and preſerved their Fleet in Safety to a Ship. If there were any Errour, it ſeemed to be in this, that matters were not truſted to the Management and Command of one ſingle man. But the Lord Admirall was with good Adviſement joyned with *Eſſex*, to moderate his youthfull Heat, his ſwelling Affectation of Glory, and the Fortitude of his invincible Courage never ſufficiently to be commended, with adviſed Diſcretion, and a prudent Expectation of the right Seaſon for Action; which are taken for prime parts of Military Diſcipline.

They take *Faro*.

They goe to the *Groyn*.

They return home. The Councill of war clear themſelves of what *Eſſex* charged them with.

Although by what I have already ſaid it may ſufficiently appear how great Glory, how great Profit did redound to the Queen and the Engliſh Nation by this Expedition, and how great Detriment to the *Spaniard*;

Spaniard; yet have I thought good to adde this which followeth out of a ſhort Diſcourſe of the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf. "For matter "of Glory: The *Engliſh* did not ſtay for the *Spaniard*, the moſt po- "tent King in the World, when he threatned and prepared a dan- "gerous War againſt *England*; but challenged and provoked him "to fight as it were on his own Ground: they put to Flight and "vanquiſhed a moſt-compleatly-provided Fleet of his, and in it the "biggeſt of his Ships: they brought Home in Triumph two of his "Galleons: they with a few Ships worſted 15 Gallies, ſet many "Engliſh-men at Liberty who were condemned to the Gallies, and "releaſed divers Spaniſh Priſoners whom they had taken, with high "Commendations for their Clemency: they no ſooner ſaw then "conquered the ſtrongeſt fortified City of the farther Part of *Spain:* "they ſtayed full 13 Days in the Enemie's Countrey. For matter "of Profit: Beſides thoſe two Galleons, which ſerved to ſtrengthen "the Engliſh Fleet, they brought Home about 100 great Pieces of "braſs Ordnance, and other rich Spoils: the Souldiers and Sea- "men returned laden with Pillage, fluſh'd with Mony and Courage "for another Expedition. As for Dammage done to the *Spaniard:* "He loſt 13 of his beſt Ships for Service, 40 Indian Merchant-ſhips, "and 4 others: he loſt alſo great quantity of Proviſion for War both "by Sea and Land, and his Store of Victuals, ſo that it ſeemeth im- "poſſible for him in a ſhort time to equip and ſet forth a Fleet for "War again: he loſt all Opportunity of ſending over any Mer- "chandize this Year into *New Spain*, and of receiving any from "thence: and (which is a matter of no ſmall Moment) the *Engliſh* "have learned how eaſily the Sea-towns of *Spain* may be taken by "Force.

1596.

How glorious this Expedition was to the *Engliſh*.

How profitable.

How hurtfull to the *Spaniards*.

The Queen at their Return welcomed them very graciouſly, and gave ſingular Thanks to all of better Quality among them, eſpecially to *Eſſex* and the Admirall, whom ſhe extolled with extraordinary Commendations. And bethinking herſelf which of all theſe ſhe ſhould make Governour of the *Briel*, a Port-town of great Conſequence, put into her Hands by the Eſtates in Caution for her Money, (for the Lord *Sheffield* had now voluntarily reſigned that Government,) Sir *Francis Vere*, a Colonell of the *Engliſh* in the Eſtates Service, came into her Mind as the fitteſt and worthieſt Perſon for it. And though ſome of the prime Nobility made Suit for the Place, and *Eſſex* oppoſed *Vere*, and others thought that a Nobler Perſon was to be preferred; yet ſhe, well knowing the man's Nobility, (for he was Nephew to *John Vere* the 15. Earl of *Oxford*,) and having had Proof of his Fidelity and Valour, who had ſo valiantly diſcomfited the *Spaniards* at *Rhynberk*, taken the Caſtles of *Littenhoven* and *Burick*, and alſo recovered the Fort of *Zutphen*; ſhe (I ſay) after a ſerious and deliberate Adviſement and Conſideration, not onely preferred him before the reſt, but permitted him withall to hold his Command under the Eſtates, which others hoped for: although (as ſhe her-

Sir *Francis Vere* made Governour of *Briel*.

1596.

Eſſex diſpleaſed.

Cecyl made Secretary.

ſelf ſaid) it might ſeem not ſo fit, that he, who ſerved under the Eſtates Pay, ſhould have the Charge of a Town mortgaged by the Eſtates intruſted with him. This the Earl of *Eſſex* was much diſcontented at, who had recommended others to the Place: but more diſſatisfied he was, and openly ſtomacked it, that, whilſt he was abſent, Sir *Robert Cecyl* was choſen Secretary, to which Office he had ſome while before recommended Sir *Thomas Bodley*, (for his approved Wiſedom, and Knowledge in the Affairs of the *Low-Countreys*,) with extraordinary Praiſes of him as the fitteſt man, and had detracted from *Cecyl*'s Reputation with ſuch odious Compariſons, that neither the Queen was pleaſed (who now began to diſapprove of thoſe men whom he moſt commended) to admit *Bodley* for Secretary, nor did the Lord Treaſurer think good to joyn him as a Colleague and Partner with his Son, which they had both determined to doe, before ſuch time as by thoſe immoderate Praiſes given him by *Eſſex* they began to ſuſpect him to be drawn to *Eſſex* his Party.

The *Spaniard* riggeth a Fleet againſt *England*.

The *Spaniard* in the mean time, to recover his Honour loſt at *Gades*, and lick himſelf whole of his Loſſes, repaired his Fleet at *Liſbon*, gathering together Ships from all places; he likewiſe armed what Ships of Strangers were found in the Ports of *Spain*, leavied Forces, and ſent them with a great many Iriſh Fugitives to *Farol*, (from whence they were to ſet Sail for *England* and *Ireland*.) But in the midſt of their Voiage, (as the Report went) a violent Storm ariſing, many of the Ships were caſt away, ſome ſplit upon the Rocks, others ſwallowed up by the Waves: ſo as the very Air ſeemed to fight for the Queen, who heard of her Enemies periſhing before ſhe heard of their putting to Sea. She nevertheleſs, to be ready and provided againſt all Accidents, ſtrengthened the maritime Caſtles of *Sandſort*, *Portland*, *Hurſt*, *Southſea*, *Calſhot*, *Saint Andrews*, and *Saint Maudites*, with new Works and Forts, and ſtored them with Munition and Proviſion for Defenſe.

Whereof a great part is caſt away.

The Queen fortifieth the Sea-coaſts.

She entreth into a League with the French King.

And for the knitting a firmer Amity with the French King, a mutual League offenſive and defenſive againſt the *Spaniard* was entred into betwixt her and him, by the Procurement of the Duke of *Bouillon* and *N. Harlay Sancy*, in theſe Terms following.

The Articles thereof.

The former Leagues and Treaties ſhall be confirmed and continue in Force, except ſo much of them as by this preſent Treaty ſhall be abrogated and diſannulled. Into this League ſhall be invited all Princes and States whom it concerneth to beware of the Spaniard's *Deſigns. An Army ſhall be raiſed as ſoon as may be to invade the* Spaniard. *Neither the King nor the Queen ſhall treat of either Peace or Truce ſeparately without the Conſent of the other. Becauſe the* Spaniard *at preſent infeſteth the Dominions of* France *that lie next to the* Netherlands, *the Queen ſhall ſend* 4000 *Foot to ſerve the King this Year for the ſpace of ſix Months in ſuch places as ſhall not be fifty Miles diſtant from the Sea-town of* Boulogne. *They ſhall ſerve in like manner for the ſame ſpace of Months in the Years following, if the State and Condition of* England *can*

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conveniently permit it: touching which the King ſhall ſtand to the Queen's Affirmation and Conſcience. When the Iriſh Rebellion ſhall be quieted, it ſhall be at the Queen's Pleaſure whether ſhe will encreaſe the ſaid Succour of 4000 men. The Engliſh *ſhall be received into the King's Pay from the day of their Arrival in* France, *and continue ſo till the day of their Departure. The Queen ſhall keep up their Number full from time to time. They ſhall be payed monthly by the Queen's Officers, and with her Money; for which the King ſhall be ingaged to ſatisfie her fully within ſix Months, and give her four Towns for Caution. If the King ſhall have Occaſion for a greater Number of men, the Queen ſhall raiſe them in* England, *and the King ſhall pay them with his own Money. The* Engliſh *which ſhall ſerve the King ſhall be ſubject to the King's Officers, and be puniſhed by them: yet ſo as the Engliſh Captains ſhall be called for by the King's Officers, and be preſent when they are tried. If the Queen be invaded, and ſhall demand the King's Aſſiſtence, he ſhall within two Months raiſe 4000 Foot, which ſhall be ſent into* England *at the King's Charges, ſhall not be drawn above 50 Miles from the Sea-ſide, and ſhall be payed by the Queen from the day of their Arrival in* England. *The ſaid French Souldiers ſhall be ſubject to the Queen's Officers in manner aforeſaid. Their Number in like manner the King ſhall keep up full and complete. Each ſhall ſupply the other with all ſort of Munition and Proviſion for War, ſo far as may be done without Prejudice to their own State. They ſhall reciprocally defend the Merchants that are Subjects of either Prince in both their Kingdoms reſpectively. The King ſhall not ſuffer the* Engliſh *to be troubled for their Religion. The Captains and Souldiers Pay ſhall be annexed in a Schedule.*

Shortly after there was another Treaty had, wherein it was agreed, *That this Year no more then* 2000 Engliſh *ſhould be ſent over, which ſhould ſerve onely at* Boulogne *and* Monſtreul, *unleſs the King himſelf ſhould come perſonlly into* Picardy, &c. To theſe Articles the Queen was ſworn in her Chappel at *Greenwich* on the 29. of *Auguſt* before *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, Viſcount *Turenne*, and Marſhal of *France*; the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* holding to her the Book of the Goſpels, and a great multitude of Noblemen ſtanding round about. In the Month of *September Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewſbury* was ſent Embaſſadour into *France*, that the King might likewiſe take the Oath before him; as alſo to preſent Sir *Antony Mildmay* for Embaſſadour Ordinary in the Room of Sir *Henry Unton* who was dead in *France*, and to inveſt the King with the Enſigns of the Order of *Saint George*: into which Order, which was intended at the firſt Inſtitution for Military men, the Queen had made Choice of him as a Prince highly renowned for Martial Glory. And not long after Sir *Thomas Baskervill* went over into *Picardy* with 2000 Engliſh Foot, according to the laſt Contract.

The League ſworn to on both ſides.

The French King inveſted with the order of *Saint George.*

Amidſt theſe warlike Affairs, a miſchievous ſort of men, taking upon them the Authority and Badges of the Queen's Purſivants, rambled up and down all over *England* with counterfeit Warrants

Counterfeit Purſivants puniſhed.

1596. and pretended Hands of the Queen's Counſellours and the Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, ſearching the Houſes of Widows and Papiſts, and forcibly taking away Plate, Jewels, and whatſoever elſe bare the Image of *Chriſt* or the Saints thereon, as unlawfull things. The travelling Charges due to Purſivants they rigidly exacted, and cheated many timorous people of their Money, to excuſe them from appearing before the Magiſtrates. Of theſe men ſome were taken, and compelled to reſtore their ſtoln Goods, loſt their Ears in the Pillory, and were branded in the Fore-head as Counterfeits and Cheats. Nevertheleſs this Severity could not repreſs the wicked Extortion of ſuch men, till Proclamation was made, "That "the Queen's Purſivants ſhould not exact their travelling Fees be"fore ſuch time as the perſons ſummoned did appear, and that they "themſelves ſhould alſo appear together with the parties ſummoned "before the Magiſtrates: this if they refuſed, the perſons ſummo"ned ſhould not be bound to appear. If many were ſummoned by "one and the ſame Warrant, to appear at one and the ſame day, "that the Purſivants alſo ſhould be preſent. If the perſon ſummo"ned had any Suſpicion or Jealouſy of the Purſivant, that he might "cauſe him to be brought before the next Juſtice of Peace to be ex"amined, that the man might be known certainly what he was. That "the perſons ſummoned ſhould not upon Pain of Impriſonment "bribe the Purſivants with Money to excuſe their not Appearing. "Alſo that the Purſivants ſhould not receive any Money upon that "Condition, upon Penalty of loſing their Places, being impriſoned, "and ſeverely farther puniſhed.

Thomas Arundel Count of the Holy Empire.

This Year returned into *England Thomas Arundell* of *Wardour*, who being recommended by the Queen's Letters as her Kinſman, and having done ſingular good Service in the Hungarian War at *Gran* againſt the *Turks*, the Emperour by his Letters Patents created him *Count of the Holy Empire, and all and every his Heirs, Offſpring and Deſcendents lawfully born, of either Sex, and in a perpetual Succeſſion to be born, Counts and Counteſſes of the Holy Empire.* Which Title thoſe that enjoy are alſo ſaid to enjoy theſe Priviledges; "That they "have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchaſe "Lands in the Empire, raiſe voluntier Souldiers, and are not to be "ſummoned to appear for Trial in any Court but the Imperial "Chamber. Being returned, and beginning to be taken Notice of amongſt the Common people by this Title of Honour; a Queſtion aroſe, whether ſuch a Title, conferred by a forrein Prince upon the Queen's Subject, without acquainting her, were to be admitted. Some there were who thought that the Rewards and Encouragements beſtowed upon any for their Valour, by what Prince ſoever it be, are to be admitted: "for Vertue languiſheth and is diſcoura"ged, unleſs thoſe that merit and deſerve well be rewarded for "their good Service. That *Henry* the Third King of *England* "readily acknowledged *Reginald Mohun* for Earl of *Somerſet*,

Whether Honour conferred by a forrein Prince be to be admitted. For it.

"though

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" though created by the Bishop of *Rome* by his Apostolick Autho-
" rity. That King *Henry* the Eighth did congratulate *Robert Curson*,
" (whom for his military Valour the Emperour *Maximilian* the
" First had created Baron of the Sacred Empire,) and enrolled him
" amongst the Barons of *England*, granting him a yearly Pension to
" maintain his Dignity. Also that several valourous *Scots* had re-
" ceived Titles from the French Kings: namely, *Archibald Douglas* of
" *Wigton* the Title of Duke of *Tours*; and *John Stuart* the Title of
" Earl of *D' Evereux*. And that the Kings of *Scotland* have thought
" this to redound to the Honour of their Nation. But the Barons
of *England*, supposing this would be prejudicial to them and theirs
in point of Honour, if they and their Children should give place to
such a new upstart Earl and his Issue, which might be propagated *in
infinitum*, argued to the contrary in this manner: " That such Titles
" of Honour are neither to be accepted of by Subjects, nor admitted
" by the Prince. That it belongeth onely to the Prince, and not to
" any other whatsoever he be, to confer Dignities on his own Sub-
" jects; according to that Saying of *Valerian* the Emperour, *Let
" that Dignity onely hold good which is born by our Will and Pleasure.*
" For much is detracted from the Prince's Majesty and the Subject's
" Obedience, if they may be permitted to receive Honours from for-
" rein Princes: for a tacit Contract of Fidelity seemeth to pass be-
" tween the Honourer and the Honoured. That such Titles are
" secret Enticements to withdraw the Hearts of Subjects from their
" Princes. That an Action of Theft lieth against any one that shall
" brand another man's Sheep with his Mark; and an Action of Fraud
" against him that by strowing Food before them shall entice ano-
" ther man's Sheep to his own Flock. That though Sovereign
" Princes be not bound up by these Laws, yet are they obliged by
" the Equity of the Laws, and that according to the Law of Nature:
" therefore, in the Commonwealth of *Rome*, no man could be both
" a Citizen of *Rome* and of another City; whereupon *Pomponius
" Atticus* refused to be chosen a Citizen of *Athens*, lest he should
" lose the Priviledge of the City of *Rome*. So in the States of *Venice*
" and *Genua*, whosoever do receive either Ecclesiastical Dignities
" from the Pope, or Temporal from a forrein Prince, are not called
" to publick Offices, as being men of suspected Fidelity. It may be that
" *Henry* the Third out of his own easy Simplicity, and forced by the
" Iniquity of the Times, admitted Earl *Mohun*, when thrust upon
" him by the Bishop of *Rome*, considering that his Father (when
" the Kingdom was interdicted) was excommunicate, vexed with
" unjust and undeserved Injuries; and compelled to acknow-
" ledge himself a Vassal of the Bishop of *Rome*; and he himself
" through Terrour permitted those of *Rome* to exhaust and drain the
" Wealth of *England*: yet by the publick Records it appeareth,
" that *Mohun* was never acknowledged for an Earl. That *Henry*
" the Eighth accounted *Curson* for a Baron of *England* meerly that
" he

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"he might timely smother and bury the vain and empty Title of "Baron of the Holy Empire: but he allowed him no Voice in Par-"liaments. No marvel if the *Scots* received Honours from the "*French*, forasmuch as by the Lily Tressure in their King's Arms "they own themselves to be under the Protection of the French "*Flowers de Lys*. Some were of Opinion, that an Earl of the Sacred Empire was to be no better reputed or esteemed of then the publick Notaries and other such like Counts and Viscounts of the Sacred *Lateran* Palace, created by the Bishop of *Rome*; or the Doctours of Physick, Lawyers, Grammarians and Rhetoricians of the Royal Palace, who, having professed their Sciences there for 20 years, in a ridiculous vain Humour boast themselves for Counts-Palatine: whereas in these daies the Title of Count-Palatine is in high Honour, as one who hath amongst us Royal Jurisdiction in his Courts, and a Kingly Power in Fiefs, Inheritances escheated, &c. The Queen being asked her Opinion hereof, said, "*Between Princes and their Subjects there is a very strict Tie of Affections. As chast Women ought not to cast their Eyes upon any other then their own Husbands; so neither ought Subjects to cast their Eyes upon any other Prince then him whom God hath set over them. I would not have my Sheep branded with another man's Mark; I would not have them follow the Whistle of a strange Shepherd.*

Apostolick Counts and Viscounts.

Counts-Palatine.

The Queen's judgement hereof.

The death of *Puckering* Lord Keeper.

Within the Compass of this Year several Persons of remarkable Note and Nobility were called out of this Life, whereof the most worthy of Memory were these following. *John Puckering*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*: who, though he were himself a sincere and upright man, yet, by reason of the Briberies and Corruptions of his Servants in selling of Church-livings, had no good Report amongst the Church-men. In his Room succeeded *Thomas Egerton*, the Queen's Atturney-General, of whose Integrity all men were full of Expectation and Belief.

Fletcher Bishop of *London*.

Richard Fletcher, Bishop of *London*, a Courtly Prelate: who, while by immoderate taking of Tobacco he sought to smother the Cares he had by means of his unfortunate Marriage, and misliked by the Queen, (who did not well approve of married Bishops,) breathed out his Soul.

The Lord *Hunsdon*.

Henry Cary Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Houshold, Governour of *Berwick*, and Knight of the Order of *Saint George*: a man of a great Spirit, but cholerick and passionate, who attained to these Honours and a moderate Estate by his Kindred with the Queen, to whom he was Cousin-german: as for great Wealth, he never sought after it. To him succeeded in his Honour his Son *George*, and in the Office of Lord Chamberlain the Lord *Cobham*, who survived him but a few Months.

Sir *Francis Knolles*.

Sir *Francis Knolles*, who married the Lord *Hunsdon*'s Sister, and had lived an Exile in *Germany* for the Truth of the Gospel; first Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, then Captain of the Guard, and after-

afterward Treaſurer of the Queen's Houſhold, and choſen into the Order of *Saint George:* after whom the Office of Treaſurer was conferred on *Roger* Lord *North*, and Sir *William Knolles*'s Son was made Controller. 1596.

The Earl of *Huntingdon.*

And about the end of the Year *Henry Haſtings*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, the third of this Family, Preſident of the Council in the North: who being a man of a mild Diſpoſition, but inflamed with a Zeal to the purer Religion, waſted his Patrimony much by Relieving (at his great Coſt) the hotter-ſpirited Miniſters. He was buried at *Aſhbey de-la-Zouch* in the County of *Leiceſter:* and by his Death was advanced *Francis* Lord *Haſtings*, his Nephew by his Brother *George*, who ſucceeded him in his Honour. Afterward the Superintendency in the Council for the Northern Parts was beſtowed on *Matthew Hutton* Archbiſhop of *York*, together with all manner of Juriſdiction pertaining to it, but without the Title of *Preſident.*

And of the Counteſs of *Derby.*

Amongſt ſo many Men, we muſt not paſs over in Silence *Margaret Clifford* Counteſs of *Derby*, the onely Daughter of *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, by *Eleanor Brandon* Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth; who, out of her womaniſh Fancy and Curioſity conſulting with Wizards or Cunning men with a vain Credulity and out of I know not what ambitious Hope, did in a manner loſe the Queen's Favour a little before her Death.

The Fourtieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1597.

The Battell at *Turnhoult.*

WHat great Commendations for their Valour Sir *Robert Sidney* and Sir *Francis Vere* with the Engliſh auxiliary Forces gained in the beginning of this Year, in the Battell at *Turnhoult* in *Brabant*, under the fortunate Conduct of Grave *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, having ſlain 2000 *Neapolitans* and *Germans*, with the Count *Varaxi* their General, let the Low-Country Writers relate: for my part, I haſten to greater matters.

A new Expedition againſt the *Spaniard.*

The Queen being advertiſed in the beginning of the Spring, that the *Spaniard* with the Remainders of the former Wreck and other Ships in *Gallicia* prepared for a new Attempt upon *Ireland*; to divert or prevent the ſame, ſhe rigged a new Fleet of ten Ships of her Navy Royal, and as many of the *Hollanders.*

The number of Men and Ships.

But this Number ſeeming too ſmall, more Ships were added to them, 5000 men raiſed, beſides 1000 old Souldiers which *Vere* had brought out of the *Netherlands:* ſo as in this Fleet were reckoned 120 Ships, whereof 17 of the Queen's, 43 leſſer Men of war, the reſt were Victuallers. They were divided into three Squadrons.

The Commanders.

The firſt the Earl of *Eſſex* led, to whom the Conduct of the whole Expedition

1597. Expedition was committed; the ſecond the Lord *Thomas Howard*; the third Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Under *Eſſex Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* commanded the Land-forces, Sir *Francis Vere* was made Marſhall, Sir *George Carew* Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* chief Colonell.

To this Expedition the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwell* and *Rich*, with many Knights and others of better Note and Quality, voluntarily liſted themſelves. Theſe men with their Feathers waving, and richly habited in gawdy Cloaths, (a Vanity peculiar to the *Engliſh* when they goe to the Wars,) ſet Sail from *Plymouth* on the 9. of *July*. Two days after Inſtructions were delivered to every Ship ſealed, whither their Courſe was to be ſteered, *viz.* to *Farol* and the *Groyn*, to ſurprize the Spaniſh Fleet in their Harbours, and intercept the Indian Fleet at the *Azores*. This, after mature Deliberation, had been reſolved the beſt Courſe: for ſo ſhould *England* be ſecured; the Fleets of both *Indies* wanting Guards might the more eaſily be taken; the Iſles of *Azores* wone, at which thoſe rich Fleets in their Return from both *Indies* do uſually call for freſh Water; the Queen would have the abſolute Command of the Ocean; and the *Spaniard*, having loſt his Fleet, would the ſooner be drawn to reaſonable Conditions of Peace, or be forced to make new Proviſion for War, to his own great Dammage. For *Eſſex* was reſolved (as he pretended and gave openly out) *either to defeat that Spaniſh Fleet, which all this Year threatned* England, *or to ſacrifice himſelf to his Country.*

With what deſign, and what inſtructions.

Scarce were they got 40 Leagues from *Plymouth*, when a terrible Tempeſt from the North-weſt roſe upon them, and beat moſt violently againſt their Sails, a black Darkneſs took away their Proſpect every-way, the Sky roared with horrible Thunder, and the troubled and angry Sea with its boiſterous whirling Waves beat againſt the Ships with a dreadfull Roaring, and was ſo extremely rough for the ſpace of four days, that the Mariners themſelves were aſtoniſhed, the Souldiers trembled, and the Fleet was ſo ſcattered this way and that way, that hardly and not without great Hazzard it recovered *Plymouth* and other Harbours on that Coaſt. The Admirall of the Fleet was ſo torn and ſhaken that it was ſcarce ſerviceable: and ſome that were more tender and delicate were grown ſo feeble with Vomiting and Sea-ſickneſs, and ſo afraid of the Checks of the furious Wind, that they ſecretly withdrew themſelves Home.

The Fleet driven back by a terrible Tempeſt.

The Fleet being for ſome time refreſhed, though impaired both in Number and Strength, attempted ſeverall times to ſail again, but found the Winds preſently ſo contrary, that they could not in a whole Month's time get out of the Havens; as if the Heavens ſeemed to be angry at their Enterpriſe. By which time their Victuals were far ſpent, which could not be ſupplied but from the Eaſtern Parts of *England*, and that in no ſhort time. It was thought good therefore to diſcharge all the Land-forces but the thouſand old Souldiers, and

Staied by contrary winds.

and to diſmiſs many of the leſſer Ships, and neither to goe for *Farol* nor the *Groyn*. Then was it deliberated whether they ſhould undertake a Voiage to the *Azores*. All thought beſt to undertake it, except *Vere*, who ſaid, "It would neither be for the Queen's Profit "nor Honour; that with ſo few Ships and ſo ſmall Forces nothing "could be done which would ſatisfie mens Expectations; and that "*England* in the mean time, the choiceſt Commanders and part of "the Queen's Navy being abſent, might more eaſily be invaded by "the *Spaniards*. Hereupon *Eſſex* and *Raleigh* ride Poaſt to the Queen, to conſult what was beſt to be done. *Eſſex*, out of his high Magnanimity and Courage of Spirit, propounded many and great matters he would doe, if he might be permitted with the one half of the Fleet and Army to goe to I know not what Place. Which when the Queen denied, he undertook to ruine the Spaniſh Fleet in their Harbour at *Farol*, if he might have the Queen's Leave to venture the thouſand old Souldiers and thoſe two great Ships taken from the *Spaniard*, named the *Saint Andrew* and *Saint Matthew*, with ſome others, in the Attempt; that he would leave the reſt of the Fleet without the Harbour, whilſt he with ſome ſelect Ships tried the Chance of War. Neither was this permitted, but upon certain Cautions. At length the whole matter was left to their own Diſcretions; yet ſo, that they ſhould take all Opportunities to fire the Ships in *Farol* Haven, and to intercept the Indian Fleet; and that they ſhould ſquare and accommodate their Deſigns according to new Accidents and Emergencies. 1597. They deliberate what beſt to doe.

Being all returned to *Plymouth*, with much adoe they got on the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* out of the Haven with a Side-wind, and put to Sea. But before they came within Sight of *Spain* they were ſcattered again by another fierce Storm, whereby that huge Ship the *Saint Matthew*, having ſpent her Croſs-yards and main Maſt, was ſplit upon a Rock; and the *Saint Andrew* was ſeparated from the reſt. The Remainder of the Fleet, being ſhortly gathered again together, ſailed in Sight of *Aſturia* and *Gallicia*, very imprudently, as the wiſer ſort thought, conſidering that ſuch vain Oſtentations had prejudiced both *Drake* in his two laſt Voiages to *America*, and *Norris* in the *Portugall* Expedition. For an Enemy forewarned is armed for Reſiſtence. Near the Promontory *Nerium*, or *the Land's end*, a Croſſe-yard in *Raleigh*'s Ship was broken by Force of a Storm, and fell down: which whilſt he ſtayed to mend, he was left behind the reſt; and being falſly advertiſed that the Spaniſh Fleet had ſet Sail from *Farol* towards the *Azores*, he ſent a Pinnace to no purpoſe to let *Eſſex* know of it. Whilſt *Raleigh* was expected, it was reſolved by joynt Conſent of all, to deſiſt from the Deſign of Firing the Ships in the Haven, as a thing impoſſible, in regard they had been already diſcovered from the Shoar, and to ſail directly to the *Azores*; every Squadron having its Station aſſigned where to ride, *Eſſex* at *Fayall*, *Howard* and *Vere* at *Gratioſa*, and *Raleigh* at *Pico*, who was by this The Fleet putteth to ſea again. And is parted again. *Raleigh* left behind. The Fleet goeth to the *Azores*.

1597. time ſteering his Courſe for the *Azores*. He, after having much ſtraied out of his Way, at length found the Fleet at the Iſle of *Flores*; having been in the mean time taxed by ſome, (who, finding *Eſſex* already incenſed againſt him, ſtrove to exaſperate him more,) as if he had purpoſely divided himſelf from the Fleet. Nevertheleſs *Eſſex* welcomed him with Joy, and excuſed himſelf that he had by Letters ſent to *England* wrongfully accuſed him as a Deſerter of the Fleet. Here *Raleigh*, being diſtreſſed for lack of Water, landed without Leave. Scarce had he begun to take in freſh Water, but he was preſently commanded to follow *Eſſex* to *Fayall*. Whither being come, and not finding *Eſſex* there, he took good Notice of the Haven, perceived that the Inhabitants packed up their Goods, and that the Garriſon-ſouldiers began to intrench themſelves. Taking Advice therefore upon the preſent Occaſion, the Commanders thought good to attempt the Place, and the Sea-men earneſtly urged it, leſt ſo great a Prey ſhould be ſnatched as it were out of their Mouths. But Sir *Gilly Merric*, one of *Eſſex* his Creatures, earneſtly perſwaded them to attempt nothing in *Eſſex* his Abſence: whom when they had in vain expected the ſpace of four Days, *Raleigh*, being neceſſitated to take in freſh Water, having a good Opportunity, and ſpurred on with the deſire of Glory, landed four miles from the Haven, in a ſteep place, the Sea being very rough, with theſe ſelect Voluntiers, *William Brake*, *William Harvey*, *Arthur Gorge*, *John Scot*, *Thomas Ridgeway*, *Sidney*, *Henry Thinn*, *Charles Morgan*, *Walter Chute*, *Bret*, *Berry*, and other Captains. The *Spaniards* with all Speed poaſted thither, and charged them, but were ſoon put to Flight. *Raleigh* having thus landed, after he had watered, marched forward with his men through dangerous and difficult Ways to the Town, and finding it empty, ſeized on it.

Raleigh again loſeth them.

He landeth in *Fayall*.

Taketh the Town.

The next day *Eſſex*, who had been ſearching for the Spaniſh Fleet in that vaſt Ocean, came to *Fayall*. Sir *Gilly Merric* informed him what *Raleigh* had done; and perſwaded him that *Raleigh* had ſeized upon the Town to no other end but to prevent *Eſſex* of the Honour: which he, who was ambitious of Glory out of an inbred Deſire thereof in magnanimous Spirits, and knew well *Raleigh*'s towring Spirit and no good Affection towards him, ſoon believed. Others perſwaded him to call *Raleigh* to a Triall before a Councill of War, and caſhier him; others, to put him to Death, for landing without acquainting the Commander in chief; ſuggeſting to him, that he ſhould doe well to take this fair Opportunity of removing his Adverſary out of the way, the Loſs whereof haply he might afterwards repent. Hereupon *Sidney*, *Bret*, *Berry*, and others, who accompanied *Raleigh*, were caſhiered, and committed to Cuſtody: *Raleigh* was ſent for, and entertained with a ſour Look by all men. *Eſſex* ſharply checked him, that in contempt of his Authority he had violated the Diſcipline of War, and, contrary to what had been eſtabliſhed under pain of Death, had landed his Companies without the General's Command.

Eſſex offended with him

Command. He anſwered, "That the Captains, Pilots, and the reſt "that were under Command, were bound by that Law, but not the "three chief Generalls, whereof himſelf was one: that he had long "ſtayed for his coming; and longer he would have ſtayed for him, "had not the Iſlanders prohibited him the taking in of Water, which "he was in great Streights for want of, and provoked him to fight. The Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated for *Raleigh*, that he might not be rigorouſly proceeded againſt; and perſwaded him to acknowledge his Fault: which he did, and thereupon he and the caſhiered Captains were received again into Favour. For *Eſſex*, being a man of a mild Nature in reſpect of taking or forgetting Offenſes, paſſed by theſe growing Enmities and Diſcontents for the Commonwealth's ſake; which notwithſtanding on both ſides were rather laid aſleep for a time, then quite taken away.

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Raleigh defendeth himſelf.

They are reconciled.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Fort near the Town was abandoned by the Spaniſh Garriſon, and in it were found two Engliſh-men with their Throats cut. Some being ſent out to ſearch the Iſland, after they had pillaged ſome part thereof, returned without doing any great matters. A few daies after the Town was reduced to Aſhes, the Ordnance being firſt carried away.

The Iſland pillaged, and the Town burnt.

From hence they ſailed to the Iſle *Gratioſa*: the Inhabitants whereof, as alſo thoſe of *Flores*, craved the Earl's Mercy, and obtained it. At *Gratioſa* he determined to land, to take a View of that pleaſant Iſland, and there to wait for the Indian Fleet. But *Grave* a Pilot unluckily diſſwading him, as if it were an incommodious Road for Ships, he ſet Sail from thence with his whole Fleet to *Saint Michael's* Iſle, and commanded *Vere* and Sir *Nicholas Parker* to watch with their Ships betwixt *Saint George's* Iſle and *Gratioſa*, the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *William Mounſon* with theirs on the Weſt of *Gratioſa*, and others at other Poaſts. But behold, not above an Hour or two after the *Engliſh* were unfortunately and againſt their Wills departed from *Gratioſa*, the American Fleet (conſiſting of forty Ships, ſeven whereof were laden with Treaſure,) arrived in the very ſame place, and underſtanding that the *Engliſh* were near hand, ſteered their Courſe directly to *Tercera*. At Midnight they lighted upon *Mounſon*, who gave Notice thereof by diſcharging ſeverall Pieces of Ordnance. Theſe were heard afar off, and entertained with a joyfull Shout of the Mariners; and every man buckled himſelf to the Fight. *Mounſon*, *Southampton* and *Vere*, who were neareſt, followed them, but ſlowly and at a Diſtance, ſtaying for more Aid. In the mean time that Fleet recovered the Haven of *Tercera* in good Order: onely three rich Ships, which ſtrayed from the reſt, were taken. *Southampton* and *Vere* attempted with great Boats to enter the Haven by Night, and to cut the Cables of the neareſt Ships, that they might be forced to Sea by the Winds blowing from the Land: but, the *Spaniards* keeping diligent Watch, they loſt their Labour. They diſpatched therefore a Pinnace preſently to *Eſſex* at *Saint Michael's*

Gratioſa and *Flores* yield to *Eſſex*.

He unfortunately miſſeth their American Fleet.

Three of them taken. The reſt in vain attempted in the Haven.

1597. to acquaint him with what had paſt, and undertook to keep the Enemy from coming forth to Sea. He, after a day or two, having gathered all his Fleet together, came, and asked the Opinion of the Commanders what was to be done. Some Colonels and Captains deſired that they might venture to attacque the Town and Ships, and judged it eaſie to be done: and with them concurred *Eſſex*. The Sea-men were of a contrary Opinion; yet did they readily offer their Service both by Sea and Land. But afterward *Eſſex* himſelf, *Montjoy*, and others, having taken a nearer View of the Place, and ſeen that the Ships were drawn up cloſer under the Forts, the Haven well ſecured by Works, naturall Situation, and a ſtrong Garriſon, with great Ordnance every-where mounted, and that the Wind was ſo contrary, that their Balls of Wild-fire could doe them no Service, they who before were the forwardeſt Speakers refuſed now to adventure on the Danger. He returned therefore to *Saint Michael's*, (having firſt Knighted the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, *William Evers*, *William Brodon*, and *Henry Docwray*,) and rode at Anchour before the chief City, called *Cividada*: which pleaſing the Eyes with the Sight thereof, made the Souldiers eager for the Pillage of it. And he himſelf, forgetting the Quality of a Generall, went in a Boat to diſcover where he might moſt conveniently land: but the vaſt Billows rolling and toſſing, and the Shoar being full of Souldiers, he thought it not ſafe to land his Forces there. *Raleigh* was commanded to ride there ſtill at Anchour with his Ships, and amuſe the Enemy with Expectation of his Landing, whilſt *Eſſex* himſelf ſhould make a Deſcent ſome-where elſe: who arrived ſix miles off, at *Villa Franca*, a pretty neat Town, rich in Merchandize, Wine, Woad and Corn, and took the ſame without any conſiderable Reſiſtence. Here he ſtayed ſix days, and the common Souldiers found good Pillage: *Raleigh* in the mean time in vain expecting his Return to *Saint Michael's*. About this time there was diſcovered at Sea a Carack coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*, under Sail not far from *Saint Michael's*: which, when ſhe perceived by the Diſcharging of a Piece of Ordnance out of a Netherland Ship, that the Enemies were at hand, and ſeverall Ships on all ſides ready to fall upon her, ran herſelf violently a-ground under the Town, where her rich Merchandize was with all Speed unladen, and then Fire put to her, which burnt for almoſt two daies together. Thus the *Engliſh* in all this War found Fortune ſo adverſe to them that ſhe might ſeem to have deluded and mocked them. And though Chances and Accidents are no-where more ordinary then at Sea, yet their Errours may ſeem to have been voluntary and wilfull, and the Diſappointments wrought by ſome mens Emulations amongſt themſelves, while they endeavoured to prevent each other of a little Glory. Againſt the ninth of *October*, in which Month that Sea and Air are uſually very tempeſtuous, *Eſſex* commanded that, upon a Signall given, all the Ships ſhould be ready to weigh Anchour, and accompany him towards *England*.

The *Engliſh* deſiſt from farther attempting them.

Villa Franca in *Saint Michael's* taken.

A Carack burnt.

The Succeſs of this Expedition not ſo fortunate.

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But the third day after there aroſe a violent Tempeſt from the North, and ſcattered the Ships all the Sea over; and withall diſperſed the Spaniſh Fleet, which was ſet forth in the mean time from *Farol* with great Proviſion and Preparation againſt *England*, another way: inſomuch as neither the *Engliſh* had once Sight of the Spaniſh Fleet, nor the *Spaniards* of the Engliſh. Of the Engliſh Fleet not a Ship was caſt away: of the Spaniſh many periſhed, as the Report goeth; one of which, being carried and toſſed to and fro by Force of the Tempeſt, was at length driven into *Dartmouth*, the Souldiers and Sea-men almoſt famiſhed. Theſe men confeſſed that the *Spaniards* Deſign was, to ſeize upon ſome Port in *Cornwall*, which might be moſt convenient (being ſituate near the Entrance of the Britiſh Sea) to receive Succours out of *Spain*, to buſy and divert the *Engliſh* with War from thence, and to hinder their future Attempts upon the *Weſt-Indies* and *Spain*. Thus Almighty God, the Umpire of Wars, kept aſunder the two Nations, who were haſtning to the Slaughter of one another, and their Deſigns were on both Sides at this time diſappointed. At length, about the end of *October*, *Eſſex* returned Home into *England* in Safety with no ſmall Booty; but his Ships were leaky, torn and weather-beaten.

The Engliſh Fleet returning home, ſcattered by a Storm. As alſo the Spaniſh fleet.

Their Deſign.

Concerning this Expedition many and various were the Judgements of men, on the one ſide out of Love towards *Eſſex*, on the other ſide out of Hatred againſt *Raleigh*. For the Queen's Favour, wherein they both ſtood very fair, ſtrangely procured contrary Effects, Hatred of the People againſt *Raleigh*, which was increaſed by a ſiniſter Suſpicion they had of his Impiety towards his Country; and Love to *Eſſex*, augmented more and more by his affable Courteſie, and a ſingular Opinion they had of his Vertue. Certainly neither of them wanted either Fortitude to combate with Dangers, or Induſtry in Buſineſs, or Wiſedome in things of Counſell; but true Happineſs, which proceeds from God alone, no man can beſtow upon himſelf. Yet theſe two began now to exerciſe more open Enmities one againſt the other, whilſt each laid the Fault of the late Miſcarriages upon the other. *Eſſex* alſo took it very ill that Sir *Robert Cecyll*, whom the Queen had taken the laſt Year to be her Secretary, though he endeavoured to the contrary, was now in his Abſence made * Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; whom he had alwaies oppoſed, as one that vied with him for Policy and Wiſedome, and was a great Friend of *Raleigh*'s. He took it alſo very hainouſly, that *Charles Howard*, Lord Admirall, was in his Abſence advanced to the Honour of Earl of *Nottingham*, with this Teſtimoniall in the Charter or Letters Patents of his Creation, *That he, by the Victory gotten in the Year* 1588. *did ſecure the Kingdome of* England *from the Invaſion of* Spain *and other Appearance of Danger; and alſo joyntly with our moſt dear Couſin* Robert *Earl of* Eſſex *did valiantly and nobly take by main Force the Iſle and ſtrongly fortified City of* Gades *in the farther Part of* Spain; *and did wholly defeat and deſtroy another intire Fleet of the King of* Spain,

Grudges increaſe betwixt *Eſſex* and *Raleigh*.

And betwixt *Eſſex* and Sir *Robert Cecyl*.

* *This is miſtaken for the Maſterſhip of the Wards.*

Eſſex taketh hainouſly the title of Earl given to the Admirall.

1597. Spain, *prepared in that Port againſt our Kingdome.* Theſe things *Eſſex* (who challenged that Glory wholly to himſelf) took as done in Diſparagement of himſelf: and alſo interpreted it as a Wrong and Prejudice to him, that the Admirall, who whilſt he was a Baron was inferiour to him in Honour, being now created an Earl, preceded him in Place and Dignity. For it was enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, that the Lord Great-Chamberlain of *England*, the Lord High-Conſtable, the Earl-Marſhall, the Admirall, the Steward of the Queen's Houſhold, and the Lord Chamberlain thereof, ſhould take Place before all of the ſame Degree with them. But the Queen, who was alwaies both a Favourer and an Amplifier of *Eſſex* his Honour, to appeaſe his Diſcontent, and withall ſecure his Reputation, and that he might have the Precedency of the Admirall now made an Earl, dignified him with the Title of Earl-Marſhall of *England*, which ever ſince the Death of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had lain aſleep.

He is made Earl-Marſhall of *England*.

This Year came into *England Paul Dzialine* Embaſſadour from *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, a man (according to the Temper of that Nation) of a confident Boldneſs: to whom when the Queen had given Audience, expecting that he ſhould give her Thanks that ſhe had obtained a Peace for the *Polonians* from *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperour, who threatned to make War upon them; he, after he had delivered his Letters to the Queen, (who ſate in her Chair of State with a great number of Lords about her,) while ſhe read the Letters, went backward, after a manner not uſuall in *England*, to the lower end of the Room, with his Face ſtill toward the Queen. There he complained with a loud Voice in a Latine Oration, "That not "onely the ancient Priviledges of the *Pruſſians* and *Polonians* which "traded in *England* were infringed, but alſo (to the Breach of the "Law of Nations) Commerce with the *Spaniards* was prohibited "them by the Queen, and under that Pretence the *Polonians* Goods "were confiſcate. Theſe things the King of *Poland* could not ſuffer, "as well in regard of the Dammages done to his Subjects, as alſo of "the Affinity which was betwixt him and the *Spaniard* and Houſe of "*Auſtria*. He required therefore Reſtitution to be made of the Goods ſeized upon, and free Traffick to be permitted from thenceforth into *Spain*. If not, he declared that the *Polonian* would take a Courſe to provide for his own and his Subjects Affairs, and make thoſe repent it who were the Authours of the Injury.

An Embaſſadour from the *Polonian*.

His Oration of Complaint to the Queen.

The Queen *extempore* checked the man's Confidence with a modeſt and eloquent Speech to this effect. *How have I been deceived? I expected an Embaſſadour, and behold an Herald. In all my Life I never heard of ſuch an Oration. Your Boldneſs and unadviſed Temerity I cannot ſufficiently admire. But if the King your Maſter have given you any ſuch thing in Charge, (which I much doubt) I believe it is, becauſe being but a Young man, and lately advanced to the Crown, not by ordinary Succeſſion of Bloud, but by Election, he underſtandeth not yet the*

Her Anſwer.

way

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way of ſuch Affairs, nor what things have formerly paſſed betwixt us and his Predeceſſours. For your part, you ſeem indeed to us to have read many Books; but yet to have little underſtanding of Politicks. For whereas you ſo often in your Oration make mention of the Law of Nations, you muſt know, that in the time of War betwixt Kings, it is lawful for the one Party to intercept the Aſſiſtence and Succours ſent to the other, and to take Care that no Dammage may grow thereby to himſelf. This, we ſay, is agreeable to the Law of Nature and of Nations, and hath been often practiſed, not by us alone, but alſo by the Kings of Poland *and* Sweden *in the Wars which they have had with the* Moſcovites. *Whereas you boaſt of the King your Maſter's new Affinity with the Houſe of* Auſtria, *and make ſo great Account of it, you may remember, that ſome of that Houſe would have prevented your King, and taken the Kingdom of* Poland *out of his Hands. As for other matters, you ſhall underſtand by our Councill what our Pleaſure is.* Having ſpoken this, ſhe withdrew herſelf into her Privy-Chamber.

Dzialin in the Conferences which he had with ſome of the Council, to excuſe himſelf, ſhewed his foreſaid Oration in Writing, delivered to him (as he ſaid) by *Thelitizky* Chancellour of *Sweden*, and drawn up by others in the Abſence and without the Knowledge of *Zamosky*. The Queen commanded theſe things to be told him by *Burghley* Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecyl*, and Sir *John Forteſcue*, all of them of her moſt intimate Counſellours. The Anſwer of the Council.

"That the Priviledges of the *Pruſſian* Cities as well as of the reſt "of the *Hanſe*-Towns were in the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth right- "fully adjudged from them; yet had the Queen permitted them to "traffick in an equal Degree with the *Engliſh*: that they ſhould "have more Priviledge ſhe could not permit, unleſs, like an unkind "Mother, ſhe ſhould tenderly cheriſh another bodie's Children, and "neglect her own. That to intercept Succours ſent to the Enemy "was not againſt the Law of Nations, ſeeing it is ordained by Na- "ture that every one ſhould defend himſelf; and this is not a writ- "ten Law, but born and bred in us. That thoſe Towns were for- "bidden to relieve the Enemies of the Kingdom of *England* with "any Proviſions by theſe expreſs Words in their Priviledge; *It "ſhall be lawfull for the Merchants aforeſaid to carry, and cauſe to be "carried, their Merchandize whitherſoever they pleaſe, as well within "our Kingdom and Dominions as without, except to the Lands of our "open and notorious Enemies.* Moreover, that it is yet freſh in Me- "mory how the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden* have confiſcated the "Ships and Merchandize of the *Engliſh*, upon a bare Suſpicion that "they had aſſiſted the *Moſcovite* with Proviſions. Being demanded what he could anſwer hereunto, he ſaid, he was not commanded to anſwer, but to deliver the things given him in Charge, and to bring back an Anſwer. Afterwards he was graciouſly diſmiſſed.

But thoſe of the *Hanſe*-Towns prevailed ſo by their Importunity with

1597. with the Emperour, that by a publick Proclamation the *Engliſh* Merchants of the Company, which we call *Adventurers*, were forbidden all Traffick in *Germany*, becauſe they exerciſed Merchandize in the Empire by their own Laws, and not according to the Laws of the Empire. When the Queen had ſolicited the Emperour by Sir *John Wroth*, and the Princes of the Empire by *Stephen Leſure*, that the Edict might be ſuſpended, and matters compounded, but could not prevail; ſhe put forth a Proclamation in *London*, that the ſame day the *Engliſh* were commanded to depart out of *Germany*, thoſe of the *Hanſe*-Towns ſhould be prohibited either to traffick or abide in the Kingdom of *England*; and commanded the Lord Mayor of *London* to put thoſe of the *Hanſe*-Towns out of Poſſeſſion of the Houſes they had in the City, called the *Stilyard*. Hereupon they called an Aſſembly of the *Hanſe*-Towns at *Lubeck*, to enter into a League for the Interrupting by all means poſſible the Commerce of the *Engliſh* in *Germany* and *Poland*. Which that it might not take effect, *George Carew*, a Maſter of the Chancery, was ſent into *Pruſſia*, to inform the King and the Eſtates of *Poland*, and the Cities of *Pruſſia*, what Anſwers had been given to *Dzialin*: and withall, "That the Queen of her Grace would permit them freely to ſend "over Wheat and all kind of Merchandize into *Spain*, except Muni- "tion and Proviſion for War; though by the Law of Nations and "the Civil Law it was lawfull to intercept any Goods ſent to the "Enemy: and that thoſe of the *Hanſe*-Towns ſhould enjoy their "ancient Priviledges in *England*, ſo as they would require them as "Priviledges granted by the Favour of the *Engliſh* Princes, and not "peremptorily demand them as due by Law, and as Contracts. For "Priviledges granted by the Favour of Princes to their own Sub- "jects, and much more to Strangers, may lawfully be ſuſpended, "yea revoked and diſannulled, according as the Condition of the "Times, the Good of the Commonwealth, and other Reſpects, "may require. That the *Hanſe*-Towns had had Experience of this in "*Denmark* and *Sweden*, and in *England* too in the Reigns of *Edward* "the Sixth, and King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*. That the Caſe of King- "doms is one thing, and the Caſe of Cities another. That it concer- "neth Kings to maintain and ſupport their Royall Dignity, rather "then to encourage the Avarice of Merchants, leſt they ſhould grow "too inſolent and high for Kings.

The Merchant-Adventurers forbidden traffick in *Germany*.

And the *Hanſe*-Towns in *England*.

George Carew's Embaſſie to the *Polonian*.

Carew handled the matter ſo with thoſe of *Dantzick*, that they would not ſend their Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly at *Lubeck*, nor joyn with the *Hanſe*-Towns of *Germany*. From thence he croſſed over into *Sweden*, where he met with the *Polonian* King, who was reduced to great Streights at *Steckburg* by his Uncle *Charles*. But he effected nothing with him, in regard it was provided (as the King himſelf graciouſly anſwered) by the Laws of *Poland*, that the King ſhould not tranſact or agree upon any thing with Forreiners of himſelf alone. This Anſwer he received by Letters open and unſealed.

What he performed with the *Dantzickers*; the King of *Poland*;

unſealed. Other Letters which the Vice-chancellour delivered into his Hands ſealed up he refuſed to receive, becauſe the Title of the Queen in the Superſcription was not full and complete, leſt he might ſeem to neglect the Honour of his Queen, which above all things is to be maintained by an Embaſſadour, even in the ſmalleſt matters. From thence he came back to *Elbing*, which oweth a great part of its Beauty and Splendour, and the great Reſort of People to it, to the Commerce and Trade of the *Engliſh*: where in ſome meaſure he compounded the Differences betwixt the Citizens and the Engliſh Factours. But theſe things were done in the Year next following: onely I thought good to adjoyn them here, leſt by leaping from one matter to another I might diſtract and diſturb the Reader's Mind. 1597. and thoſe of *Elbing*.

This Year came on an Embaſſage from *Chriſtian* the Fourth, King of *Denmark*, *Arnold Whitfield* Chancellour of the Realm, accompanied with *Chriſtian Bernic*, who brought back the Garter of the Order of *Saint George* wherewith the Queen had honoured *Frederick* the King's Father, and deſired that the ancient Leagues betwixt *England* and *Denmark* might be renewed, alſo that the *Danes* Goods might not be intercepted at Sea. He pretended that the Fiſhing of *Norway* and *Iſeland* was uſed by the *Engliſh* contrary to the Leagues; and offered the King's Mediation to make Peace betwixt *England* and the *Spaniard*. She entertained the Embaſſadours very graciouſly; promiſed that the Leagues ſhould be renewed, their Goods (if any had been intercepted) reſtored, and from thenceforth no more ſhould be ſeized on, upon certain Conditions; and that the Fiſhing ſhould be lawfully and regularly managed according to the ancient Leagues. But to ſeek Peace at the *Spaniard*'s Hands by a Mediatour, when the *Spaniard* was the firſt that broke the ſame, ſhe thought it ſtood not with the Dignity either of her Kingdome or herſelf, (who, being fenced, as ſhe ſaid, with the Fidelity and Valour of her Subjects, had hitherto feared no man:) much leſs would ſhe ſeek it at this time, when he infeſted the French King, her Confederate and Ally, with a moſt cruell and bloudy War. An Embaſſie from the King of *Denmark*. The Queen's Anſwer.

For the *Spaniards*, under the Leading of *Ferdinando Teglio*, a man of very low Stature, but of remarkable Valour and Subtilty, had now by a military Strategem taken *Amiens*, the greateſt and ſtrongeſt City of all *Picardy*, by overthrowing a Cart in the Gate; and thereby had driven the King to demand a Succour again of 4000 men. And ſhe denied him not, ſo as he would pay them; in regard her Fleet which ſhe ſent to the Iſlands, and her Army in *Ireland*, had at this time exhauſted her Treaſury. He proteſted that he was not able to pay them; and that he might the eaſilier ſpeed, advertiſed her by *Reaux*, that an advantageous Peace had been offered to him by the Pope's Nuncio, with an intire Reſtitution of all Places in *France* except *Calice* and *Ardres*, if he would diſintereſt himſelf from the Queen: and that the People of *France* in generall did earneſtly *Amiens* loſt. The French King craveth aid of Queen *Elizabeth*. His Pretence to have it granted.

1597. The Queen's Anſwer.

deſire Peace. She made Anſwer, "That ſhe could not believe that "ſo great a Prince, knit unto her in ſo cloſe an Alliance, and behol- "den to her for ſo many good Offices, which he had alwaies readily "acknowledged, and now newly engaged by Oath, would ſuffer "himſelf, under any colourable Pretence whatſoever, to goe back "from the League, and his Vows ſo often repeated, meerly becauſe "in the midſt of ſo many Dangers and Troubles which perplexed "*England* ſhe could not preſently ſatisfy him in all things. And theſe things Sir *Anthony Mildmay*, her Embaſſadour Leiger, earneſtly, and not without Offenſe giving, expoſtulated with the King. An open-hearted and true Engliſh-man he was, who now and then taxed the French King's Counſellours of Shifting and Shuffling, of Unconſtancy and Lightneſs in their Anſwers, as if they mocked and abuſed the *Engliſh*. But whereas ſome believed that the Drift of the *Spaniard's* Deſign was, to diſſolve the Conjunction and Alliance between the French King and the Queen, that ſo he might the more eaſily invade *England* from *Calice*, the Queen thought good to ſend Aſſiſtence and pay them, provided he would make War either in *Picardy* or *Bretaigne*, thereby to remove the Enemy farther off, joyn greater Forces of his own with them, and aſſign them a Place of Retreat: for otherwiſe, to thruſt forth the *Engliſh* to the Slaughter, for the Benefit and Advantage of the *French*, ſhe, out of her motherly Love to her Subjects, utterly refuſed. Yet did ſhe lend him a great Summe of Money. For which, and the reſt of his Debts, he fairly offered *Calice* for a Pawn, if the Queen would recover it from the Enemy within ſuch a time, at her own Coſt, and with her own Forces: and that ſhe might the better recover it, he propounded *Bologne* for a Place of Retreat, and a Magazine for her Forces; ſuppoſing that *Amiens* would the more eaſily be dealt withall, if the Enemies Forces were divided. But whilſt theſe things were in Debate, he happily recovered *Amiens* by Surrender after an hard and difficult Siege. For which he freely acknowledged, by his Letters dated in *September*, that he did owe very much to *Baskervill* (who died in the time of the Siege) and to Sir *Arthur Savage*, excellent Commanders, and to the Valour of the *Engliſh*. And for an Addition to his Happineſs, Age and Neceſſity grew ſo now upon the *Spaniard*, that they inclined him to a Deſire of Peace. For when he conſidered that his State ſtood more upon Fame and Reputation then reall Strength; that his Wealth was not ſufficient to repreſs the Attempts of the *Engliſh*, to proſecute the Low-Country War, and withall to defend the Places which he had wone in *France*; and that himſelf was far grown in years, and his Health manifeſtly decaying; his Son not yet come to Ripeneſs of Age, and but of ſmall Experience; and the French King was reputed a famous and warlike Prince: he thought it a wiſer Courſe to treat of a Peace with the French King, (who was at that time alſo very deſirous of it,) the Biſhop of *Rome* mediating and arbitrating betwixt them, then to leave his Son a troubled

She granteth it upon Conditions.

Money lent the French King.

He recovereth *Amiens*.

The *Spaniard* inclineth to Peace.

State

State amongſt ſo many and ſo potent Enemies. And indeed a Peace afterward inſued betwixt them, which was welcome to them both; as in its proper place we ſhall relate. 1597.

As ſoon as ever the Queen had got a Suſpicion of this Peace beginning, ſhe, doubting that it would be to the Prejudice of herſelf and *England*, reſolved to fortifie herſelf againſt all Inconveniences with the Love of her People and a Stock of Money. Having therefore aſſembled the Eſtates of the Realm at *Weſtminſter*, ſhe made ſeverall Laws very acceptable and pleaſing to the People: *viz.* for reſtoring and making good Depopulations committed upon Country-Farms, &c. and puniſhing the Depopulatours; concerning Arable land and Tillage not to be turned into Paſture; againſt imbezeling of Lands and Goods bequeathed to the uſe of the Poor, (and that not without a foul Blot and Shame to this Age;) concerning the free building of Hoſpitals and Work-houſes for the Poor, ſo as they were not endowed with above 200 *l.* yearly; for preventing the Frauds of the Queen's Tellers, Receivers, &c. for the relieving of Souldiers and Sea-men; for building Houſes of Correction in every County for the puniſhing of Rogues and Vagabonds; for reſtraining of Uſurers, and Raviſhers of Virgins; concerning the Depoſing of the Popiſh Biſhops in the firſt Years of the Queen, namely, that the ſame was and ſhould be held lawfull againſt the Biſhops depoſed, and that the Biſhops ſubſtituted in their Rooms were lawfull Biſhops, and for ſuch to be holden and reputed. For theſe Laws made, the true Religion reſtored, the Commonwealth moſt happily governed, the Country delivered from the Fury of the Enemy, *Ireland* defended, the French King and the *Netherlanders* relieved, the Eſtates heartily congratulate the Queen. And to the end that a ſufficient Bank might be in readineſs for the Defenſe and Safety of the Realm, the Clergy voluntarily granted three Subſidies; and the Laiety prayed the Queen, that ſhe would pleaſe to accept from them of three entire Subſidies, and 6 Fifteens and Tenths: beſeeching her withall, (as in the Year 1593.) that ſo great and extraordinary a Contribution might not be drawn into Example, unleſs it were upon the like urgent Neceſſity.

A Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

Severall good Laws made.

Subſidies granted.

To this Parliament *Thomas* Lord *La-Ware* being called, after the Death of *William* his Father, he preſented a Petition to the Queen, that he might be reſtored to the ancient Place of his Fore-fathers, Lords *La-Ware*. For his Father, becauſe he had attempted to poiſon his Uncle the Lord *La-Ware*, whoſe Eſtate he longed for, was by Sentence of Parliament, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, excluded from all Eſtate and Honour which might come to him by his Uncle. The ſaid *William* in the Reign of Queen *Mary* was condemned of Treaſon, and afterward reſtored entirely, as if he had never been condemned. But whereas by reaſon of the former Sentence he might not by Law enjoy the Honour of his Anceſtours, he was by the Queen's ſpeciall Favour created Lord *La-Ware* anew by

The Lord *La-Ware* reſtored to his ancient place.

1597. Letters Patents, and, whilſt he lived, took Place according to the time of his Creation. The Queen referred the whole Buſineſs to the Lords in Parliament: who (finding that the former Sentence was perſonall againſt *William*, and that his Children were not involved in the ſame; and that the Proſcription in the Reign of Queen *Mary* was no Impediment, foraſmuch as he at that time could not loſe the Dignity which he had not, and beſides he was ſoon after fully reſtored; and that the ancient Dignity was not extinct by the new Creation, but during his Life-time lay as it were aſleep, becauſe it was not in him at the time of his Creation;) adjudged him the ſame Place with his Anceſtours, betwixt the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby* and the Lord *Berkley*, wherein he was accordingly ſolemnly placed.

Thomas Lord *Howard* of *Walden.*

Alſo *Thomas Howard*, the ſecond Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who was lately choſen into the Order of the Garter, was called by Writ to this Parliament with the Title of Baron *Howard* of *Walden*: and becauſe he was then ſick, the Lord *Scroop* was led in his ſtead into the Higher Houſe betwixt two Barons in his Parliament-Roabs, he carrying the Writ, and the principall King at Arms going before him. Which Writ when the Lord Keeper of the Seal had openly read, he was placed beneath all the reſt of the Barons; though elſewhere the younger Sons of Dukes have Place above Viſcounts: for (as by the Rolls of Parliament appeared) in the ſixth year of *Henry* the Eighth, when *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, being called to the Parliament, challenged his Place of ſitting and going before Earls, becauſe he was a Duke's eldeſt Son; it was adjudged, that in Parliament he ſhould ſit according to the Order of his Creation, ſaving the Prerogative of Honour and Dignity which is due unto a Duke's eldeſt Son out of Parliament.

The death of the Lord *Cobham.*

This Year departed this Life *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, of the Order of *Saint George*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, Conſtable of *Dover* Caſtle, Lord Warden and Chancellour of the Cinque-ports; leaving for his Heir his Son *Henry*, whom he had by *Francis Newton.*

And of the Marqueſs of *Winchester.*

Alſo *William Powllet*, the third Marqueſs of *Winchester*, famous for his great and ample Honours, and the vaſt Riches of his Anceſtours, rather then for any thing elſe; leaving behind him one onely legitimate Son, *viz. William*, by *Anne Howard* of *Effingham.*

The Lord *Borough* Lord Deputy of *Ireland.*

The State of *Ireland* being now very much out of Order, (for all *Ulſter* beyond *Dundalk*, except ſeven Garriſon-Caſtles, namely *Newry*, *Knock-fergus*, *Carlingford*, *Green-Caſtle*, *Armagh*, *Dondrom*, and *Oldorfleet*, and almoſt all *Connaught*, were revolted,) *Ruſſell* was called Home; and in his place was ſent as Lord Deputy *Thomas* Lord *Borough*, a ſharp-witted man, and full of Courage, but of little Skill in military Affairs: and this contrary to the Opinion of all men, and altogether beſide the Expectation of *Norris*, who, in reſpect of his Deſerts, and Ability in Martiall matters, had promiſed himſelf

himſelf this Preferment. But when he ſaw that, through the Potency of his Adverſaries at Court, and his Friends forſaking him, his Emulatour, whom, in his own Opinion, he fell little ſhort of for Nobility of Birth, and in Glory of brave Exploits far furmounted, was preferred before him, and (which he took more to Heart) that he was charged to continue under his Command in his Preſidentſhip of *Munſter*, troubled withall that *Tir-Oen* had by his Diſſimulations ſo often deluded him; he, who had been a man famous for ſo many Victories, now overcome with Grief of Mind, fell ſick, and ſhortly after died. He was without doubt an excellent man, and to be reputed amongſt the greateſt Captains of this Nation in our Age. He was ſecond Son to *Henry* Lord *Norris*, by the Daughter and one of the Heirs of the Lord *Williams* of *Tame*; and laid the firſt Grounds of his military Practice in the Civill Wars of *France* under the Admirall *Coligny*. Being yet but a young man, he had the Leading of a Company in *Ireland* under *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*. He was Colonell-generall of the *Engliſh* under the Eſtates in the *Low-Countries*, Marſhall of the Eſtates Army under Grave *Hollack*, Preſident of *Munſter* 12 years, though he were much abſent, and Generall of the Engliſh Forces in *Bretaigne*: and having diſcharged the reſt of the Offices in the Wars which I have before mentioned, he deſerved for his Valour and Vertue to riſe by thoſe ſeverall Steps to the Height and Top of Military Praiſe and Renown.

1597. The death of *Norris*.

Tir-Oen ſeeing *Norris* dejected in his Hopes, though himſelf were more dejected in his Mind, yet being cunningly mindfull of his own Advantage, he by Letters humbly deſired of the new Lord Deputy a Truce, (which the *Iriſh* call *a Ceſſation of Arms*.) And indeed it ſeemed of concernment to the Commonwealth to grant it for a Month, though the Lord Deputy alwaies judged Ceſſations and Protections to be pernicious to the State. The Month being expired, the Lord Deputy, gathering his Forces together, (which at his firſt Entrance upon his Government ſeemed to make for his Fame and Advantage,) marched with his Army againſt the Rebells; and having had a doubtfull Conflict with them amongſt the ſtreight and narrow Paſſages, he opened a way by his Valour, and manfully forced the Fort at *Black-water*, newly ſtrengthened by the Rebells, by which was the Entrance into the County of *Tir-Oen*, and which was their onely Strength, except the Woods and Bogs; ſhewing plainly thereby, that if any one would but follow and preſs upon them, the Rebells might eaſily be vanquiſhed. The very ſame day, whilſt the Lord Deputy with his Army were giving Thanks to God for the Victory, an Alarm was ſuddenly given, the Enemy ſhewing himſelf from a Hill hard by: againſt whom *Henry* Earl of *Kildare* immediately marched with a Troup of Horſe, and ſome of the better ſort of the Gentlemen-Voluntiers, and put them to Flight. Yet were there ſlain of the *Engliſh Francis Vaghan*, the Lord Deputie's Wife's Brother; *R. Turner*, Serjeant-Major, a man of approved Valour; two Foſter-

Tir-Oen deſireth a Truce.

The Lord Deputy winneth the Fort at *Black-water*.

The Rebells put to flight.

1597. Foſter-brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, whoſe Death he took ſo to Heart, that he died of Grief within a few daies after: (for the Love of Foſter-brothers in *Ireland* far ſurpaſſeth the Love of all other men.) Many were wounded, amongſt whom was Sir *Thomas Waller*, a man renowned for his Valour in the Wars.

The death of the Earl of *Kildare*.

As ſoon as the Lord Deputy had repaired the Fort and ſtrengthned it with new Works, and brought back his Army, the Rebels, wavering between Hope, Fear, and Shame, thought it their beſt Courſe to begirt the ſame with a cloſe Siege. For it was a Place of great Conſequence to infeſt them, and *Tir-Oen* thought his Credit and Fortune was quite undone unleſs he recovered it. He beleaguered it therefore round with a ſtrong Army. The Lord Deputy with as much Speed as he could marched toward it again, being reſolved to pierce farther into *Ulſter*. But as he was in his full Career towards victorious Atchievements, a violent and untimely Sickneſs took away his Life. He left a great Miſs of himſelf to good men, and Security to the Rebels; as one who, had he lived, would, in the Judgement of wiſe men, have quite broken the Hope of the Enemy, and the main State of *Ireland* had not come into ſo great Hazzard as after it did. The Rebels hearing of the Lord Deputie's Death, grew very eager, and with great Clamour and Force ſeverall times aſſaulted the Fort; but were alwaies repulſed with great Slaughter, they which ſcaled the Walls with Ladders being thrown down backwards, and troden under Feet by the Garriſon ſallying forth: ſo that now, diſtruſting to maſter it by Force, they altered their Purpoſe, reſolving to ſtarve it out in time, perſwading themſelves that they had but few daies Victuals left within, and hoping the Garriſon would betray their Truſt, and deliver up the Place, for meer Want. But through the ſingular Valour of *Thomas Williams* the Governour and the Souldiers in it the Place was manfully defended, though they ſuffered Hunger, the Sword, and all Extremities, having ſpent their Horſes, and now feeding upon Herbs growing upon the Bulwark, and enduring all manner of Miſery. Now was the Army in *Ireland* by the Queen's Command and Authority committed to the Earl of *Ormond*, with the Title of *Lieutenant generall of the Army:* and the chief Command in civill matters given to *Adam Loſius* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, Chancellour, and Sir *Robert Gardiner*, with the Title of *Juſticers of Ireland*; after that Sir *Thomas Norris* had exerciſed the Place of Juſticer for the ſpace of a Month. *Tir-Oen* in a large Letter to this new Lieutenant repeats and aggravates all his Grievances, which I have before mentioned, both old and new, not omitting the leaſt Inſolency and Misbehaviour either of the Souldiers or of the Sherifs. The Breach of his Contracts with *Norris* he excuſeth but coldly. He principally complaineth that *Feagh Mac-Hugh*, one of his deareſt Friends, was hunted and proſecuted to Death: and then, that his Letters to the Queen were intercepted in *England*, and ſuppreſſed: as alſo, that intolerable Impoſitions and Compoſitions were laid

The Rebels beſiege the Fort again.

The death of the Lord Deputy.

The Rebels Attempts upon the Fort ſucceed not.

Ormond made Lieutenant-generall of the Army. Juſticers of *Ireland*.

Tir-Oen repreſenteth his Grievances to *Ormond*.

laid upon the Noblemen and Common people. He added, that he plainly foreſaw that the Territories of all the Lords in *Ireland* were forthwith to be ſhared betwixt the Engliſh Counſellours, Lawyers, Souldiers, and Scribes. And withall he aſſiſted the Sons of *Feagh Mac-Hugh* to raiſe new Combuſtions and Troubles in *Leinſter*. And at the ſame time he hypocritically preſented a Paper to the Lord Lieutenant, and humbly beſought him that he might be received into Favour, making large Promiſes what he would doe; though it were now well known to all men, that this Rebellion was undertaken to no other End, (whatſoever was pretended,) then to drive and root the *Engliſh* quite out of *Ireland*. 1597.

And ſubmitteth himſelf to him.

The One and fortieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1598.

IN the midſt of theſe Iriſh Cares, aroſe others alſo out of *France*. For the French King, though he had recovered *Amiens*, yet being weary of the Wars, and tired out with the daily Importunities of his Subjects and the Solicitations of the Biſhop of *Rome*, adverti ſed the Queen by *Maſy*, towards the end of the laſt Year, that he had had Conferences with the Spaniſh Miniſters concerning a Peace, but yet was determined to goe on no farther in it without her Conſent, and the Conſent of the Confederate Eſtates; foraſmuch as he had contracted with them both a ſtrict League of Offenſe and Defenſe with that Condition. He prayed therefore that ſome might be ſent out of *England* and *Holland* to conſult about this matter, and hear what things would be propounded.

The French King treateth a Peace with the *Spaniard*.

He acquainteth the Queen with it.

The Queen, to ſatisfie the French King, ſent into *France* Sir *Robert Cecyl*, her principall Secretary, *John Herbert*, Maſter of Requeſts, and *Thomas Wilkes*, who died there ſoon after he landed. The Eſtates ſent *Juſtin Naſſau* and *John Oldenbarnevelt*, and at the ſame time others into *England*, to diſſuade the Queen from Peace. The *Engliſh* amongſt other Inſtructions had theſe: "To learn from "whence this Mention of Peace had its firſt Riſe; how far it had "proceeded; whether it were propounded really and *bonâ fide*, ſince "the *Spaniards* had dealt deceitfully in the Treaty at *Borbourg*; "alſo what Security ſhould be given to the Confederate Eſtates, if "they conſented to the Treaty: and likewiſe to make Propoſitions "(foraſmuch as the French King had intimated that this Treaty "ſhould proceed after the manner of the Treaty of the Caſtle of "*Cambray*, for reſtoring to every one his own,) concerning the Re"ſtitution of *Calice* to the *Engliſh* for the Money owing by the "French King, which was far more then ſo ſmall a Town as that "could be eſtimated at. A Clauſe alſo was added, "that they ſhould

Engliſh and Dutch Embaſſadours ſent into *France* about it.

1598.

"ſhould treat of nothing at all, unleſs the Eſtates alſo gave their "Aſſent.

The King was now upon his Journey into *Bretaigne* to recover that Country; for the Duke of *Mercœur* and the *Spaniards* did not agree well together, becauſe he would not deliver *Nantes* into their Hands. *Cecyl* by long Journeys overtook him at *Angiers*. To whom the King, after he had thankfully acknowledged the Queen's great Benefits and Civilities, ſpake a few words to this effect:

The French King's Speech to them.

Although the Queen have begun a War againſt the Spaniard, *and that with Honour, and hath hitherto carried it on with happy Succeſs; yet if ſhe enter not into another manner of Proſecuting it, the leſſer Purſe muſt of neceſſity at length yield to the greater. For my part, though, having been bred up in Arms, I am in love with a Military Life above any other: yet, ſeeing I am a King, and have a People under my Government, there is a Conſcience to be made of expoſing my People to the Fury of the Wars: and it were a grand Sin, if, out of an irreligious Ambition, I ſhould to mine own Detriment, and the Detriment of my Confederates, refuſe Peace when it is offered, which cannot otherwiſe be purchaſed without Bloud, and notoriouſly neglect the People committed to my Charge.* *Cecyl* anſwered, "That the Queen was not averſe from "Peace, who, having ſufficiently avenged herſelf on her Enemy, "had now no other Deſign then to provide for the Safety and "Honour of her and hers. Then he deſired to be informed what Conditions of Peace the *Spaniard* had propounded; and what ſhould be done concerning the Confederate Eſtates of the *Netherlands*, in caſe they would not liſten to a Peace. He acknowledged, "That the Queen had much endammaged the "*Spaniard*, but he had been much endammaged by the *Spaniard*. "That the *Spaniard* deſired Peace with all his Heart; that he "would reſtore all the Places that he had taken in *France*, yea and "*Calice* alſo; and that he would ere long bring it to paſs that the "*Spaniard* ſhould be perſuaded to reaſonable Terms of Peace "with the Queen and the Eſtates both. And he proteſted openly, "that if he refuſed the Peace that was offered, *France* muſt needs be "involved again in new Combuſtions and Troubles; for he could "already perceive that the French People were inclined to break "out into Rebellion.

Cecyl's Anſwer.

The King's Reply.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, he, minding his own Concernment, made a private Agreement with the *Spaniard* about a Peace, which was ſecretly depoſited in the Archduke *Albert*'s Hands, till a Commiſſion might be ſent out of *Spain* perfectly to conclude it. Which when the Queen underſtood by ſome Diſcoveries, ſhe began to expoſtulate the matter with him. But he excuſed himſelf by the Delay which the Queen made, by an urgent Neceſſity, and by the Opportunity which was now offered; and, as if his Mind were upon other things, referred the matter to ſome of his Councill. To them *Oldenbarnevelt* declared firſt, "That the Condition of the

He makes a private Contract with the *Spaniard*.

The Queen expoſtulates with him. His Anſwer.

Barnevelt's Speech to the French Councill.

1598.

"the Eſtates was by God's Mercy, and the Queen's Favour and Aſſi-
"ſtence, brought to that good Paſs, that they had been able not onely
"to defend themſelves, but alſo to aſſiſt *France* in her Extremities.
"Then, how earneſtly the French King had deſired the League of
"Offenſe and Defenſe with them; which they had willingly and
"readily entred into for the Queen's ſake, aſſuredly hoping for the
"Eſtabliſhing of a generall Peace thereby, not once imagining that
"ſo great a King would ever have entertained a Thought of brea-
"king the ſaid League. That the Eſtates were not ſo to be neglec-
"ted and ſlighted, with whom the Kings both of *France* and *England*
"had thought good to make ſtrict Leagues and Alliances. After
this he ſhewed at large how immenſely the Power of *Spain* would
be extended, to the endangering as well of *France* as their Neigh-
bours, in caſe the Confederate Provinces, ſo powerfull in Arms and
Wealth, ſhould be reduced under their Dominion. He appealed to
the French King's Conſcience before God, whether it were honou-
rable for the King to divide his Intereſt from theirs, to whom he had
conjoyned himſelf with ſo great Obteſtations of his own, and that
when they had given no Cauſe of the Separation. He concluded,
(after many Reaſons why they could not embrace Peace with the
Spaniard,) *That ſome Kings, to attain Power and Greatneſs, have neg-
lected and diſregarded their Leagues; but for the moſt part ſad hath
been the Conſequence. For the State of Kings, unleſs it ſtand upon Faith
and Fidelity, cannot ſubſiſt by Power.* He propounded nevertheleſs
on the Eſtates behalf, "That if ſo be the King would liſten no longer
"after Peace, but beſiege *Calice*, they would at their own Charge be-
"leaguer at the ſame time ſome other Place, that the Enemie's For-
"ces might be divided: and beſides, toward the Beſieging of *Calice*
"they would allow Pay for 7000 men, and ſet forth 25 Men of war
"furniſhed with Munition and Proviſion; provided that he for the
"ſame Siege would find 3000 Horſe, 6000 Foot, and 6 Pieces of
Ordnance. Theſe things the Chancellour of *France* acknowledged
to be matters worthy of Conſideration, and promiſed to acquaint the
King with them, and that all Kindneſſes ſhould be ſhewed to the Con-
federate Eſtates, that had ſo well deſerved: But he anſwered, That
the Opportunity of Peace offered to *France*, now languiſhing with
long Wars, was not onely to be accepted of, but alſo out of urgent Ne-
ceſſity to be catched at.

The Chancellour's Anſwer.

The Eſtates now utterly refuſing Peace, Sir *Robert Cecyl*, who had
Inſtructions to treat of a Generall Peace, could proceed no farther.
Yet did he make appear to the ſaid Counſellours, "That the Queen
"had neither uſed any Delay, but with all Speed ſent them into
"*France* to treat of Peace; nor denied Aſſiſtence to the King, provi-
"ded he would ſo carry on the War againſt the common Enemy
"as might be advantageous to all the Confederates. That the Ne-
"ceſſity (which they made greater then could be believed) ſee-
"med not ſo urgent, all *France*, except one or two Provinces, being

Cecyl's ſmart Speech to the Councill.

1598. "reduced to the King's Obedience. As touching the Opportunity "not to be loſt, he would not (he ſaid) diſpute with thoſe who "preferred Opportunity before their Word and Faith given, and "meaſured the Honour and Reputation of Princes by Profit and "fair Occaſions, and think it to conſiſt ſolely in providing for their "own Affairs. He left it to them to judge, whether the King had "well requited the Queen's Kindneſs, who had both made him as "it were an Umpire for Peace, and had offered him an auxiliary "Supply of 6000 men for the War, if he rather choſe that. In con-"cluſion, he required a farther day to deliberate and conſider of "things. And when they would not grant that, he deſired them to "put the King in mind with what Vows he had bound and ingaged "himſelf lately before the Earl of *Shrewsbury* after the Ratification "of the League, and before by many Letters ſigned with his own "Hand. And he ſtuck not to affirm, that the Queen had not at all re-"ceded from the Conditions of the League, yea, that ſhe had per-"formed more then ſhe was obliged to; but the King had ſtuck to "nothing: and withall he produced the Draught of the League. He "alſo ſeriouſly put them in mind that ſome Courſe might be taken "whereby thoſe great Sums of Money formerly lent by the Queen "might be repayed her: for, being now forſaken and left in the "Lurch, ſhe had learned too late, to provide more carefully for her "own State in time to come, and not to confer her Benefits on thoſe "who ſo ill deſerved them. At laſt he and the reſt were diſmiſſed with fair and gentle Anſwers; and the King acknowledged the Queen's extraordinary Civilities and Kindneſſes towards him, promiſing that there was nothing which for her ſake he would not moſt readily doe. Theſe things ſhe took with much Diſcontent, and now and then by Letters, and by Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, her Secretary for the French Tongue, ſhe lovingly and freely admoniſhed him to remember his Faith given, and to have a regard to his Conſcience towards God, and his Reputation amongſt men, leſt he inſnared himſelf by the Counſells of corrupt and wicked men: and amongſt her grave Admonitions intermixed theſe nipping Checks. *If there be any Sin in the world againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it is Ingratitude. If you get any reaſonable Terms of Peace at the* Spaniard's *Hands, you may thank the Engliſh Succours for it. Forſake not an old Friend; for a new one will not be like him. The Conſcience and Religion of a League and the Faith of Contracts are not uſed as Nets to intrap, but onely by wicked men. A Bundle of Rods bound together is not eaſily broken. There is no eaſier way to overthrow us both then by parting and disjoyning us one from the other.* Which Speeches, as carrying much of Truth in them, he did not like to bear, and acquitted himſelf of his Promiſes with no other Pretence but that of urgent Neceſſity, ſeriouſly purſuing the Peace, which ſhortly after he concluded, to the generall great Good of *France*; and was for the ſame uſed amongſt the common People of *England* as a By-word and Proverb of an ungratefull Prince.

The Queen diſpleaſed.

Her Admonition to the French King.

He proſecuteth the Peace.

But

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But the truth is, he, to ſalve his Honour, omitted nothing on his part to procure a Peace alſo between *England* and *Spain*; and dealt with the Archduke about a Truce to be agreed upon for ſome Months: he laboured alſo to perſwade the Queen, that as he had before been a Burthen unto her, ſo now, Peace being eſtabliſhed, he would be an aſſured Fortreſs and Friend to her, and at no time would forſake her his Siſter, to whom he had been ſo much beholden. And indeed he expreſſed his ſingular Reſpect and Good will towards her, when the Peace was treated of at *Vervin* in *France*. For the *French* had a particular Regard to her Honour, after the deciding the Controverſie there betwixt the Commiſſioners on both Sides about Precedency and the more honourable Place.

Yet he ſheweth a great Reſpect to the Queen.

The Treaty of *Vervin*.

Concerning this Controverſie give me Leave to inſert a few things (which it may concern Poſterity to know) by a ſhort Digreſſion, and that out of the Originall ſent under the Commiſſioners Hands to the Archduke, which I have ſeen. The French Commiſſioners ſtifly challenged the firſt Place, according to a Determination of *Pius Quartus*. Thoſe for the *Spaniard* admitted not of that Sentence, as rejected formerly by the *Spaniard*, thinking they had Wrong done them, if the better Place were not given them even by the Law of Hoſpitality, foraſmuch as they were come into a Town of the French Dominion, which they would never have done, but out of a Reverence and Reſpect to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the Legate who repreſented his Perſon. It was agreed at length by the Endeavours of the Pope's Legate, that he himſelf ſhould ſit at the Upper end of the Board, and the Pope's Nuncio next him on the Right hand; and then Choice was given to the *French*, whether they would ſit on the Right hand next the Nuncio, or elſe on the Left hand next the Legate. They choſe the Left hand, as next to the Legate. They which were for the *Spaniard* willingly took the Right hand, which they judged to be the better Place, becauſe it was on the Right hand, and the Nuncio was none of the number of the Commiſſioners: and withall they thought they preſerved their King's Honour unblemiſhed. For if *Calgariton*, Generall of the *Franciſcans*, (who took great Pains in this Buſineſs,) had been preferred before them, to ſit above them next the Legate on the Left hand, (who, according to the Humility of a *Franciſcan*, choſe his Place at the End of the Board over againſt the Legate,) they had reſolved to have declared aloud and openly, that they well knew the Place was due to the Catholick King, and the ſame they would have kept, had they been delegated by the Catholick King: but ſeeing they were ſent and ſubdelegated by the Archduke, who would not equall himſelf with the moſt Chriſtian King, and in their Letters of Safe conduct which they received from the moſt Chriſtian King were expreſly named by no other name then as the Archduke's Commiſſioners, they would willingly yield the Place to

A Conteſt betwixt the French and Spaniſh Embaſſadours for Precedency.

The Difference made up.

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the *French*. For the *Spaniard*, to maintain his own Dignity, had prudently given Authority to the Archduke to delegate others from himself, lest he should be forced to an immediate Contention for Honour with the French King.

The *French* Regard to the Queen.

As soon as the matter was thus made up, and their Commissions shewed on both Sides, the *French* took it very ill, that in the Archduke's there was no Mention made of the Queen of *England*, whereas of the Duke of *Savoy* there was. It was answered, That she was to be comprehended in the number of the Confederates. When this satisfied not the *French*, they said, The reason was, because she was in perpetual Hostility against the *Spaniard*, and at this very time did infest him with her Fleet. Neither were the *French* yet content, till they passed their faithfull Promise, that the *Spaniard* should grant a Power to treat with her, if she should give any Hope or shew a Desire of embracing Peace.

Henry the 4. his Praise out of *Janin*.

But the Peace being concluded bewixt *France* and *Spain*, the *French* King, who had hitherto abundantly flourished in Martiall Glory, having now his Thoughts wholly settled upon Peace, did so promote the Welfare of *France*, (which had run headlong to Ruine for many Years through the Storms and Rufflings of Civill War,) by maintaining and supporting Religion, as well the Roman as the Reformed, reviving the Laws, cherishing Learning, restoring Trade and Commerce, and beautifying the Kingdom with splendid Buildings, that he far surpassed all the Kings of *France* before him, and got himself the Name of *Henry the Great*.

The Queen looketh after her own Affairs.

The Queen being now put more seriously to mind and look after her own Affairs, sent Sir *Francis Vere* to the Estates, to know whether they would joyn with her in a Treaty of Peace; if not, what they would contribute toward the War: and to deal seriously with them, that they would now at length repay her the Charges she had been at for their sakes.

A Disceptation about Peace with the *Spaniard*. For the Peace.

In the mean time it was accurately debated in *England*, whether it would be for the Benefit and Advantage of the Queen and Commonwealth to make a Peace with the *Spaniard*. They which were for Peace grounded their Opinion upon these Reasons. "Peace, "besides that it is both sweet and profitable, would wipe away that "Aspersion which lay upon the *English* as the Disturbers of the "whole World, as if they were happy in other mens Miseries, and "safe and quiet by other mens Dangers. The Queen would be "the more secure from treacherous and desperate Attempts. There "would be an End of the Expences of War against the *Spaniard* "and the Archduke. The Irish Rebellion would be quieted, when "the Rebels should have no longer Hope of Succours from *Spain*. "Commerce and Trade would be more free and open, to the great "Benefit and Profit of the Queen and her Subjects. *Spain*, which "in old times had been so beneficiall to the English Merchants, "would be again opened to them, where they might exchange "Wheat

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"Wheat for Gold and Silver. The Emperour's Mandate againſt "the Engliſh Merchants in *Germany* would be revoked. All Dan- "ger of Tumults at Home, occaſioned by frequent Payments, "Taxes, and Levies of men, would be avoided. The League of "*Burgundy* would be renewed: and ſo there would be no cauſe of "Fear from the French King. *England* would take Breath, and lay "up Wealth againſt future Occaſions. It would alſo make for the "Queen's Reputation, who in the Year 1585. when the Eſtates of "the *Low-Countries* offered her the Dominion over them, publick- "ly proteſted and declared in Books ſet forth in print, that in Re- "lieving the *Netherlanders* ſhe aimed at nothing elſe but Liberty and "Peace for them, and Security to *England*. If it then ſeemed a Reſolu- "tion full of Wiſedom and Diſcretion (as the Times were) to relieve "the *Netherlanders*, and full of Juſtice, to refuſe the Dominion of "thoſe great Provinces, when it was offered, to bear the Charges of "the War; certainly it might now ſeem a point of extreme Folly to "proſecute the War, when Peace is offered by the *Spaniard*, and no- "thing offered by thoſe who ſo much deſire the Continuance of the "War. Beſides, theſe things are to be ſeriouſly conſidered: Whether "*England* be able to carry on a War againſt the *Spaniard* in *Ireland*, "the *Low-Countries*, and elſe-where: and whether there be any Hope, "by continuing War, to draw him to more reaſonable Conditions of "Peace then what now may be had. And it is alſo adviſedly to be "deliberated, ſeeing without doubt it is moſt expedient for the "*Engliſh* to make an Offenſive War, (for woe to them who are "forced to defend themſelves at Home,) in what Parts this War "is to be made: If on the Sea-coaſt of *Spain* and *Portugall*; the Sea- "Towns indeed may eaſily be taken and ranſacked in both places, "but never kept without vaſt Expence, and the Profit will be none "at all: If in the Iſles of *Azores*; theſe alſo it's true may poſſibly "be ſubdued, and that to the great Dammage of the *Spaniard*, but "cannot be kept without greater Expence: If in *America*; they "have now armed Ships in readineſs every-where in thoſe Parts, "and the Sea-coaſts are ſtrengthened with more and ſtronger Garri- "ſons then heretofore; and not a Grain of Gold, Silver or Pearl "is to be hoped for without great Hazzard: If in the neighbouring "*Low-Countreys*; that would be a very difficult Task, ſo thick is "that Countrey ſet with ſtrong fortified Towns, every of which "will endure a long Siege: neither could the Eſtates, with the "Forces of the *Engliſh* joyned with them, make any other then a "Defenſive War, till ſuch time as the *Spaniards* were diverted to "the French War. Laſtly, that Axiome in Politicks is not to be "neglected, *They who are able to maintain War, may find and obtain* "*Peace*; *they who are not able, ſhall never.* And the lamentable Ex- amples of the *Athenians* and others, who refuſed Peace when it was offered, were alleaged. Some there were that added, (but they were ſuch as out of Hatred ſeemed leſs indifferently affected towards the

1598. the Men, then towards their Cauſe,) "That the Eſtates, whatſo-
"ever Pretences they make of defending Religion and maintaining
"their Liberty, do indeed take away all Piety and Religion, by to-
"lerating every Opinion and Perſuaſion except the Roman: and
"for Liberty, they ſeek nothing elſe but their own Profit and Ad-
"vantage, by impoſing great Exciſe upon Victuals, embaſing and
"corrupting of Coin, raiſing the Value thereof at their Pleaſure,
"and other like cunning Practices; and hereby they do with a
"ſtrange piece of Art both maintain the War, and by the War grow
"rich, whereas all other Nations are impoveriſhed by it. More-
"over, by ſetting up Monopolies every-where, they hinder all o-
"thers of Trade and Commerce. And, as all others doe that fa-
"vour a Democraticall Government, they proſecute Monarchies
"with a tacit and ſecret Hatred, and have caſt out all their Nobility,
"except one or two that are uſefull to them in the Wars. And it
"is evident they propound nothing elſe to themſelves, (giving
"thereby a very dangerous Example againſt Princes,) but as the
"*Helvetians* did heretofore againſt the Houſe of *Habſpurg*, ſo to
"cantonize themſelves againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is the
"ſame Houſe; and that not with their own Bloud, but with the
"Bloud of the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Scots*, who, for a little Glory,
"are too prodigal of their Lives in the Cauſe and Quarrel of other
"men.

Againſt the Peace. Thoſe that were againſt the Peace uſed ſuch Arguments as theſe.
"By Peace the *Spaniard* will heap up ſuch a Maſſe of Treaſure, that
"if he break forth into War again, he will be far too ſtrong for all
"his Neighbours. A ſound and firm Peace cannot, without the
"Pope's Diſpenſation, be expected at his Hands, who deluded us
"at *Borbourg* in the Year 1588. and is of a Belief that no Faith is
"to be kept with Hereticks and Excommunicate perſons. He can
"never digeſt the Loſſes he hath received, but is inflamed with a
"Deſire of Revenge. If Peace be made, the Queen muſt forſake
"the Eſtates of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and withall loſe her Money ex-
"pended upon that War, or elſe deliver up the cautionary Towns
"into the Enemie's Hands: this would be to her Diſhonour, the
"other to her Loſs and Dammage. The Eſtates, being once for-
"ſaken by her, will be reduced under the Obedience of the *Spa-*
"*niard*, whereby he will become far more powerfull in Shipping
"and Forces to infeſt *England*; and thoſe Countreys will be a very
"convenient Seat for carrying on a War againſt the neighbouring
"Kingdoms, in order to his erecting and eſtabliſhing the Spaniſh
"Monarchy. Grant that an Offenſive War be in the *Low-Coun-*
"*tries* a thing very difficult and laborious, in the *Azores* doubtfull
"and uncertain, in the maritime Parts of *Spain* and *Portugall* gainleſs
"and unprofitable, and in every one of them very chargeable and
"expenſive; yet in *America* it will be highly advantageous and
"profitable: which vaſt Country is ſo thinly inhabited by the
"*Spaniards*,

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" *Spaniards*, and thoſe Inhabitants ſo far ſeparated, that they cannot " eaſily relieve one another. If therefore a ſtrong Army of 10000 " *Engliſh*, under an induſtrious and vigilant Commander, were there " landed, with a reſolved Purpoſe to plant and inhabit, no Doubt " were to be made but *Carthagena* in *Golden Caſtile*, the River *Cia-* " *gro*, which is able to bear Boats almoſt as high as *Panama*, *Panama* " itſelf, and *Puerta Bella*, would be all conquered; and conſequent- " ly the Treaſure which is ſent through theſe places into *Spain* out " of *Peru* and *Golden Caſtile* would be either intercepted, or ſtayed " in *America*. Hereby might the Trade of the *Spaniards* be ſtopt " and hindred, and the Kings Cuſtoms diminiſhed, to his great Loſs " and Detriment. Neither would there be any Fear of the *Ameri-* " *cans*, a cowardly People, and through the Pleaſantneſs of the " Climate altogether effeminate; or of the *Spaniards* which ſhould " be ſent thither, who being wearied with the long Voiage, and " made feeble with Sea-ſickneſs, would find it a very difficult matter " to drive old Souldiers out of their fortified Holds. Neither need " they fear lack of Victuals and Munition, which might as eaſily be " ſupplied from *England* as it is from *Spain*. For as ſoon as Fame " ſhould have publiſhed abroad, that they had ſettled themſelves " there, many from all Nations would flock to them with all ſorts " of Neceſſaries; foraſmuch as the *Europeans* do deſire nothing " more then a free Trade and Traffick in *America*. The Objecti- " ons againſt the *Hollanders* concerning Religion and Monopolies " are mere Calumnies and Forgeries of the Adverſaries of the Re- " formed Religion: for the Eſtates, together with their ancient " Liberty, do from their Hearts embrace the true Religion, and do " maintain the very ſame with the other Reformed Churches of " Chriſtendom in Points fundamentall, which concern the Salvation " of Souls: in other Points not neceſſary to Salvation they grant a " Toleration, with Reſpect to the Times, in like manner as the Pri- " mitive Church did; foraſmuch as Cockle will every-where grow " up with the Corn. As touching other things, the Faults of par- " ticular men are not to be charged upon all in generall; the publick " Cauſe is to be diſtinguiſhed from private mens Miſcarriages: a- " mongſt the Angels of God and the Apoſtles themſelves there was " ſome Corruption found. We muſt not envy nor defame a well- " eſtabliſhed Commonwealth, nor that excellent Induſtry and Good- " husbandry of a free Nation, if they onely of all People know " how to thrive and grow rich by War.

A Reply for the Peace.

Theſe Arguments thoſe that were for Peace laboured to ener- vate by theſe Reaſons. " The Queen and her Confederates may in " like manner gather up Treaſure in time of Peace, and provide " themſelves no leſs for Defenſe, then the *Spaniard* can for Offenſe. " A ſolid and firm Peace may well be expected from the *Spaniard*, " who, having hitherto ſuſtained very great Dammages and Diſ- " pleaſures, may learn at length how much he hath erred in his Go- " vernment

1598. "vernment of the *Low-Countries* by a martiall and forcible Hand, "and may ſeriouſly now amend his Errour by yielding to a Peace. "Peace hath been contracted ſeverall times heretofore with the "Dukes of *Burgundy* and Kings of *Caſtile*, the *Spaniard*'s Progeni- "tours, and hath alwaies held firm, and extremely advantageous and "profitable to the *Engliſh*. Suppoſe the *Spaniard* for his Advantage "treated of Peace at *Borbourg* not ſo fairly and candidly as he ought; "we in like manner may now without Hurt to ourſelves treat "with Swords in our Hands. That Peace hath been kept by Popiſh "Princes with Excommunicate perſons and Hereticks, without regar- "ding the Pope, may be proved by many Examples, both of *Charles* "the Fifth and his Succeſſours in the Empire, who ſtill kept their "Faith and Promiſe with the excommunicate Proteſtants of *Germa-* "*ny*, whom they accounted Hereticks; of *Francis* the Firſt King of "*France*, who at *Paris* ſolemnized the funerall Exequies of our *Henry* "the Eighth, though excommunicate by the Pope; and of *Henry* the "now King of *France*, who after he was reconciled to the Pope, and "acknowledged for the eldeſt and deareſt Son of the Church, entred "into a League offenſive and defenſive with the Queen. The ar- "dent Deſire of Revenge groweth cold, when Strength to act it once "faileth. The Queen may juſtly forſake the Eſtates, ſince ſhe onely "bound herſelf to aid them till they could get reaſonable Conditions "from the *Spaniard* for Security of their Liberty; which Conditions "if they now refuſe, ſhe is not bound to aſſiſt them any longer. That "the cautionary Towns ſhould be rendred up to them, is neither "a thing juſt, nor can they with Reaſon require it. The Recovery "of the Money diſburſed upon the War will be eaſie, if a Peace be "once concluded. The Eſtates cannot in a ſhort time be reduced "by Force of Arms under the Obedience of the *Spaniard*; and in "Tract of time many things may happen which are not thought of "now. But if they be reduced by a Pacification, they cannot ſuf- "ficiently ſecure themſelves, unleſs alſo they ſecure their Profit "and Intereſt. But whatſoever become of them, *France* and *Eng-* "*land*, being now linked together in a firm League, will eaſily ba- "lance the *Spaniard*, and prevent his Extravagancies. The com- "mon Profit will be the ſtrongeſt Band of the League. To con- "clude, The Arguments for Peace are drawn both from the Law of "Nature, which preferreth the Preſervation of ones ſelf before that "of all others; from the Law of Nations, which ordaineth that the "Safety of the People be the ſupreme Law; and from ſound Rea- "ſons of Chriſtian Piety, that Effuſion of Bloud may be ſpared, and "Chriſtendom ſtrengthened againſt Infidels. But the Arguments "for War (which, howſoever men may flatter themſelves with "Hopes of Gold by a ſtrong Army ſent into *America*, the unhappy "Succeſs of *Drake* may ſufficiently refute,) are drawn onely from "humane Wiſedom, that Dangers may thereby be diverted: which "it were better to leave to God's Providence and Diſpoſing, by

"directing

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"directing our Counſells with a good Conſcience to the publick "Good, then to thoſe things which are never to be commended far- "ther then they are neceſſary. Theſe things and the like we heard argued on both ſides.

Burghley Lord Treaſurer, for the Conſiderations aforeſaid, and the Advantages of Peace, which are certain, profitable and neceſſary, inclined to Peace, knowing the Chance of War to be uncertain, the Charges infinite, the Treaſure of *England* exhauſted, the Nature of the Common people of *England* inclinable to Sedition, if they be oppreſſed with extraordinary Paiments, that there was an inbred Diſaffection in the Vulgar towards the Nobility, ſmall Hope of Aſſiſtence from the Eſtates, our Neighbours round about to be ſuſpected, many treacherous at Home, and the *Spaniard*'s Treaſure not to be drawn dry: and (as he ſaid) no Good could come to *England* by this War, but onely an Averſion of Evill, which amongſt Good things is reputed the leaſt. *Burghley* for Peace.

Eſſex argued to the contrary, and, having been bred up to a military Life, and got great Renown, by no means would aſſent to a Peace; but by Reaſons drawn from the ſubtil Natures and Diſpoſitions of the *Spaniards*, their inſatiate Deſire of enlarging their Empire, their inveterate Hatred againſt *England* and the Queen, their Diverſity of Religion from ours, the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Power in Diſpenſing, that Axiom, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, an anxious Suſpicion and Fear of future Dangers, and ſuch other like matters, which I have already related, ſtifly maintained, that no Peace could be made with the *Spaniards* but ſuch as would be diſhonourable, and fraudulent on their ſide: inſomuch as the Lord Treaſurer ſaid that he breathed forth nothing but War, Slaughter, and Bloud; and after a hot Diſpute about this matter, as if he preſaged what would after be, he drew forth a Pſalm-book, and ſaying nothing pointed him to this Verſe, *Men of Bloud ſhall not live out half their days.* Yet ſome there were who highly applauded *Eſſex*, as one that ſincerely aimed at the Honour and Security of his Country. Others there were who taxed him as one that ſerved his own Ambition, and the Benefit and Advantage of his Followers. Againſt whom he wrote an Apologie, wherein he plainly diſcovered all that hath been ſaid before, and alſo ſhewed, that *Anthony Rolſton*, an Engliſh Fugitive, was not long before ſent over into *England* by the Spaniſh Miniſters and by *Creſwell* the *Jeſuite*, under Pretence of procuring a Peace, but indeed (as *Rolſton* himſelf confeſſed) to diſcover what Proviſions the Queen had for War, to confirm the Papiſts, and by Gifts and Promiſes to corrupt the Fidelity of ſome great Lords, and of *Eſſex* particularly. *Eſſex* againſt Peace. Being taxed by ſome, he writeth an Apologie.

Concerning this Buſineſs of the Peace, and the chuſing of ſome meet and able perſon to look after the Affairs of *Ireland*, there grew a ſmart Debate between the Queen and *Eſſex*, none elſe being preſent but the Lord Admirall, Sir *Robert Cecyl* Secretary, and *Windebank* Clerk of the Signet. For whereas ſhe thought Sir *William Knolles*, A ſharp Diſſenſion betwixt him and the Queen.

1598.

Uncle to *Essex*, the fittest man of any to be sent over into *Ireland*, and *Essex* obstinately insisted that Sir *George Carew* was a fitter person then he, on purpose to rid the Court of him, yet could not by all his Perswasions draw her to it; quite forgetting himself, and neglecting his Duty, he uncivilly turned his Back upon her as it were in Contempt, and gave her a scornfull Look. She, not enduring such Behaviour, gave him a Box on the Ear, and bade him get him gone and be hang'd. He presently laid his Hand on his Sword; and the Lord Admirall stepping between, he sware a great Oath, that he neither could nor would put up so great an Affront and Indignity, neither would he have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his Hands; and in a great Passion withdrew himself presently from the Court. The Lord Keeper of the Seal in a grave and sober Letter advised him humbly to betake himself to the Queen's Mercy, alleaging, that it was the best way to yield to her Anger for the present; and to remember that of *Seneca*, *If the Law punish one that is Guilty, he must submit to Justice; if one that is Innocent, he must submit to Fortune.* If he had justly offended his Prince, he could not make her Satisfaction; if she had offended him, Prudence, Duty, yea Religion itself did require that he should submit himself to the Queen, to whom he was so much engaged, forasmuch as there is no Equality between a Prince and a Subject, &c. He answered the Lord Keeper stomackfully and passionately by a long Letter, (which was afterward unadvisedly divulged by his Friends,) appealing from the Queen to Almighty God, using therein these and the like Expressions. *No Storm is more violent and outrageous then the Anger of a passionate Prince. The Queen's Heart is hardned. What I owe as a Subject I know, and what as an Earl and Marshall of* England *I know: but how to serve as a Drudge and a Slave I know not. If I should acknowledge myself guilty, I should doe Wrong to the Truth, and to God the Authour of Truth. My whole Body is wounded by that one Blow. Having received this Indignity, it were Impiety in me to serve longer. Cannot Princes erre? Can they not wrong their Subjects? Is any earthly Power infinite?* Solomon *saith*, A fool laugheth when he is stricken. *They which get Advantage by Princes Errours and Misdoings, let them take Injuries at Princes Hands. They who believe not the infinite Omnipotency of Almighty God may acknowledge an infinite Power in Royall Majesty. I, that have been torn and rent with so many Wrongs, have long enough endured the Bitternes of Injuries at my very Bowels.* Yet within a little while after he became more submiss, obtained his Pardon, and was received again by her into Favour, who always thought it less misbeseeming to offend and anger a man then to hate him. Yet hereupon his Friends began shrewdly to fear his Ruine, who had observed that Fortune is seldome reconciled to her Foster-children whom she hath once forsaken; and Princes more seldome to those whom they have before offended.

His unreverent and saucy behaviour to the Queen.

The Lord Keeper's good Advice to him.

His angry and disdainfull Answer.

He is again received into favour.

In the midst of these Discontents died *William Cecyl* Lord *Burghley*,

ley, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, being before ſpent with continuall Labour and Employment of Mind, the Gout and Old age, ſo that he gave himſelf over to Sorrow and Penſiveneſs, and writing a Letter to the Queen, earneſtly beſought her that he might lay down his Offices of Magiſtracy. Upon this ſhe viſited him now and then, comforting him with kind and loving words. But within a few daies, having now lived long enough to Nature, long enough to his own Glory, but not long enough to his Country, he rendred his Soul to God ſo quietly and peaceably, that the greateſt Adverſary he had ſaid, he envied him for nothing ſo much as for ſuch a Death in ſo great Glory; whereas for the moſt part the great Miniſters of publick Affairs have more ſad and unhappy Ends. Certainly he was a moſt excellent man, who (to ſay nothing of his reverend Preſence, his calm and undiſturbed Countenance,) was ſo framed by Nature, ſo poliſhed and adorned with Learning and Education, that every way for Honeſty, Gravity, Temperance, Induſtry and Juſtice, he was a moſt accompliſhed Perſon. Hereunto adde his fluent and elegant Speech, (and that not affected, but plain, naturall and eaſie;) his Wiſedome confirmed by Experience, and ſeaſoned with great Moderation; his approved Fidelity; and, above all, his ſingular Piety towards God. To ſpeak all in a word, the Queen was happy in ſo great a Counſellour, and the State of *England* for ever indebted to him for his ſage and prudent Counſell. He was born (for haply theſe things alſo may delight Poſterity to know) at *Bourn* in the County of *Lincoln*, in the Year 1521. His Father was *Richard Cecyl*, of the Family of *Alterynnis*, of the Wardrobe to King *Henry* the Eighth. His Mother's name was *Jane*, Heireſs of the honourable Family of *Ekinton*, and of the *Walcots*.

In his young daies he ſtudied the Liberall Arts at *Saint John's* Colledge in *Cambridge*; where, in the 20. year of his Age, he took to Wife *Mary* the Siſter of Sir *John Cheek*, a learned Gentleman; which Wife died a year or two after. Then, having a while ſtudied the Law at *Gray's-Inne* in *London*, he married *Mildred* the Daughter of Sir *Antonie Coke*, who was Schoolmaſter to *Edward* the Sixth, a Woman well learned in the Greek and Latine Tongues. Being taken into the Family of the Duke of *Somerſet*, Protectour of *England*, he was made his Maſter of Requeſts, (the firſt (as I have heard from his own mouth) that ever bare this Title in *England*.) Shortly after he was made Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth, and by him honoured with the Dignity of Knighthood. Whoſe pretended Conveiance of the Kingdome, whereby the Ladies *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were excluded from all Right to the Crown, when he oppoſed, (although he alſo ſubſcribed with the reſt,) he found ſome Grace and Favour with Queen *Mary*; but very much with Cardinall *Poole*, *Tonſtall*, and Sir *William Peter*, for his great Wiſedome. But being in his Heart a Lover of the Doctrince of the Proteſtants, (though he ſomething humoured the Times,) and ſeeing all Acceſs to Ho-

1598. The death of *Cecyl* Lord *Burghley*, 4. *Aug. etat. anno* 77.

His Character.

His birth and parentage.

His Education.

He is Maſter of Requeſts.

Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth.

1598.

Uncle to *Eſſex*, the fitteſt man of any to be ſent over into *Ireland*, and *Eſſex* obſtinately inſiſted that Sir *George Carew* was a fitter perſon then he, on purpoſe to rid the Court of him, yet could not by all his Perſwaſions draw her to it; quite forgetting himſelf, and neglecting his Duty, he uncivilly turned his Back upon her as it were in Contempt, and gave her a ſcornfull Look. She, not enduring ſuch Behaviour, gave him a Box on the Ear, and bade him get him gone and be hang'd. He preſently laid his Hand on his Sword; and the Lord Admirall ſtepping between, he ſware a great Oath, that he neither could nor would put up ſo great an Affront and Indignity, neither would he have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his Hands; and in a great Paſſion withdrew himſelf preſently from the Court. The Lord Keeper of the Seal in a grave and ſober Letter adviſed him humbly to betake himſelf to the Queen's Mercy, alleaging, that it was the beſt way to yield to her Anger for the preſent; and to remember that of *Seneca*, *If the Law puniſh one that is Guilty, he muſt ſubmit to Juſtice; if one that is Innocent, he muſt ſubmit to Fortune.* If he had juſtly offended his Prince, he could not make her Satisfaction; if ſhe had offended him, Prudence, Duty, yea Religion itſelf did require that he ſhould ſubmit himſelf to the Queen, to whom he was ſo much engaged, foraſmuch as there is no Equality between a Prince and a Subject, &c. He anſwered the Lord Keeper ſtomackfully and paſſionately by a long Letter, (which was afterward unadviſedly divulged by his Friends,) appealing from the Queen to Almighty God, uſing therein theſe and the like Expreſſions. *No Storm is more violent and outrageous then the Anger of a paſſionate Prince. The Queen's Heart is hardned. What I owe as a Subject I know, and what as an Earl and Marſhall of* England *I know: but how to ſerve as a Drudge and a Slave I know not. If I ſhould acknowledge myſelf guilty, I ſhould doe Wrong to the Truth, and to God the Authour of Truth. My whole Body is wounded by that one Blow. Having received this Indignity, it were Impiety in me to ſerve longer. Cannot Princes erre? Can they not wrong their Subjects? Is any earthly Power infinite?* Solomon *ſaith*, A fool laugheth when he is ſtricken. *They which get Advantage by Princes Errours and Miſdoings, let them take Injuries at Princes Hands. They who believe not the infinite Omnipotency of Almighty God may acknowledge an infinite Power in Royall Majeſty. I, that have been torn and rent with ſo many Wrongs, have long enough endured the Bitterneſs of Injuries at my very Bowels.* Yet within a little while after he became more ſubmiſs, obtained his Pardon, and was received again by her into Favour, who always thought it leſs misbeſeeming to offend and anger a man then to hate him. Yet hereupon his Friends began ſhrewdly to fear his Ruine, who had obſerved that Fortune is ſeldome reconciled to her Foſter-children whom ſhe hath once forſaken; and Princes more ſeldome to thoſe whom they have before offended.

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The Lord Keeper's good Advice to him.

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In the midſt of theſe Diſcontents died *William Cecyl* Lord *Burghley*,

ley, Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*, being before ſpent with continuall Labour and Employment of Mind, the Gout and Old age, ſo that he gave himſelf over to Sorrow and Penſiveneſs, and writing a Letter to the Queen, earneſtly beſought her that he might lay down his Offices of Magiſtracy. Upon this ſhe viſited him now and then, comforting him with kind and loving words. But within a few daies, having now lived long enough to Nature, long enough to his own Glory, but not long enough to his Country, he rendred his Soul to God ſo quietly and peaceably, that the greateſt Adverſary he had ſaid, he envied him for nothing ſo much as for ſuch a Death in ſo great Glory; whereas for the moſt part the great Miniſters of publick Affairs have more ſad and unhappy Ends. Certainly he was a moſt excellent man, who (to ſay nothing of his reverend Preſence, his calm and undiſturbed Countenance,) was ſo framed by Nature, ſo poliſhed and adorned with Learning and Education, that every way for Honeſty, Gravity, Temperance, Induſtry and Juſtice, he was a moſt accompliſhed Perſon. Hereunto adde his fluent and elegant Speech, (and that not affected, but plain, naturall and eaſie;) his Wiſedome confirmed by Experience, and ſeaſoned with great Moderation; his approved Fidelity; and, above all, his ſingular Piety towards God. To ſpeak all in a word, the Queen was happy in ſo great a Counſellour, and the State of *England* for ever indebted to him for his ſage and prudent Counſell. He was born (for haply theſe things alſo may delight Poſterity to know) at *Bourn* in the County of *Lincoln*, in the Year 1521. His Father was *Richard Cecyl*, of the Family of *Alterynnis*, of the Wardrobe to King *Henry* the Eighth. His Mother's name was *Jane*, Heireſs of the honourable Family of *Ekinton*, and of the *Walcots*.

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1598. The death of *Cecyl* Lord *Burghley*, 4. *Aug. ætat. anno* 77.

His Character.

His birth and parentage.

His Education.

He is Maſter of Requeſts.

Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth.

1598.

His Services under Queen *Elizabeth*.

nour thereby obſtructed, he betook himſelf to the Lady *Elizabeth*; who made uſe of his Service in ſoliciting her Affairs whilſt ſhe was a private Woman, and when ſhe was Queen made him a Privy-Counſellour and Secretary, and, after the Deceaſe of Sir *Thomas Parry*, gave him the Place of Maſter of the Wards, in the third Year of her Reign: which Place he managed (as he did all his other) very providently for the Service of his Prince and the Wards, for his own Profit moderately, and for the Benefit and Advantage of his Followers and Retainers beneficially; yet without Offenſe, and with great Commendations for his Integrity: inſomuch as the Queen, admiring his Prudence and Wiſedome, committed in a manner the managing of the whole State unto him. This his Power with the Queen and his Wealth were accompanied with the Envy of ſome great Lords; which (as he was wont to ſay) he overcame more by Patience then by Thwarting and Croſneſs. His Prudence and Fidelity in the weightieſt matters having been now experienced for the ſpace of full 13 Years, the Queen honoured him with the Title of Baron of *Burghley*, and then made him Lord High-Treaſurer of *England*. In which Office (though he deteſted to ſcrape Money together by baſe and corrupt ways) he increaſed both his private Eſtate and the publick Treaſure by his Induſtry and Frugality. For he hardly ſuffered any thing to be expended but for the Queen's Majeſtie's Honour, the Defenſe of the Realm, or the Relief of neighbouring Allies. He looked ſtrictly, yet not over-rigidly, to the Farmers of the Cuſtoms. He never liked (as he was wont to ſay) that the Treaſury ſhould grow too great like the Spleen, whilſt the reſt of the Members languiſhed and pined away: and he made it his great Endeavour, not without good Succeſs, that both Prince and People might grow rich: ſaying oftentimes, that nothing is truly for a Prince's Profit which is not conjoyned with Honour. Wherefore he would have no Rents raiſed upon Lands, nor the old Farmers and Tenants put out. Which alſo he obſerved in his own private Eſtate, which he managed with that Integrity, that he never ſued any man, nor any man ever ſued him. But I will not goe too far in his Praiſes: yet may I ſay truly, that he was one of thoſe few who have both lived and died with Glory. So great a man, whilſt others admire him, I for my part (as was wont to be done in old times about things holy and facred) will honour with a ſilent Reverence. By his firſt Wife, *Mary Cheek*, he begat *Thomas* now Earl of *Exceſter*, a man happy in a numerous Offſpring. By his other Wife, *Mildred Coke*, he begat *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, who ſucceeded him (a Felicity which ſeldome happens) in the greateſt Offices of State; and two Daughters, both which he overlived: *Anne*, Counteſs of *Oxford*, (who had three Daughters; *Elizabeth*, married to *William* Earl of *Derby*, *Bridget*, married to the Lord *Norris*, and *Suſan*, married to *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*;) and *Elizabeth*, Wife to *William Wentworth*, which had no Iſſue. He appointed for Overſeers of his Will, *Gabriel Goodman*,

He is made a Baron and Treaſurer of *England* 1571. and Knight of the Garter 1584.

His Iſſue.

1598.

Goodman, Dean of *Weſtminſter*, an honeſt true-hearted man; and *Thomas Bellot*, Steward of his Houſe: to which *Thomas* he left a great Summe of Money to be beſtowed upon Religious uſes; which he faithfully laid out accordingly.

The great Deſire of Peace expreſt by the Lord *Burghley*, though it produced not a Peace, yet did it abate and take off the greateſt part of the Charge of the War. For whilſt he lay now deſperately ſick, and almoſt paſt hope of Recovery, the Eſtates ſent *John Duvenvoord* Admirall of *Holland*, *John Oldenbarnevelt* Keeper of the Seals, *John Verke*, *John Hooting*, and *Andrew Heſſell*, and joyned to them Sir *Nowell Carron* their Agent in *England*; who preferring War before Peace, in the Month of *Auguſt* treated with Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Admirall, *George* Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *William Knolles*, Sir *Robert Cecyl*, and Sir *John Forteſcue*, Commiſſioners appointed by the Queen, and agreed upon theſe Articles following. *That the League made in the Year* 1585. *ſhould be ratified and confirmed, excepting ſome Articles relating to the chief Adminiſtration and Government of the State. That the Eſtates of the Confederate Provinces ſhould pay the Queen* 800000 *Pounds of Engliſh Money*; viz. 30000 *Pounds yearly as long as the War continued againſt the common Enemy, untill* 400000 *Pounds were paid. And if a Peace were made betwixt the* Spaniard *and the Queen, there ſhould be paid of the remaining Summe* 20000 *Pounds yearly, till the* 800000 *Pounds were paid. That* 1150 *Engliſh Souldiers lying in Garriſon in* Fluſhing, Briel, *and the Forts adjoyning, ſhould be paid by the Eſtates. That they might raiſe men in* England *under Engliſh Officers, whom they ſhould be bound to pay. That if the* Spaniard *ſhould invade the Iſles of* Wight, Garnſey, Jerſey, *or* Silly, *the Eſtates ſhould aſſiſt the Queen with* 5000 *Foot and* 500 *Horſe. That if any Fleet were ſet forth in* England *againſt the* Spaniard, *they ſhould joyn as many Ships of theirs with them. That if any Engliſh Forces were ſent over into* Flanders *or* Brabant, *they ſhould joyn the like number with them well provided and furniſhed*, &c. *As for the Money due to* Pallavicini, *the Queen ſhould have her Remedy and Courſe againſt* Brabant, Flanders, *and the reſt of the Provinces not confederate.*

Vide in 1595.

A new Contract with the Eſtates.

Thus was the Queen by this Agreement eaſed of very great Expences, which amounted to about 120000 Pounds Engliſh yearly: and this by the Wiſedom and Diſcretion of the Lord *Burghley*, and the Negotiation of Sir *Thomas Bodley*, and *George Gilpin* who ſucceeded him in the Councill of the Eſtates.

Bodley, being now at liberty from the publick Cares of the Commonwealth, ſet himſelf wholly upon a Buſineſs which well becometh the greateſt Princes, to wit, the Advancement of Learning. For he began to repair and re-furniſh the publick Library in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, firſt commenced by *Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter*, and by the Licentiouſneſs of the Times in the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth

Bodley's Library.

1598. Sixth ſpoiled and bereft of all its Books: which, by gathering together the choiſeſt Volumes of all ſorts for the uſe of Students from all Parts of the World, partly with his own Money, and partly by the Contribution of others, he furniſhed in ſuch ſort, and ſo endowed it at his Death, that he is worthy to be honoured with ſingular and eternall Praiſe amongſt the greateſt men, and ſuch as have deſerved beſt of Learning, as long as Letters and Learning ſhall continue in the World.

An embaſſy to *Denmark*.

Whilſt the forementioned things were treating betwixt the *Engliſh* and the Eſtates, the Lord *Zouch*, and *Chriſtopher Parkins* Doctour of Law, being ſent to *Denmark* to congratulate the King's Marriage with the Electour of *Brandenburg*'s Daughter, with much adoe obtained the Repaiment of 30000 Dollers for the Engliſh Merchants Goods to the value of 100000 Dollers which the *Danes* had ſeized upon, alleaging that the *Engliſh* had not dealt truly and fairly in their Accompts with the Cuſtomers. For now there began to grow Controverſies about ſuch kind of matters: whilſt the Queen, ſuſpecting that the King of *Denmark* ſhewed more Favour to the *Spaniard*, and leſs to the *Engliſh*, complained that the Cuſtoms were unreaſonably raiſed; and he on the other ſide complained, that his Subjects were robbed and abuſed by the Engliſh Pirates, and that the Council of *England* had more Reſpect to the private Covetouſneſs and Greedineſs of ſome Merchants, then to the publick Safety and Welfare of both Kingdoms.

Differences betwixt the *Danes* and the *Engliſh*.

Cardinal *Albert* married to the Infanta of *Spain*.

About this time *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, betrothed the Infanta *Iſabella* his Daughter to Cardinall *Albert*, and with her made over in Dowry the Low-Countrey Provinces, and the County of *Burgundy*. Whereupon the Cardinal, having ſolemnly ſent back his Cardinal's Hat to *Rome*, and received from the Pope a conſecrated Sword, made all Haſt to *Spain*. In the mean time the King of *Spain*, being above 70 years of Age, ended his Life in the Moneth of *September*, with great Commendations for his Patience in all Events. A Prince whoſe Empire extended ſo far and wide above all the Emperours before him, that he might truly ſay, *Sol mihi ſemper lucet*, that is, *The Sun always ſhineth upon me*: a Prince of great Wiſedom, through his Father's Inſtructions and his own long Experience; but in matters of War for the moſt part unfortunate, for that being himſelf naturally but weak, he was very wary in taking Advice, and truſted to the Service of others in his Wars. Whereby *the Three Keys of the Spaniſh Empire*, (which his Father ſo termed, and adviſed him above all things to have a watchfull and carefull Eye upon,) namely, *Guletta* in *Africa*, *Fluſhing* in the *Low-Countries*, and *Gades* in *Spain*, were neglected; one of them being taken from him by the *Turks*, another by the Confederate Eſtates of the *Low-Countries*, and the third forced by the *Engliſh*, to the great Dammage and Diſhonour of ſo great a Prince: ſo that it was not without cauſe that he admoniſhed his Son (as the Report goeth) to compound Differences with the *Engliſh* and the *Netherlanders*.

The death of *Philip* King of *Spain*.

The 3 Keies of the Spaniſh Empire.

Much

1598.

The return of the Earl of *Cumberland* from his Expedition againſt the *Spaniards*.

His taking of *Lancerota*, and *Porto-Rico*.

Much about this time alſo *George Clifford*, Earl of *Cumberland*, returned Home into *England*, who had ſome time before at his own Charges ſet forth a Fleet of eleven Ships, to intercept the *Portugall* Caracks as they ſhould ſet Sail from the river *Teyo* for the *Eaſt Indies*. But they, hearing that he lay off and on upon the Coaſt of *Portugall*, kept themſelves ſo long in the River under Protection of the Fort of *Saint Julian*, (a Fort furniſhed with 100 Pieces of Ordnance,) that they loſt the Opportunity of their Voiage for this Year. Wherefore he ſteered his Courſe firſt to the *Canaries*; where he took and plundred the Iſle of *Lancerota* with the Town. From thence he landed in *Boriquen*, and, putting his men in Order, aſſaulted *Porto-Rico*, and, after the winning of one or two of their Forts, became Maſter of the Town, having ſcarce loſt thirty men, though there were in the Town 400 Souldiers in Garriſon beſides the Inhabitants. This Place, being for the Commodiouſneſs of its Situation accounted by the *Spaniards* as the Key of *America*, he purpoſed to make the Seat of War, and removed all the Inhabitants out of it, though for the Redemption of the Place they offered good ſtore of rich Merchandize, with Gold and Silver Plate. But the Bloudy-flux and Griping in the Guts began ſhortly after ſo to rage amongſt the *Engliſh*, that in 40 daies (for ſo long they ſtayed there) it ſwept away 700 of his men, ſo that he was conſtrained to return Home, having gotten more Victory then Booty, though he brought away above 60 great braſs Pieces of Ordnance. But much Dammage he did to the *Spaniard*, in regard neither the Caracks could ſet Sail this Year to the *Eaſt-Indies*, nor their *America* Plate-fleet return into *Spain*.

Squier arraigned for Treaſon.

Drawn in by *Walpole* the Jeſuite.

About this time alſo was *Edward Squier* arraigned for Treaſon, a man of inferiour Quality, who having been firſt a pettifogging Clerk, afterwards an Under-ſervant in the Queen's Stable, then a Souldier in *Drake*'s laſt Expedition, was taken in that Pinnace which was then intercepted by the *Spaniards*, and, being carried Priſoner into *Spain*, became known to *Walpole* an Engliſh *Jeſuite*. This *Walpole* procured him to be drawn into the Inquiſition, as a man guilty of Hereſie, where after he had endured much Affliction, he eaſily perſuaded him to turn to the Romiſh Religion, and afterwards exhorted him ſeverall times to attempt ſomething for the Cauſe and Service of Religion. At length with many Circumlocutions he told him, (as *Squier* himſelf confeſſed,) that it was a meritorious act to kill the Earl of *Eſſex*, but more neceſſary to make away the Queen: which he told him might eaſily be done, and without any Danger, by anointing the Pummell of the Queen's Saddle with Poiſon, upon which ſhe was to lay her Hand as ſhe rode. To this villainous Fact when *Squier* had given his Aſſent, the *Jeſuite* bound the man by ſeverall Vows under pain of Damnation, to conceal the Deſign, and commit the Deed. Thus having inſtructed *Squier* how to act this horrid Wickedneſs, and loaden him with Promiſes of eternall

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eternall Salvation, he gave him his Benediction, delivered him the Poiſon, and, leſt any Suſpicion ſhould ariſe of him as one returning from *Spain*, he procured him and another to be ſent into *England* for redeeming of certain *Spaniards*, then Priſoners in *England*. Not long after he was returned, he very covertly, and making as if he were doing ſomething elſe, anointed the Pummell of the Queen's Saddle with the Poiſon, crying at the ſame Inſtant with a loud Voice, God ſave the Queen: but by God's Mercy the Poiſon took not Effect. In the mean time had he, to avoid all Suſpicion of himſelf, liſted his name under the Earl of *Eſſex* in his intended Expedition to the Iſles of *Azores*, and went out of *England* a Souldier in his own Ship: whoſe Chair alſo he beſmeared with the ſame Poiſon, and with no better Succeſs. Afterward returning into *England* he lived ſecure, not once thinking that *Walpole* his Confeſſour would have bewrayed him. But *Walpole*, (it ſeemeth) being vexed at Heart that this wicked Enterpriſe failed of Succeſs, and ſuſpecting that *Squier* had deluded him notwithſtanding all his Vows, bent himſelf wholly upon Revenge. Certain it is that one was privately ſent into *England* to impeach *Squier* in generall terms of the Treaſon he had undertaken. Hereupon *Squier* (the matter being of ſuch Moment) was examined, and at firſt denied it: but afterward, being more throughly and cloſely queſtioned concerning ſome Circumſtances, and ſuppoſing that his Confeſſour had dealt unfaithfully with him, he voluntarily confeſſed the things aboveſaid concerning *Walpole*, his own Conſent to the Villainy, and his Anointing the Saddle-Pummell, &c. Yet at the Bar and at the Gallows he proteſted, that though he were put on by *Walpole* and others to commit the Fact, yet he could never be perſwaded in his Heart to doe it. *Walpole*, or ſome body for him, ſet forth a Book in print, wherein he peremptorily denied with much Deteſtation all that *Squier* had confeſſed. Howſoever it were, ſome Engliſh Fugitives there were who were too ingenious and ready to work the Ruine and Deſtruction of others, and procure their own Infamy. For a peſtilent Opinion had poſſeſſed the Minds of ſome men, yea ſome Prieſts, (I am aſhamed to ſpeak it,) that to take away the Lives of Kings excommunicate, was nothing elſe but to weed out the Cockle out of the Lord's Field.

He poiſoneth the Pummell of the Queen's ſaddle,

and the Earl of Eſſex his Chair; both without Succeſs. Diſcovered by *Walpole*.

His Confeſſion,

and Execution.

About this time certain idle and looſe Fellows there were who took great Delight and Satisfaction to diſturb the publick Peace and Quiet. Theſe men, on purpoſe to break off by their ſecret and wicked Actings the Amity betwixt the Queen and the King of *Scots*, ſpred Rumours abroad (I know not from what Shop or whoſe Invention) that he inclined to the Popiſh Faction, and was much alienated in his Affections from the Queen. To gain Credit hereunto, there was ſhewed the Queen the Copy of a Letter to the Biſhop of *Rome*, written by the King's Secretary, a man of ſmall or no Credit and Reputation, and ſubſcribed with the King's Hand, which he had gotten by Stealth and unawares to the King. But the Queen, who was never over,

Rumours ſpred againſt the King of *Scots*; amongſt others

over-credulous, utterly rejected this and ſuch like Fancies, as the feigned Devices of ill-diſpoſed men, contrived purpoſely to alienate the Hearts of the Proteſtants from him, and win him the Affections of the Papiſts. Yea, when one *Valentine Thomas*, a man of a notorious debauched Life, being to be condemned for a Robbery, required to be heard about a Matter of very great Conſequence, and, being heard in private, accuſed the King of *Scots* of Diſaffection to the Queen; ſhe was ſo far from hearkning to thoſe that buzzed theſe kind of things in her Ears, that ſhe deteſted the man as a baſe and unworthy Slanderer, and either maliciouſly ſet on by others to create Trouble to her and the King of *Scots*, or elſe deviſing this Story to ſave his Life. The Buſineſs ſhe commanded to be ſmothered in Silence; and thought not good to have the man put to Death, leſt any Aſperſion ſhould be laid upon the King's Reputation: foraſmuch as Calumnies againſt Princes, though never ſo falſe, are readily entertained and believed by the People. Whilſt theſe Rumours were ſtirring, ſhe privately adviſed him to conſider theſe things ſeriouſly: *Whether there were any that could either advantage or prejudice him more then herſelf. Whether any other were more bountifull and loving to him. Whether any other expected leſs from him then ſhe, who looked for nothing elſe but that he would promote the Glory of God, and not be wanting to himſelf and his own Concernments.* And wanting certainly he was not: For, to confute and quaſh theſe forged Tales and Rumours, ſeverall were employed through all *England* and *Ireland*, to win the Hearts of the People to love and honour him, by extolling his Conſtancy in Religion, his Wiſedome, Juſtice, Clemency, and other his Royall Vertues. There were alſo Books diſperſed up and down, as well to maintain his Title of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, (which *John Colvill*, an impious ungratefull *Scot*, had lately ſcurrilouſly oppoſed, who notwithſtanding ſhortly after wrote and publiſhed a Recantation;) as alſo to ſhew that the Admiſſion of him would be more beneficiall and advantageous to both Kingdoms then the bringing in of any other whoſoever, for theſe Reaſons. "Becauſe his Title was grounded upon the beſt Right; becauſe he "was a King; becauſe it would enlarge the Kingdome of *England* by "the Conjunction of *Scotland*, a thing ſo often and ſo much deſired; "becauſe it would be a means to put an End to the Iriſh and Spaniſh "War; becauſe it would open a free Trade and Commerce; be-"cauſe he had Children, which are the Pillars and Stays of a King-"dome, and Strength ſufficient to defend both him and his; and be-"cauſe he was reſpected and beloved by all the Princes of Chriſten-"dome. Others alſo endeavoured to ſhew the lamentable Ends, not onely of Uſurpers, but of ſuch as were Advancers of Uſurpers: amongſt others, of *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Warwick*, who placed *Edward* the Fourth in the Throne; and of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who advanced *Richard* the Third to the Crown. And to draw from the Queen a Declaration of the Succeſſion, ſuch kind of Sentences as

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by *Valentine Thomas*.

Not credited by the Queen.

The Queen's ſerious Admonitions to the King.

Books written for him.

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The excellent *Baſilicon Doron*, written by King *James*.

The Queen giveth herſelf to Study.

The death of Doctour *Stapleton*.

The firſt was *Thomas Stapleton*, Doctour of Divinity, born in *Suſſex*, brought up in *New-Colledge Oxford*, and ordinary Profeſſour of Divinity and Controverſies in the Univerſity of *Douay*. For in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign he went over into the *Low-Countries* out of his great Zeal to the Romiſh Religion, where by his publick Reading, and writing ſeverall Books, he grew very famous. The next was *Richard Coſins*, a *Cambridge*-man, Doctour of the Laws, Dean of the Arches, who by his defending the Eccleſiaſticall Juriſdiction acquired the Commendation of a profoundly-learned and wiſe man. The third was *Edmund Spenſer*, a *Londoner* by Birth, and a Scholar alſo of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, born under ſo favourable an Aſpect of the Muſes, that he ſurpaſſed all the Engliſh Poets

Richard Coſins.

Edmund Spenſer.

Poets of former Times, not excepting *Chaucer* himſelf, his Fellow-citizen. But, by a Fate which ſtill follows Poets, he alwaies wraſtled with Poverty, though he had been Secretary to the Lord *Grey*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. For ſcarce had he there ſettled himſelf in a retired Privacy, and got Leiſure to write, when he was by the Rebells thrown out of his Dwelling, plundered of his Goods, and returned into *England* a poor man, where he ſhortly after died, and was interred at *Weſtminſter*, near to *Chaucer*, at the Charge of the Earl of *Eſſex*; his Hearſe being attended by Poets, and mournfull Elegies and Poems with the Pens that wrote them thrown into his Tombe. 1598.

All this Year was the Iriſh Rebellion very hot; for *Tir-Oen*, though he had gotten his Pardon under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, which he had with deep Diſſimulation begged and obtained of the Earl of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant, at unawares beſieged the Fort at *Black-water*. To raiſe this Siege the Lieutenant-Generall of the Army (for there was yet no Lord Deputy appointed) diſpatched ſome ſelect Forces, *viz.* 13 Companies of Foot under Sir *Henry Bagnall* Marſhall, *Tir-Oen*'s moſt bitter Adverſary. On the 14. of *Auguſt* they marched from the Camp near *Armagh* in three Bodies: the firſt the Marſhall himſelf and *Percy* led, the middle *Cosby* and *Thomas-Maria Wingfield*, the Rere was brought up by *Cuin* and *Billing*. The Troups of Horſe were commanded by *Caliſthenes Brook*, *Charles Montacute*, and *Flemming*. Scarce had they marched forward a Mile, over Hills not very ſteep, at too great a Diſtance one Party from the other, betwixt a boggy Plain on the one Hand, and Woods on the other, when *Tir-Oen*, ſpurred on with inveterate Hatred againſt the Marſhall, charged his Party with all the Force he had, and having ſlain him engaged amongſt the thickeſt of his Enemies, he ſoon hemmed in and bore down with his Multitudes that firſt Body of the Army, unſeen to the reſt that followed a great way behind by reaſon of a Hill betwixt them. And at the ſame Inſtant the Gun-powder taking Fire accidentally in the middle Battalion, blew up many, and maimed more; and *Cosby*, who was ſent to recollect the Remainders of the Vanguard, received alſo a great Overthrow: yet *Montacute* brought them off, though not without running great Hazzard. *Wingfield* with the Rere, when their Powder began to fail, returned to *Armagh*. Thus *Tir-Oen* triumphed according to his Heart's deſire over his Adverſary, and obtained a remarkable Victory over the *Engliſh*. And doubtleſs, ſince the time they firſt ſet foot in *Ireland*, they never received a greater Overthrow, 13 ſtout Captains being ſlain, and 1500 of the common Souldiers, who being ſcattered by a ſhamefull Flight all the Fields over, were ſlain and vanquiſhed by the Enemy. They that remained alive laid the Blame of the Miſcarriage, not upon their own Cowardize, but the Unskilfulneſs of their Leaders; which was now grown a common Cuſtome. Neither indeed ſeemed the Commanders altogether blameleſs, for their marching ſo far aſunder,

The Fort at *Black-water* beſieged.

The *Engliſh* overthrown by the Rebels,

with great Loſs.

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contrary to all military Diſcipline, eſpecially againſt thoſe barbarous Enemies, who alwaies march thick, and cloſe together, and manage their Fighting more by downright Force then by Skill and Policy.

The Fort yielded.

Within a while after followed the Surrender of the Fort at *Blackwater*, when the Garriſon-ſouldiers, who had ſhewed their Fidelity and preſerved their Arms to the Extremity of Famine, ſaw all Hope of Succour and Relief vaniſhed,

This was a glorious Victory to the Rebels, and of ſpeciall Advantage; for hereby they got both Arms and Proviſion, and *Tir-Oen*'s Name was cried up all over *Ireland*, as the Authour of their Liberty, which puffed him up with Arrogancy and Pride above meaſure.

Munſter revolteth.

Forthwith almoſt all *Munſter* revolted: and that not ſo much upon this fortunate Succeſs of the Rebels, as out of Hatred of the Inhabitants againſt the Engliſh Undertakers and Planters, who had been ſettled in the Lands confiſcate after the Earl of *Deſmond*'s Rebellion; and in Hope of getting Protections if they failed of Succeſs in their Attempt.

Protections pernicious to the Commonwealth.

For by long Uſe it was grown into a miſchievous Cuſtome in *Ireland*, that Rebels and Malefactours might with the Money which they had gotten by Pillage and Plunder procure themſelves Protections, and eſcape without Puniſhment.

To encourage this Revolt, *Tir-Oen* ſent into *Munſter Ouny-Mac-Rory-Og-O-More*, and *Tirell*, (a man though of Engliſh Extraction, yet a mortall Enemy to the Engliſh Nation,) with a thouſand men, to plunder and ſpoil the Country. Againſt whom Sir *Thomas Norris*, Preſident of the Province, haſted with a reaſonable ſtrong Force as far as *Kilmalock*. But when he perceived that thoſe *Iriſh* which he had under his Colours caſt about to revolt, and the new Planters from *England* were able to ſet forth but 200 men, and thoſe unarmed, he diſperſed his Forces, and retired to *Cork*.

Munſter haraſſed.

Which being once underſtood, the Rebells, with a great Rabble of lewd and deſperate Fellows that came flocking in to them, haraſſed the Country, pillaged and plundered all, ſacked and fired the Caſtles, Houſes and Farms of the *Engliſh* round about, and cruelly ſlew the men everywhere: which they could not eaſily have done, if thoſe who firſt undertook thoſe Lands had ſent the full number of Planters furniſhed and provided according to their Contract.

Tir-Oen boaſteth of his victories to the *Spaniard*.

Herewith the Rebels being encouraged, proclaimed *James Fitz-Thomas*, an obſcene filthy perſon, of the Family of the Earls of *Deſmond*, Earl of *Deſmond*; yet ſo as he ſhould be Vaſſall to *O-Neale*, that is, to the Earl of *Tir-Oen*: who in a Letter to the *Spaniard* now boaſted of his Victories with full Mouth; and withall beſought him, that if haply he ſhould hear that he deſired Peace of the *Engliſh*, he would in no wiſe believe it, for he had ſtopped his Ears againſt all Conditions of Peace, though never ſo reaſonable, and would conſtantly keep his Faith given to the *Spaniard*.

Again diſſembleth.

Nevertheleſs in the mean time he did both by Letters and Meſſengers, after his old diſſembling manner, make Interceſſion

Interceſſion to the Lieutenant about a Submiſſion: but the Demands he made were moſt unreaſonable. 1598.

To repreſs this man's Inſolency Sir *Richard Bingham* was thought the moſt able man to be imployed, a man of all others moſt valiant and fortunate againſt the Rebels in *Ireland*. He therefore, who not long before had been removed from his Government of *Connaught*, (the People of that Province complaining of his Rigour and Severity,) ſent for into *England*, and committed to Cuſtody, is now ſent back again with the Honour and Authority of *Marſhall of Ireland, and Generall of Leimſter*. But he was no ſooner arrived, but he died at *Dublin*. A man of a noted and ancient Family in *Dorſetſhire*, but more noted and famous for his long and great Experience in the Wars. For he was a Souldier at *Saint Quintins*, at *Conquet* in *Bretaigne*, in the *Hebrides*, at *Leith* in *Scotland*, in the Iſle of *Candie*, againſt the *Turks*, in *France* and the *Netherlands*, and performed thoſe Exploits and Services in *Ireland* which I have before mentioned.

Sir *Richard Bingham* ſent again into *Ireland*.

His death.

The Two and fortieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1599.

NOw was the Condition of *Ireland* in a manner deſperate, for almoſt the whole Nation was broke out into Rebellion. Some pretended Injuries and Abuſes offered them by the Inſolency of the Garriſon-ſouldiers; others, the Fear they were in from the ſeverall oppoſite Factions, which through the Badneſs of the Times were grown very powerfull: ſome were moved at the fortunate Succeſs of the Rebels; others, becauſe they were left undefended againſt the Robberies and Rapines of mercileſs Thieves and Rogues: ſome were ſeduced by the Perſwaſions of the Prieſts; and others drawn aſide with a falſe Rumour ſpred abroad by the principall Authour of the Rebellion, that the Queen was abſolutely reſolved to conquer the Iriſh Nation, and utterly to extirpate and root them out.

The deſperate condition of *Ireland*.

It was therefore ſeriouſly conſulted of in *England*, who was the fitteſt man to employ for the quenching of this Rebellion. The Queen and moſt of the Councill caſt their Eyes upon *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*. But the Earl of *Eſſex* gave them a Hint, that he was a man of no Experience in the Wars, more then that he had commanded a Company in the *Low-Countries*, and again in *Bretaigne*; that he was a man of a mean Eſtate, had but very few Followers and Dependents, and was too much given to Bookiſhneſs. That *Ireland* required ſome prime man of the Nobility, conſiderable for his Power, Honour, and Eſtate, acceptable to and reſpected by the Souldiery,

Conſultation about a Lord Deputy.

The Earl of *Eſſex* covertly ſeeketh the place.

1599.

Souldiery, and who had before been Generall of an Army; ſo that he ſeemed to point himſelf out with the Finger to be the man. The Queen hereupon was reſolved to make him Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Generall of the Army: which notwithſtanding he made a feigned Shew of refuſing, praying her to confer ſo weighty a Charge upon ſome other abler Perſon: and yet if any other were named, he had ſomewhat ready to object againſt him. And he behaved himſelf after ſuch a manner, that his Adverſaries verily believed he wiſhed nothing more then to have an Army at his Command, and to engage the Sword-men to him. Yea ſo eager was he about the Buſineſs, that divers feared he was hatching ſome dangerous Deſign: eſpecially ſeeing he ſhewed himſelf more and more contumacious againſt the Queen, who had been ſo bountifull to him; and that his Followers and Friends made great Boaſts, that he was deſcended from the Royall Family of the *Scots* by the eldeſt Daughter of *Alan* of *Galloway*, (who notwithſtanding was not of the Royall Line,) and of the Bloud Royall of *England* by *Cecily Bourchier* his Great-grandmother, who was deſcended both from *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the youngeſt Son of King *Edward* the Third, and alſo from *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*: and that for this Reaſon he had a better Title to the Scepter of *England* then any other of the Competitours, whoſe Titles (except that of the *Infanta* of *Spain*) *Dolman* in his Book dedicated to him had confuted and invalidated. Neither were theſe men content thus to extoll the Nobleneſs of his Deſcent, but they infinitely every-where cried him up for his Religion, Valour, and Wiſedom. All theſe things others in the Court, who had rather have his Room then his Company, cunningly aggravated and heightned, and ſpurred him forward who was running before; repreſenting to him the Hopes of eternall Glory with Poſterity, and Love and Honour from the Commonalty; beſeeching him, that out of the great and conſtant Love he had always born to the Commonwealth, he would now undertake this honourable Employment, and promiſing him largely all the Aſſiſtence and Kindneſs that lay in their power. Theſe ſubtill and cloſe Enemies, whilſt under a Shew of Friendſhip they openly commended and extolled him to the Sky, and raiſed a marvellous Expectation of him in the minds of People, did in the mean time carry on their ſecret Enmitie more eagerly and violently; knowing well, that the Fierineſs and Heat of his Youth would be his Undoing; and that there is no more eaſie way to overthrow a man grown popular, then by thruſting him forward upon a Buſineſs which he is unable and unfit for. What need many words? He, though he were of a lively and quick Apprehenſion, either perceived not, or would not perceive, theſe Arts of theirs, whilſt firſt to his Friends, and then to himſelf, he ſeemed able, yea more then able, for the greateſt Employments he could be put upon. Hereupon he was, to the general Rejoycing in a manner of all men, made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, with full and ample Power either

Yet ſeemingly refuſeth it.

He begins to be ſuſpected of Ambitious intentions.

Cried up by his Dependents.

Thruſt forward by his ſecret Enemies.

He is made Lord Deputy, with large Power.

either to proſecute or conclude the War, and (which he obtained by his Importunity) to remit and pardon Offenſes of High treaſon, even to *Tir-Oen* himſelf. Which Power of Pardoning had been reſtrained in all other Patents granted to former Lord Deputies by theſe words, *Treaſons touching our Perſon, our Heirs and Succeſſours, excepted.* And this Power of Pardoning Crimes of this nature he wiſely and upon good Conſideration obtained, foraſmuch as the Lawyers ſay that *all manner of Rebellions do touch the Prince's Perſon.* 1599.

An Army appointed him.

An Army was appointed him as great as he could require, and ſuch a one as *Ireland* had never ſeen before, to wit, 16000 Foot and 1300 Horſe; which was alſo afterwards made up 20000. And there was nothing which he wiſhed for, but the officious (I will not ſay, guileſull) Help of his Adverſaries did obtain it for him. And that they might intangle the heedleſs and uncircumſpect Earl in their cloſe-laid Nets, they ſet Spies upon him, to obſerve his Actions, take Notice of his Speeches, and to make all things to be more and worſe then they were.

His Inſtructions.

He had Inſtructions, (to omit uſuall and ordinary matters, as this alſo, That he ſhould not confer the Dignity of Knighthood on any but well-deſerving and worthy Perſons,) to paſs by all other Rebels whatſoever, and bend his whole Force againſt *Tir-Oen* the Arch-rebell, and forthwith to ſtreighten him by placing Garriſons at *Lough-Foil* and *Baliſhanon*; which Point he had always himſelf inſiſted upon as neceſſary to be done, and had reproachfully twitted the former Lord Deputies and *Norris* that it had been neglected, and the War protracted by frequent Parleys with the Enemy.

A Proclamation ſent before.

A Proclamation was ſent beforehand into *Ireland*, wherein was declared, "That the Iriſh Rebels had ſo long abuſed the "Queen's Clemency and Patience, that ſhe was now conſtrained to "make uſe of her Power to bridle and reſtrain them: But ſo far was "ſhe from intending the Conquering of *Ireland*, that ſhe never had "ſo much as a Thought of it; nor indeed had ſhe any Cauſe for it, "in regard the far greater part of the Nobility and Commonalty "continued conſtant and firm in their Allegeance. To thoſe Re"bels which ſhall return to their Duty and Obedience ſhe offereth "Mercy, to the reſt ſhe threatneth Deſtruction. And that to this "purpoſe ſhe had made Choice of the Earl of *Eſſex* as her Miniſter "of Clemency and Juſtice, whoſe Valour, Prudence, Fidelity and "happy Conduct had been ſufficiently approved upon all Occaſi"ons.

He ſetteth forward towards *Ireland*.

The Earl himſelf followed ſhortly after, about the end of the Moneth of *March*, being accompanied out of *London* with a gallant Train of the Flower of the Nobility, and followed by the People with joyfull Acclamations: but it happened to thunder in the clear Day, and a violent Showr followed ſoon after. In Sailing over he was toſſed to and fro with a contrary Wind, yet at length he arrived in *Ireland*: where having received the Sword, according to Cuſtome,

1599.

He waveth his Inſtructions.

He leadeth his Army into *Munſter*.

He taketh *Cahir* Caſtle.

A party of *Engliſh* defeated.

Eſſex diſcontented.

The Queen unſatisfied with his Conduct.

He excuſeth himſelf.

A party of the Rebels ſuppreſſed.

New Supplies demanded.

The *Engliſh* again defeated, and *Clifford* ſlain.

Cuſtome, he preſently made the Earl of *Southampton* Generall of the Horſe, contrary to his Inſtructions; and by the Perſwaſion of ſome of the Queen's Councill there, whoſe Minds were too much bent upon their own private Reſpects, he advanced with all his Forces againſt certain petty Rebels in *Munſter*, neglecting the Arch-Rebell, without acquainting the Queen with it. He took *Cahir* Caſtle belonging to *Edmund Butler* Baron of *Cahir*, and environed with the River *Swire*, which was a Receptacle of the Rebels. He ſpred a great Terrour of himſelf far and near, driving away great numbers of Cattell, and diſperſing the Rebels round about into the Woods and Thickets. Yet in the mean time a great Defeat was received through the Cowardize of ſome under the Leading of *Henry Harrington*, the Authours whereof he puniſhed with the ſevereſt Diſcipline. Neither did he return till after the middle of *July*, when his men were wearied out, diſtreſſed, and their Companies incredibly waſted: himſelf alſo was very much diſſatisfied and diſpleaſed that the Queen had in the mean time conferred on Sir *Robert Cecyl* the gainfull Office of Maſter of the Wards, which in a credulous Hope he had promiſed to himſelf. The Queen being very ill ſatisfied and much troubled at this Expedition, whereby ſo great Loſs had been ſuſtained, and preſſing him to goe into *Ulſter* againſt *Tir-Oen*, in his Letters back he laid the whole Fault upon the Counſellours of *Ireland*, to whom, in regard of their great and long Experience in Iriſh Matters, he could not but yield and aſſent; promiſing religiouſly, that he would now preſently fall into *Ulſter*. This Letter was ſcarce delivered, when he ſent another, to let her know that he muſt of Neceſſity turn aſide into *Ophalie*, a Country near to *Dublin*, againſt the *O-Conors* and *O-Moiles*, who were there up in Rebellion; whom he eaſily and happily ſuppreſſed.

Being returned, he found his Army ſo waſted, that he was forced to demand a new Supply of men by Letters ſubſcribed by the Hands of the Iriſh Counſellours, for the Expedition which he was now ready to make into *Ulſter*. Being now reſolved to turn the War upon *Tir-Oen*, he commanded Sir *Coniers Clifford*, Governour of *Connaught*, to march with his light-armed Companies towards *Belick*, that the Rebels Forces might be diſtracted, whilſt himſelf ſhould ſet upon them in another part. *Clifford* ſet forth preſently with 1500 men, whom he commanded, tired as they were with a long March, and ill provided of Powder, to paſs the *Curlew* Hills, which when they had paſſed the greateſt part of, the Rebels, under the Leading of *O-Rork*, the Son of him whom we ſaid before to have been hanged, charged them at unawares. The *Engliſh* eaſily repulſed them at the firſt, and marched forward: the Rebels followed them: and when they perceived that the Engliſh-mens Powder failed, they charged them afreſh, and put them to Flight, being now grown feeble with their long March, and too weak to make any great Reſiſtence. *Clifford* himſelf, with Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe* of

of *Ordſall*, and many old Souldiers, were ſlain upon the place. 1599.

Mean-while the Supply which the Lord Deputy required was leavied in *England*, and ſent: but within a few days he gave the Queen Advertiſement by other Letters, that this Year no more could be done, but onely to march to the Confines of *Ulſter* with 1300 Foot and 300 Horſe. Whither when he was come, *Tir-Oen* ſhewed himſelf for one or two days with his men at a Diſtance upon the Hills, and at length by *Hagan* deſired a Parley with the Lord Deputy. He refuſed it, and anſwered, that if *Tir-Oen* would, he might ſpeak with him the next day at the Head of his Army. Upon which day, after a light Skirmiſh, an Horſeman from *Tir-Oen*'s Army cried with a loud Voice, that the Earl would not fight, but parley with the Lord Deputy; but by no means betwixt the two Armies.

New Supplies ſent.

He marcheth to the Borders of *Ulſter*.

Tir-Oen craveth a Parley.

The next day, as the Lord Deputy was marching forward Troup by Troup, *Hagan* met him, and told him that *Tir-Oen* begged the Queen's Mercy and a Peace; and beſought him in the mean while that he might be heard: which if he would grant, he would with all Obſervance and Reſpect wait for him at the Ford of a River hard by, called *Balla Clinch*, not far from *Louth*, the chief Town of the County. Thither did the Lord Deputy ſend ſome before to view the Place. They found *Tir-Oen* at the Ford, who told them, that though the River were much ſwelled, yet might they eaſily be heard from the one ſide to the other. Hereupon the Lord Deputy, having firſt placed a Troup of Horſe upon the next Hill, came down alone. *Tir-Oen*, riding his Horſe into the Water up to the Belly, ſaluted the Lord Deputy on the River's Bank with great Reſpect; and near an Hour was ſpent in the Interchanging of Words betwixt them two, without any by to hear them. An Hour or two after, *Con*, the baſe Son of *Tir-Oen*, followed the Lord Deputy, and beſought him in his Father's name, that another Parley might be had, to which ſome men of principall Qualitie on both Sides might be admitted. The Lord Deputy aſſented, ſo as they were not above ſix in number. At the day appointed *Tir-Oen* ſhewed himſelf at the Ford with his Brother *Cormac*, *Mac-Gennys*, *Mac-Guire*, *Evar Mac-Cowley*, *Henry Ovington*, and *O-Quine*. Unto them deſcended the Lord Deputy, with the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *George Bourchier*, Sir *Warham Saintleger*, Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, and Sir *William Conſtable*, Knights; every one of which the Earl ſaluted with great Civility: and after ſome few words paſſed betwixt them, it was thought good that Commiſſioners ſhould treat of a Peace the next day. Betwixt whom it was agreed, that there ſhould be a Truce from ſix Weeks to ſix Weeks, to begin from that very day, till the firſt of *May*: yet ſo, as it ſhould be free for both Sides to renew acts of Hoſtility after fourteen days Notice giving. And if any Confederate of the Earl of *Tir-Oen*'s would not give his Conſent, he would leave him to be proſecuted by the Lord Deputy as he pleaſed.

They parley.

A ſecond Parley.

A Truce concluded.

1599.

The Queen diſpleaſed at the Lord Deputy.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Letter which I mentioned a little before was brought to the Queen by *Henry Cuffe:* by which when ſhe underſtood that the Earl with ſo ſtrong an Army, in ſo long a time, and at ſo great Expence of Money, had done nothing, nor would doe any thing that Year; ſhe was much moved at it, and blamed his Counſels and Reſolutions as over-raſh and heady, unfortunate, and full of Contempt and Diſreſpect to her: yea, ſhe ſtuck not (I know not upon what Jealouſie and Suſpicion) to ſay to ſome, that he had ſomewhat elſe in his Mind then to doe his Prince and Countrey Service in *Ireland.* Yet would ſhe not recall him Home, (though ſome perſwaded her to it,) ſuppoſing it a Point of extreme Folly and Unadviſedneſs, to provoke him now afreſh when he had the Sword in his Hand, whom ſhe had formerly provoked, and after that truſted him with the Sword. But ſhe wrote back to him and her Council in *Ireland*, "That ſhe could not ſufficiently "admire why the Lord Deputy by delaying the Time, and framing "one Excuſe after another for his Delay, had loſt ſo fair Opportu- "nities of doing great matters againſt the Rebels; who, while he "was in *England*, was of this Opinion, that the beſt way was to fall "upon *Tir-Oen* himſelf in the firſt place, and had made large Pro- "miſes divers times in his Letters that he would doe ſo. She de- "manded the Reaſon why, contrary to his own ſound Judgment, he "had undertaken thoſe Expeditions into *Munſter* and *Ophalie*, which "had been the cauſe of ſo much Loſs and Dammage, without ac- "quainting her in the leaſt meaſure with it before ſuch time as they "were undertaken, which had ſhe known of, ſhe would have for- "bidden and hindred. If his Army were now weakened and wa- "ſted, why did he not proſecute the Enemy while it was whole, "ſtrong, and compleat? If the Spring-time were not convenient "to make War in *Ulſter*, why was the Summer, why was Autumn "neglected? Was no time of the Year fit for that War? She now "foreſaw that the Realm of *England* would be unreaſonably ex- "hauſted with Expences, and that ſhe ſhould undergo ſome note of "Infamy amongſt Forreiners by reaſon of this unfortunate Succeſs "of the War; yea, and that thoſe who were to write the Hiſtories "of theſe times would leave it recorded to after-Ages, that ſhe had "left nothing undone for the Preſervation of her Kingdom of *Ire-* "*land*, but he, on the contrary, had omitted nothing that might tend "to the Loſing thereof, unleſs he would now at laſt proſecute the "War after another manner then yet he had done. She therefore "ſharply admoniſhed both him and the Counſellours of that Realm, "more ſeriouſly and circumſpectly to provide for the Good and "Safety of the Commonwealth, and not to be led from thenceforth "into croſs and wrong Courſes by rotten and corrupt Counſels; "and withall to write to her to what Paſs they had brought the "State of *Ireland*, and carefully to look that no Detriment might be "received hereafter.

She writeth to him and the Council.

With

1599.

With theſe Letters the Lord Deputy was much incenſed, and nettled alſo in his Mind at other matters for which the Queen had ſharply reprehended him; amongſt others, becauſe he had not, as ſhe had commanded him, removed the Earl of *Southampton* from being General of the Horſe. (For the Queen had taken Diſpleaſure at *Southampton*, becauſe he had, without acquainting her, contrary to what Noblemen were wont to doe, privately married *Elizabeth Vernon*, the Earl of *Eſſex* his Aunt's Daughter.) But vexed he was moſt of all, that the Queen had beſtowed the Maſterſhip of the Wards upon Sir *Robert Cecyl*, as I have ſaid before. He began therefore to caſt himſelf into dark Clouds and troubleſome Storms, contriving in his Heart this wicked and unhappy Deſign, to return into *England* with a ſelect Party of men, and reduce his Adverſaries into his Power by force of Arms, being perſwaded that many would ſide with him, partly out of Love, and partly out of a Deſire of Innovation. But the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* who had married his Mother, deterred him from this Attempt, as wicked, bloudy, hateful, and dangerous.

He is incenſed.

He projecteth dangerous Deſigns.

Whether the Queen had any Intelligence hereof by ſome ſecret Diſcovery, I know not. Certain it is that at the ſame time, upon uncertain Rumours (which yet were readily and willingly credited) of a Spaniſh Fleet being in Readineſs, 6000 of the beſt-trained Foot-ſouldiers were leavied at *London*, whereof 3000 were to guard the Queen's Perſon, the reſt to be at hand upon all Occaſions; and a more numerous Army of pick'd and choiſe men was ordered to be raiſed in the Countreys round about. All which were put under the Command of *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, with the Title of *Supreme Commander*, or *Commander in chief*, and ample Authority and Commiſſion as well againſt forrein Enemies as domeſtick Rebels. But within a few days after this Army was again disbanded.

An Army leavied in *England* for fear.

Within a Moneth the Earl of *Eſſex* poaſted into *England* before any man thought of it, accompanied with certain of his choiſe Friends; namely, the Earl of *Southampton*, who was now removed from the Generalſhip of the Horſe, the Baron of *Dunkellin*, Sir *Chriſtopher Saint-Laurence*, the Baron of *Houth*'s Son, Sir *Henry Danvers*, not yet recovered of a deſperate Wound, Sir *Henry Docwray*, ſeveral other Captains, and ſome Gentlemen of his Houſhold, the moſt part of whom, as ſoon as they arrived, departed ſome one way, ſome another. He went forward to *Noneſuch*, (where the Queen then lay) accompanied with no more then ſix perſons, to inform her of the State of *Ireland*. The Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, who was one of his bittereſt Enemies, overtook him on the Way, and paſt him without Saluting him. And whereas the Earl feared leſt he ſhould doe him any bad Office at the Court, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, overtaking him, had friendly requeſted him not to doe him any Prejudice, but in vain: *Saint-Laurence* offered him his Service to kill both

Eſſex returneth unexpectedly into *England*.

1599.

He kneeleth before the Queen. She giveth him but cold entertainment.

both him on the Way, and the Secretary in the Court. But the Earl from his Soul hated such Impiety, and would not assent unto it: and so made such Haste, that he presented himself on his Knees betimes in the Morning before the Queen in her Privy Chamber, when she little dreamed of it. She entertained him with a short Conference somewhat graciously, but not with that Countenance as she was wont, and willed him to depart to his Chamber, and there continue. For whereas she was displeased at him before, he now incurred her Displeasure anew, in that, contrary to her Command, he had left *Ireland* without her Leave, and had made such a Truce as might be broken every fourteen days; whereas it was in his Power to have ended the matter with the Rebels by Composition, and to have given them a Pardon for their Treasons. Being questioned by the Council why he made such a Truce with the Rebels; he answered,

He answers his making a Truce with the Rebels.

"That *Tir-Oen* was so confident in his Strength, that he proudly and "peremptorily refused any Terms of Peace, unless all the Rebels "in *Ireland* might be pardoned their Offenses, the *Irish* might be "restored to their Possessions which the *English* enjoyed, and the "Romish Religion might be freely exercised through the whole "Kingdom. And these Conditions he perswaded the Queen to ratifie. But when these Articles were misliked of them all, as most unworthy and unreasonable, and his unexpected Return into *England* with such a Company gave great cause of Suspicion, which his Adversaries at Court increased with divers Fictions and Inventions of their own; the Queen thought fit he should be committed to Custody; yet not in any Prison, lest she might seem to cut off from him all Hope of her former Favour, but in the Lord Keeper's House: lest, having his Liberty, he might be farther withdrawn from his Duty through the corrupt Counsels of turbulent men. He took it very ill that his Returning with those Friends was had in such Suspicion. For I have seen a Writing under his own Hand, wherein he digested in a very handsome Method all the things which he guessed would be objected against him. *Viz.* first, "That "he had neglected his Instructions, by delaying his Expedition into "*Ulster*, thereby losing Opportunities, and had wasted the Queen's "Forces and Treasure elsewhere. Then, that he had made a Truce "which was advantageous to the Rebels. Lastly, that matters "being not yet settled in *Ireland*, he had left the Countrey, in "Contempt of the Queen's Command to the contrary, and returned with so many Sword-men in his Company. Under these Objections he wrote these Answers. *Before I left* Ireland, *I settled Martiall Affairs through all the Provinces in that Form wherein they now stand and are executed, and ever since for the space of these nine Moneths no Dammage at all hath been sustained. There is no Reason why those which came over with me should be had in Suspicion: very few they were for number, and just Occasions they had to return; and not above six of them accompanied me to the Court. Could I doe any Mischief*

He is committed to custody.

A Paper of his wherein he endeavours to wipe off all Suspicion of himself.

1599.

Miſchief with ſo ſmall a Company? It had been as eaſie for me to have done ill, as to have thought ill, when I had the whole Kingdom of Ireland *and an Army under my Command. If I had harboured any Thoughts of Revenge, I needed not the Help of others. For whoſoever values not his own Life is Lord over another man's. But I know who it is that ſaid,* Revenge is mine, and I will repay. *Shall Calumny and Slander have ſuch Power againſt me, that this my Return ſhould be ſuſpected, whenas I have worn out and ſpent my Body in my Prince's Service, waſted my Eſtate, and fallen on my Knees at her Feet to beg her Favour? Equity and Charity cannot admit theſe Jealouſies, but upon very juſt Grounds, againſt thoſe whom a Profeſſion of the true Religion and Nobility of Extraction may acquit and clear from all Suſpicion. Can any ſuch Suſpicion light upon me, who have loſt a Father and a Brother in their Countrey's Service? who of* 33 *Years which I have lived, have been the Queen's Servant for* 13, *and ſeven of them of her Privy Councill? who have undergone violent Hatred from all thoſe that envy the Queen's Safety, and the Upholding of true Religion; and for my Dutifulneſs towards her, and Service againſt her Enemies, am ſo far expoſed and obnoxious to their Revenge, that in no Place but this Kingdom, and for no longer time then while ſhe liveth, I can promiſe myſelf any Security.* Neither did he alone make theſe Complaints, but many others alſo in his behalf did the like; ſome whereof conſpired to bring him out of Cuſtody by Force and Arms: which notwithſtanding he flatly prohibited to be done, as deſirous to maintain the Honour and Repute of a Good man.

He will not be reſcued out of cuſtody.

But let us return a while to Iriſh Matters. Scarce was the Truce from ſix Weeks to ſix Weeks twice expired, when *Tir-Oen* collected his Forces together, and prepared himſelf again for Hoſtility. Hereupon the Council of *Ireland* ſent Sir *William Warren* Knight, to demand why he brake the Truce. To whom he proudly anſwered, "That he had not broken the Truce, foraſmuch as he had "given fourteen days Warning beforehand that he would renew "the War. That he had juſt Cauſe to renew the War, ſince he "underſtood that the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord Deputy, in whom he "had put all his Hopes of Life and Safety, was kept in Cuſtody in "*England*; neither would he for the future have any thing to doe "with the Council of *Ireland*, who had already dealt fraudulently "and deceitfully with him heretofore. That he could not now re-"new the Truce though he would never ſo fain: for he had ſent "*O-Donel* into *Connaught*, and others of his Confederates into other "Parts. In the mean time Rumours flew abroad every-where among the Rebels, not without an Authour, (*Tir-Oen* haply being the Inventer,) that *England* would ere long be embroiled with new Commotions. Leud and looſe perſons increaſed daily all over *Ireland* both in Number and Courage. The native *Iriſh* now aſpired after their ancient Liberty and Nobility. The honeſt Party of Engliſh Extraction were utterly diſcouraged, when they ſaw ſo great Expences

Tir-Oen breaketh the Truce. He juſtifies the ſame.

The diſtracted Condition of *Ireland*.

1599.

Expences of the Queen come to juſt nothing: they alſo complained amongſt themſelves, that they were long ſince excluded as meer Strangers from bearing Offices and Employments in the Commonwealth. *Tir-Oen* in the mean time very confidently made his Brags every-where, that he would vindicate the Freedom both of Religion and his Countrey: the Rebels and Seditious perſons in all places he received into his Protection, giving them Aſſiſtence, encouraging and confirming ſuch as were wavering and unreſolved; and bent himſelf reſolutely to ſubvert the Power and Command of the *Engliſh* in *Ireland*; being fed with Hope by the *Spaniard*, who had ſent him two or three times lately both Proviſion and Munition for War, as alſo ſome Money. The Biſhop of *Rome* likewiſe encouraged him by large Promiſes and Indulgences, ſending him a Phenix Plume; haply becauſe *Urban* the Third had ſent in former time a Coronet of Peacocks Feathers to *John* the Son of *Henry* the Second, when he was deſigned Lord of *Ireland*.

Tir-Oen's Brags and haughty carriage.

A Phenix's Plume ſent him by the Pope.

In the mean time ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons in *England* extolled the Earl of *Eſſex* every-where in their Meetings with immoderate Praiſes; as did alſo ſome Miniſters in their Pulpits. The ſame men, or others, likewiſe ſpred abroad defamatory Libels againſt the Council, and through their Sides wounded the Queen herſelf, as if they neglected the Commonwealth, and had no Regard of *Ireland*. Whereupon the next day after the end of *Michaelmas* Term, when the Council, according to Cuſtom, met in the *Star-Chamber*, the Lord Keeper, after he had adviſed the Noblemen and Gentlemen to repair to their ſeveral places of Abode in the Countrey, there to keep good Hoſpitality amongſt their Neighbours, and thoſe of them that were Juſtices of Peace, not onely to puniſh the Breakers of the publick Peace, but alſo to take care that the Peace were not diſturbed, and had ſmartly reprehended the licentious Tongues of malicious Detractours and Slanderers, declared to them what continual Care the Queen took to quiet things in *Ireland*; how prepoſterouſly the Earl of *Eſſex* had proſecuted the Rebels, and upon what unreaſonable Conditions, and unworthy his Prince, he had agreed with *Tir-Oen*, who hereupon, puffed up with Pride, had given out that he would come ere long into *England*, and get a Share for himſelf there.

The Council's care to prevent ſeditious Speeches and Practices.

Eſſex his Errours and Miſcarriages laid open by the Lord Keeper.

The Lord *Buckhurſt*, who was made Lord Treaſurer in the Lord *Burghley*'s Room, inveighing againſt the Writers of ſcandalous and infamous Libels, declared what a ſtrong and well-appointed Army, what great plenty of Victuals and Munition, had been ſent over into *Ireland*; that Money for three Moneths Pay had been ſent over monethly; and that the Queen had ſpent upon this War within ſix Moneths 300000 Pounds: and that all this the Earl of *Eſſex* could not deny.

By the Lord Treaſurer.

The Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral, ſhewed how the Queen had adviſed with wiſe and knowing men, ſuch as very well underſtood

By the Admiral.

ſtood the Affairs of *Ireland*, and were not ignorant of the Minds and Diſpoſitions of the People of the Countrey, and conſulted with them about the Iriſh Rebellion: That the major part of them were of Opinion that *Ulſter* was firſt to be reduced to Obedience: That the Earl of *Eſſex* was of the ſame Judgment with them, who had oftentimes ſaid, that not ſo much the young Sprigs of Rebellion were to be cut off, as the Root to be ſtubbed up; yet, which he was ſorry for, the Earl had acted to the contrary. And he affirmed, that five of the Queen's Ships, with ſome others, which were ſent into *Ulſter* for the Service of the War, lay full ſix Moneths in the Haven to no purpoſe at all. 1599.

By the Secretary.

Secretary *Cecyl* declared, firſt, the Queen's ſingular Care in Protecting her Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, by removing the *French* out of *Scotland*, by defending and ſupporting the Doctrine of the Goſpel in *France* and the *Low-Countreys*, by ſnatching the *Netherlands* out of the Jaws of the *Spaniards*, and *France* out of the Jaws of the Leaguers, and by defending *Ireland* againſt the Forces both of the Pope and the *Spaniard*; and that ſo ſucceſſefully, that for ſeven Years before there was not a Rebel to be ſeen in *Ireland*; and the Queen received greater Revenues from thence, then either her Father King *Henry*, or her Brother King *Edward*, or her Siſter Queen *Mary*, had done. Then he recounted at large, what a ſtrong Army had been intruſted to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and how ſhameſull an Overthrow had been given to *Harrington* and *Clifford*. Then, in Anſwer to thoſe who muttered, that though ample and full Authority were at firſt given to the Earl of *Eſſex*, yet it was afterward reſtrained by private Letters out of *England*, and other things injoyned him contrary to his Mind and Judgment, and that the Expedition into *Munſter*, and neglecting *Tir-Oen*, was undertaken by the Advice of the Council in *Ireland*; he affirmed, that neither his Authority was at all diminiſhed, nor any thing ever injoyned him but what he had firſt approved and reſolved himſelf: and of this he appealed to the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf for a Witneſs, and produced his Letters wherein he excuſed his Expedition into *Munſter*. Whether he undertook that Expedition upon the Judgment of the Council in *Ireland* or his own, he left to the all-knowing God; foraſmuch as the ſaid Council teſtified under their Hands, that they never perſwaded, but diſapproved of, the Undertaking. And whereas ſome excuſed his ſudden Return out of *Ireland*; he acknowledged, that the Queen, at his earneſt Requeſt, gave him Leave to return when Need and Occaſion ſhould require. But yet afterward, when he had acquainted her by his Letters that the Condition of *Ireland* was very deſperate, ſhe expreſly commanded him, upon his Allegeance to his Prince, not to return till he had given her a full Account what he had done in *Ulſter*, and whom he thought a fit Perſon to leave the Command of things there to. But theſe things he had neglected to doe, and yet returned into *England* contrary to what he

1599. he was commanded. Lastly, he recited the Conditions which *Tir-Oen*, now puft up by his good Success, had proudly demanded, which I have made Mention of a little before. He lamented the ill Success of things there, which amongst Forreiners would turn to the Dishonour of the English Nation, that had flourished so long for martiall Prowess, and would much eclipse the Queen's Glory, that was everywhere so highly renowned; and besides had given such Courage to the Rebels, that the next day after the Earl of *Essex* was returned to the English Court, *Tir-Oen* could not contain himself, but brake out into these Words, *That he doubted not but ere long he should see a greater Alteration of things in* England *then had happened in any Age before; that he would then shew himself there openly, and put in for a Share with others.* By what Conjecture he could hope for such matters, and understand within a few Hours what was done about the Earl of *Essex*, he professed he could not imagine. Thus far spake *Cecyl.* What others then said, in regard their Speeches were much to the same effect, I need not here particularly set down. Let us now leave the Earl of *Essex* in Custody with the Lord Keeper; where wholly fixing his Cogitations upon God and divine Meditations, he seemed to despise all the Vanities of the World, such religious Letters did he write to his Friends, so full of Piety and Contempt of all mundane things.

He sequestreth himself to pious Meditations.

Peace propounded by the *Spaniard*

In the mean time *Andreas* of *Austria*, Son by the Lady *Welsera* to the Cardinall and Archduke *Ferdinand* the Emperour *Maximilian*'s Brother, (Governour of the *Low-Countries* in the Absence of *Albert* of *Austria*, who was gone into *Spain* about his Marriage,) employed *Charles Lanfranc* and *Hieronymo Cœmano* seriously to negotiate about a Peace to be made betwixt the Queen and *Philip* the Third King of *Spain*. Neither did she shew any Averseness to Peace, provided a sufficient Commission to treat thereof were sent by the *Spaniard*, and Consideration were had of the Estates of the Confederate Provinces. But to forsake them, or doe any thing that might be dishonourable to herself, or a Prejudice to them, she answered, she held it to be an hainous Sin. Yet upon Occasion of this Mention of Peace Suspicions and Mistrusts of different sorts possessed both the Estates and the Queen, by reason that at the same time confident Rumours flew abroad that a new Armado was preparing in *Spain*: but it was thought that the Holland Fleet, which about this time took the Isle of *Canary* with the Castle, and ransacked the Isle of *Saint Thomas*, diverted the same.

Spanish Gallies brought into *Flanders*.

Yet were not those Rumours altogether groundless, for there were severall Gallies prepared in *Spain* by the Advice of *Frederick Spinola* a *Genouese*, whose Wealth far exceeded the Estate of a private person. This man, serving the *Spaniard* in the *Low-Countries*, persuaded him to send some Gallies into *Flanders*. Which being sent under his Conduct, coasted along the Shoar of *France*, and by the Favour of those *Etesian* Winds which in our Climate in the Dog-days blow for the most

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moſt part from the North-weſt, came into the Haven of *Sclufe* in *Flanders*, not being once ſo much as eſpied by the Engliſh and Holland Ships which waited for them. For ſailing through the Narrow ſeas much to the North, whether carried by the Tide, or through Ignorance of thoſe Parts, or elſe by meer Chance, ſure it is they deceived both the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* that waited for their Coming. The coming of theſe Gallies at firſt raiſed Admiration amongſt the *Hollanders* and *Engliſh*, who had found by Experience in the Year 1545. when they were in vain brought by *Francis* the Firſt out of the Mediterranean Sea againſt *England*, that the Britiſh Ocean, ſubject to frequent Storms and Tempeſts, would not endure ſuch flat-bottom'd Veſſels. But afterward they began to terrifie them. For they were built by skilfull Shipwrights after the ſame manner as thoſe were which in the Year 1593. paſſed as far as the *Azores*, miraculouſly in a ſort; and they valued not all the Threats of our Ocean, or of the taller and bigger Ships: and in a calm Sea they did great Miſchief, being rowed with Oars which way ſoever a man liſted; whereas on the contrary the great Ships, ſet forth at vaſt Charges, when the Wind failed, were wholly unſerviceable, and lay expoſed to the Shot of the Enemy.

Charles of *Sweden* cleareth himſelf to the Queen of his affecting the Crown in his Nephew's abſence.

About the ſame time almoſt *Charles* by the Grace of God hereditary Prince of the Kingdoms of the *Swedes*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, (for this Title he uſed,) ſent one *Hill* an Engliſh-man to the Queen, to clear himſelf to the Queen from certain Aſperſions thrown upon him, as if he ſtudied Innovations and affected the Crown of *Sweden* againſt his Nephew *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland*. He prayed her not to give Credit to the Reporters of ſuch Stories, and to lend him her Counſell and Aſſiſtence for the Preſervation and Defenſe of the true Religion founded upon God's Word. She gave him Audience publickly, and anſwered *extempore*, that ſhe wiſhed he would be ſincere in his Fidelity to his Nephew, leſt he ſinned both againſt Juſtice, Nature, and the Rights and Laws of Affinity, and might ſeem to obſerve his Duty rather complementally, then in truth and reality.

The death of *Richard Hooker*.

This Year *Richard Hooker* rendred his Soul to God, who was born in *Devonſhire*, a Country fruitfull of noble Wits, and brought up at *Oxford* in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, a Divine for his Modeſty, Temperance, Meekneſs, and other Vertues, worthy of Imitation, and famous for his Accompliſhment in ſeverall kinds of Learning; which his Books of *Eccleſiaſticall Polity*, ſet forth in Engliſh, and very well deſerving to be turned into Latine, do abundantly teſtifie to the World.

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The Three and fortieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1600.

IN the Beginning of this Year the Queen was continually buſied about the Cares of the Realm; and that ſhe might amidſt her great Expenſes upon the Iriſh War provide herſelf of Money, ſhe appointed certain Commiſſioners to confirm for Money thoſe of the Queen's Lands which were of controverted Title to the Occupiers of them. (For a troubleſome ſort of men called *Concealers* put the Occupiers to great Charges and Vexation.) She alſo commanded by Proclamation that the old Laws of *Edward* the Fourth, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and other Laws againſt the Tranſportation of Gold and Silver, either coined or in Bullion, out of the Realm, ſhould be afreſh obſerved; and bent her Mind wholly upon a more ſerious Care of Iriſh Matters then other things. For *Tir-Oen*, after the Earl of *Eſſex* his Return, being puffed up with Pride by his good Succeſſes, bore himſelf as if he were Monarch of all *Ireland*: and that he might by his Preſence more ſcatter and increaſe the Flame which while abſent he had kindled in *Munſter*, he went thither in the midſt of Winter under Pretence of a religious Pilgrimage to viſit a Piece of our Lord's Croſs, which is believed to be kept at *Saint Croſſe*'s Monaſtery in *Tipperary*; where by his Encouragements and fair Promiſes he thruſt many forward into Rebellion. *James Fitz-Thomas*, a Kinſman of *James* Earl of *Deſmond*, whom the Rebels had proclaimed Earl, he advanced to the Honour of Earl of *Deſmond*; and *Florence Mac-Carty* to the Title of *Mac-Carty-More*: he forced thoſe whom he any way ſuſpected to give Hoſtages, and ſent Rogues to pillage the Lands of thoſe that retained their Fidelity to the Queen, under the Leading of *Mac-Guire*, the moſt audacious of the Rebels; who by chance lighted upon Sir *Warham Saint-Leger* Knight, who ran him through with a Lance, and was himſelf run through by him.

Titles doubtfull in Law confirmed.

A Proclamation againſt tranſporting of gold and ſilver.

Tir-Oen's Inſolency.

He conferreth Honours.

Mac-Guire and *Saint-Leger* ſlain.

This Flame now breaking forth into a Fire too violent and furious for the Earl of *Ormond*, who was deſigned Generall of the Army, and Sir *George Carew*, Treaſurer, (which two governed *Ireland* with the Title of Juſticers,) to quench; the Queen, who was always happy in her own Choice, in the depth of Winter, contrary to the Opinion and Expectation of all men, ſent *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Montjoy*, as Lord Deputy, into *Ireland*, whom ſhe judged to be of a well-qualified Diſpoſition both to command, and to obey. He arrived in *Ireland* with ſome few men in the Moneth of *February* without any Noiſe at all: the State of *Ireland* he found much languiſhing, yea very deſperate. For *Tir-Oen* had rambled without Reſiſtence the whole Length of the Iſland, from the farthermoſt part of *Ulſter* into *Munſter*, (as I ſaid,) in a triumphant manner. All good men were

The Lord *Montjoy* cometh into *Ireland* as Lord Deputy.

The deſperate condition of *Ireland*.

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were diſcouraged by their ill Succeſs and ſad Condition, and were without all Hope of Remedy or Amendment; the worſt ſort of men, having all things running to their Hearts Deſire, aimed at higher matters. And without doubt all the Nobility ſecretly conſpired to reſume their Liberty, which they complained was oppreſſed and troden under foot. *Clement* the Eighth, Biſhop of *Rome*, encouraged them by an Indulgence out of the Treaſury of the Church, as their Phraſe is. Wherein (to contract it into few words) he firſt commendeth the Prelates and Noblemen of *Ireland*, that they had with all the Aid and Forces they could aſſiſted *James Giraldine*, *John* his Couſin-german, and now very lately his beloved Son *Hugh* Prince *O-Neal*, Earl of *Tir-Oen*, Captain-generall of the Catholick Army in *Ireland*. And then he goeth on in theſe words: *We, to the end that you, your Generall and Souldiers, may with the more Alacrity perform your Part for the future toward this Expedition againſt the Hereticks, being willing to aſſiſt you with all ſpirituall Graces and Favours, led thereto by the Example of our Predeceſſours, and relying upon the Mercy of Almighty God, and the Authority of his bleſſed Apoſtles Saint* Peter *and Saint* Paul, *We* (*I ſay*) *do mercifully grant in the Lord to all and every of you that ſhall follow* Hugh *Earl of* Tir-Oen, *your Generall, and his Army, in the Maintenance and Defenſe of the Catholick Faith, and ſhall joyn yourſelves with them or aſſiſt them in this Expedition with Counſell, Favour, Proviſion, Arms, and other Munition and Neceſſaries for the War, or by any other means whatſoever, as alſo to the ſaid* Hugh *your Generall, and all and every the Souldiers of his Army, if you and they be truly penitent and confeſs yourſelves, and alſo refreſh yourſelves* (*if it may ſo be*) *with the holy Communion, full and plenary Pardon and Remiſſion of all your Sins, in as ample Form as was wont to be granted by the Biſhops of* Rome *to thoſe that formerly went to the Holy War againſt the* Turks *for the Recovery of the Holy Land; notwithſtanding*, &c. *Given at* Rome *at Saint* Peter's, *under the Fiſher's Ring, in the ninth Year of our Popedome.* M. Veſtrius Barbianus.

The Pope animateth the Rebels by his Bull.

The Rebels, to terrifie the new-come Lord Deputy, ſounded their Trumpets in the very Suburbs of *Dublin*. But he, ſlighting thoſe things, had a great Deſire to meet with the Arch-rebell himſelf as he returned out of *Munſter*. Having therefore collected on the ſudden ſuch a Force as he could get, (for the choiſeſt Souldiery were abſent in *Munſter* with the Earl of *Ormond*,) he made all Haſte into *Fereal*, to ſtop his Journey, and give him Battell. But *Tir Oen* having Intelligence of the Lord Deputie's Deſign, (for he had ſtill ſome of the Queen's Councill too much devoted to him,) prevented him by ſpeedily coaſting the Countrey through difficult Byways. The Lord Deputy being returned to *Dublin* made it his chief Care to cull out a choiſe Party of old Souldiers, and ſend them by Shipping to *Lough-Foil*, and *Baliſhanon* near the Mouth of the Lake *Erne*, that *Tir-Oen* might be ſtreightned both before, behind, and on either Side. He took Care alſo to ſend Succours to the Garriſons

The Lord Deputy marcheth againſt *Tir-Oen*.

Tir-Oen prevenеth him.

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in *Leaſe* and *Ophalie*; which was a Buſineſs of great Danger and Difficulty, ſo many Rebels lying diſperſed round about.

He marcheth towards *Ulſter*.

In the beginning of the Moneth of *May* he advanced his Enſigns towards *Ulſter*, with a Purpoſe to divert the Rebels on that ſide, whilſt Sir *Henry Docwray* ſettled a ſtronger Garriſon at *Lough-Foil*, and Sir *Matthew Morgan* at *Baliſhanon*. Theſe two arrived in the ſame Moneth at *Culmo*, near the Mouth of *Lough-Foil*, with 4000 Foot and 200 Horſe: where having raiſed a Fort, and another at *Ellogh*, they came to *Derry*, a ſmall City in a Peninſula of fourty Acres Compaſs, on the one ſide invironed for a great part of it with a River, and on the other ſide unapproachable by reaſon of the Soil's being always mooriſh and plaſby; wherein were the half-ruined Walls of a Monaſtery, of a Biſhop's Palace, of two Churches, and of an old Caſtle. There they erected a Magazine and Storehouſes of oaken Planks, and fortified the Place with unpoliſhed Stone, (which they got from the neighbouring Places, and the Ruines of decayed Houſes,) and Lime made of Shells burnt to Powder. *Tir-Oen* the while was continually entertained by the Lord Deputy with light Skirmiſhes, and thoſe ſtill ſo unlucky to him, that the Fortune of War being now changed, he was driven back to his Faſtneſſes and Lurking-holes. Theſe Garriſons being thus ſettled, the Lord Deputy returned in the middle of *June* to *Dublin*, and demanded a Supply from *England* of ſome Companies, with Munition and Proviſion, to place a Garriſon in *Armach* more this way, that the Rebels might be the more cloſely pent up and ſtreightned. In the mean time he marched into *Leaſe*, the Refuge of all the Rebels of *Leimſter*, and ſlew, amongſt other his miſchievous lewd Companions, *Ouny-Mac-Rory-Og*, the prime man of the Family of *O-More*, a bloudy and deſperately-daring young man, who firſt raiſed thoſe great Commotions of late in *Munſter*; and having waſted their Countrey, drove the Rebels into the Woods and Forreſts, ſo that there were ſcarce any of them to be ſeen in thoſe Parts. As ſoon as the new Succours were arrived out of *England*, though he found a great Scarcity both of Victuals and Money, and the Aire now, the Æquinox being paſt, waxed cold in that Climate, he went again into *Ulſter*, and marched to the Streights of *Moghery* beyond *Dundalk*. This is holden to be the moſt troubleſome and difficult Paſſage by nature in all *Ireland*, betwixt Hills, Woods, and Bogs, which the Rebels had barricado'd and cumbred on each hand with Trenches, Paliſadoes, Wattles joyned together, with Stones and Turf caſt between, uſing great Art, but greater Induſtry; and the Rivers, by a continual Rain for ſome days together, were ſwelled and overflowed the Banks. When the Waters were ſhrunk, the *Engliſh* courageouſly brake through all thoſe Fences; and having forced away the Enemy, and overcome all Difficulties, the Lord Deputy built a Fort eight Miles from *Armach*, (for the Rebels had conſumed all things near *Armach*,) which he commanded

Derry fortified.

He repulſeth *Tir-Oen*.

He ſcattereth the *O-Mores*.

He marcheth again into *Ulſter*.

The Paſs of *Moghery*

forced by the *Engliſh*.

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manded to be called *Mount Norris*, in Memory of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his firſt Principles of Warfare, and made *Edward Blany*, a very ſtout man, Governour thereof, who afterwards grievouſly puniſhed, and at laſt totally repreſſed, the Rebels in theſe Parts. In his Return (to omit his daily Skirmiſhes) he gave the Rebels a memorable Defeat in the narrow Paſs near *Carlingford*, where they had blocked up the Way. Yet there died of the *Engliſh*, beſides others, Doctour *Latware*, the Lord Deputie's Chaplain, and *Cranmer*, his Secretary, two very learned men, and in that reſpect dearly beloved and eſteemed by him.

The Fort Mount *Norris* built. The Rebels defeated.

Latware and *Cranmer* ſlain.

The Lord Deputy being returned, and Sir *Matthew Morgan*'s Expedition to *Baliſhanon* of neceſſity put off to another time, *Tir Oen* and the reſt of the Rebels with all their Forces advanced their Colours againſt Sir *Henry Docwray*, and what with frequent Skirmiſhes, what by Treacheries, Perjuries, corrupt Dealing, and Frauds and Wiles more then *Carthaginian*, they gave him many a Wound. Yet he valiantly and fortunately wrought himſelf out of all Dangers; he waſted the little Country of *O-Cahan* by the Conduct of *Arthur O-Neal* the Son of *Turlogh*; took *Dunalong* before *Tir-Oen*'s Face, placing *John Bowler* in Garriſon there; and within a while after wone *Liffer* Caſtle (*O-Donell* ſtorming thereat) with the Help of *Neal Garue* of the Family of the *O Donels*, whom he drew to his Party by giving him Hopes of the Lordſhip of *Tir-Conell*, which he claimed by Right of Bloud. At which time a Spaniſh Ship arriving at *Calebeg* with Arms and ſome Money, the Rebels flocked thither with all ſpeed, in Hope of ſharing the Prey, and left thoſe Parts to be over-run by the Engliſh Garriſons. The Lord Deputy on the other ſide, that no time might be loſt, in the midſt of Winter entred into the Glinns, that is, Valleys, in *Leimſter*, and reduced to Obedience *Donel Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac Pheogh*, and the rebellious Tribe of the *O-Tooles*, receiving Hoſtages of them. Then entred he into *Fereall*, and drove *Tirell*, the experteſt Souldier amongſt all the Rebels, out of his Faſtneſs, (as they call it) a boggy place, and overgrown with Briars and Brambles. And now was he come by winding and compaſſing Ways into *Ulſter*, a Conquerour where-ever he came. Here firſt he waſted the little Countrey of *Ferney*, and ſlew the two Sons of *Evar Mac-Cowley*: then ſending out Sir *Richard Moriſon*, he ſpoiled the ſmall Province of *Fues*. In *Breny* he placed a Garriſon under the Command of Sir *Oliver Lambert*: and turning aſide to *Drogheda*, he received into his Protection *Turlogh Mac-Henry*, a great Lord in *Fues*, *Evar Mac-Cowley*, *O-Hanlon*, who gave himſelf out to be hereditary Standard-bearer to the King in *Ulſter*, and many of the *Mac-Mahons* and *O-Ralies*, who fell down upon their Knees to him, and gave Hoſtages.

Docwray put to it by the Rebels.

He vexeth and plagueth them.

The Lord Deputy reſtraineth the Rebels in *Leimſter*.

He returneth into *Ulſter*.

Several of the Rebels ſubmit themſelves.

Theſe things did the Lord Deputy *Montjoy* in his firſt Year. And no leſs happy a Progreſs did Sir *George Carew* make in *Munſter*, the Southern Part of *Ireland*, being lately made Preſident of that Province,

Sir *George Carew*'s Acts in *Munſter*.

1600.

His Policy.

Province, which was as it were dangerouſly ſick of a Rebellion raging in all Parts thereof under the Heading of the titular Earl of *Deſmond*. For firſt he handled the matter ſo with the Commanders of the mercenary Souldiers out of *Connaught*, (called by them *Bownies*,) whom the Rebels had ſent for, that he removed out of the Countrey *Dermits O-Conar* by Craft, *Redmund a Burgh* by putting him in Hopes of recovering his ancient Patrimony, and *Tirel* by putting him in fear of being killed by Surpriſall. Then he ſo cunningly cheriſhed a Diſtruſt which he had wrought amongſt the Rebels by counterfeit Letters, that miſdoubting one another, they parted aſunder. Afterward, with the Earl of *Twomond*, who inſeparably and faithfully ſtuck to him, and reſolutely aſſiſted him, he marched againſt them, took the titular Earl, (whom notwithſtanding the Rebels afterward recovered,) and either forced, or took by Compoſition, the Caſtles of *Logher*, *Crome*, *Glan*, *Carigfoil*, *Corgrag*, *Rathmore*, and *Cahir*. Sir *Charles Wilmot*, whom he had made Governour of *Kerry*, reduced under his Power *Lixnaw*, *Caſtle-Mainy*, and *Liſtwill*; and Sir *Francis Barkley*, *Glanemire*. Captain *Gream* did ſo proſecute that titular Earl, that he drave him out of the Province: and many Rebels round about, being terrified at his Succeſs, ſubmitted, and betook themſelves to the Queen's Mercy and Protection, and amongſt the reſt *Florence Mac-Carty*, a notorious Diſſembler: but moſt of them did it onely feignedly. For it was found that many of them did by their Prieſts which they ſent to *Rome* crave Pardon for this Offenſe and Treſpaſs againſt the Church of *Rome*, (to wit, that they perſiſted not in their Rebellion,) and craved a Diſpenſation, that they might not thruſt themſelves into open Rebellion, matters ſtanding as they did. To ſpeak all in a word, the Preſident, who entred in the Moneth of *April* into that Province ſo lamentably out of Order, handled the matter ſo, that by the Moneth of *December* it was abſolutely quieted, and not ſo much as one Fort held out againſt the Queen.

Caſtles taken.

Divers Rebels feignedly ſubmit.

The whole Province cleared.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in *Ireland*, a Conſultation was holden in *England* about a Peace to be made with the *Spaniard*, and that grounded upon the ſame Arguments which I have related in the Year 1598. This Peace the Archduke *Albert* had propounded not long before, being returned out of *Spain* with his Wife the *Infanta*, and preſented with a conſecrated Sword from the Biſhop of *Rome*. And though the Queen had abſolutely refuſed to enter into a Defenſive League with the *Spaniard*, to deliver up the Cautionary Towns, or to prohibit Commerce with the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, which things he earneſtly inſiſted on, or to yield the *Spaniard* Precedence in Point of Honour; yet he and the French King both deſiſted not by ſending Meſſengers one after another to intercede for Peace; and that upon the *Spaniard's* ſetting on, who was now wholly inclined to Peace, as well out of his own quiet Diſpoſition, as by the Advice of his Council. For he knew that his Father, after

A new Conſultation concerning Peace with *Spain*, propoſed by the Archduke,

by the *Spaniard's* ſetting on;

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after he had made Peace with the French King, desired nothing more then to have concluded one also with the *English*, that so he might leave his Kingdoms and Countreys to his Son with the Glory of a settled and sound Peace. And he was perswaded that this Peace would turn to the Advantage of the Romish Religion, and his own Honour and Profit also. Certainly there was great Hope conceived at *Rome*, (as I have seen by a short Discourse written there about that time.) that it would hereby come to pass, that the Followers of the Romish Religion would be more favourably dealt withall in *England*, who upon their returning Home might with less Danger retain their Religion, and more freely disperse and propagate the same. It was believed also, that this would be no less glorious to him, then it had been to his Progenitours to have discovered the New World: and that the lesser Princes would more observe and respect him, when they should see him disentangled from War, so that he should from thenceforth sit as an indifferent Umpire to moderate and order the World. Profit also would several ways redound unto him hereby. For the Estates of *Holland* and *Zeland* would the sooner be drawn to reasonable Conditions: the Money would be spared which was spent yearly to maintain his Forces in the *Netherlands*, and to bring Home his Indian Fleets; and these Fleets returning Home safely with their Treasure would infinitely enrich *Spain*: the *English* would by little and little neglect their Shipping and Navigation, when they might no longer inrich themselves with the Spoils of the *Spaniards*; and so at length, whilst they slept securely in Peace, disusing themselves wholly to War both by Sea and Land, they might be surprized at unawares.

with what hopes of advantage to the Romish Religion,

of Honour

and Profit to himself.

These things though the Queen were not ignorant of, yet she, after mature Deliberation, being of Opinion that Peace would conduce very much to her own Honour and the general Good of *England*, yielded to the importunate Solicitation of the French King, and left it to him to appoint both the Time and Place for a Treaty: who appointed the Moneth of *May* for the Time; and *Bologne*, a maritime Town of *France*, which in old time was called *Bononia* and *Gesforiacum navale*, for the Place. And in regard it was foreseen that some Question would arise about Priority of Place in sitting and going, there were certain selected persons appointed to inquire into this matter. These men observed, that in the Book of *Ceremonies of the Court of Rome*, (which (as the Canons have it) doth as Lady, Mother, and Mistress, give a Rule to other Courts,) amongst Kings the first Place is due to the King of *France*, the second to the King of *England*, and the third to the King of *Castile*. That the *English* have peaceably and quietly enjoyed that Place in the General Councils of *Pisa*, *Constance*, *Sena*, and *Basil*, (though in this of *Basil* the Embassadour of *Castile* somewhat immodestly opposed it.) Besides, that the Kingdom of *Castile*, the Title whereof the *Spaniard* preferreth before his other Titles, is a late Kingdom in

A Treaty at *Bologne*.

Observations concerning the Precedence of *England* and *Spain*.

Out of *Volaterran*.

1600. in reſpect of the Kingdom of *England*; for it was governed by Earls, and not by Kings, till the Year of our Lord 1017. and thoſe were never anointed. That amongſt thoſe Kings which were termed *Superilluſtrious*, the King of *England* was accounted the third, and the *Spaniard* the fourth. Alſo that the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Julius* the Third, gave Sentence for *Henry* the Seventh of *England* againſt *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*. That the Queen of *England* was before the *Spaniard* in Order both of Birth and Coronation: (which was the Argument the *Spaniards* uſed in the Council of *Baſil* againſt *Henry* the Sixth of *England*.) In ſhort, That the Learned in the Law have unanimouſly reſolved, *That Precedence whoſe Original is beyond the Memory of man is rightfully and juſtly to be taken for eſtabliſhed and uncontrovertible*. They obſerved alſo, that whereas in the firſt Seſſion of the Council of *Trent* under *Paul* the Third there was but one and the ſame Embaſſadour for *Charles* the Fifth as Emperour and as King of *Spain*, and he took the firſt Place before the French King's Embaſſadour in the Emperour's Right, the *Spaniards* have ever ſince challenged this Place, not onely in the Emperour's Right, but alſo in the Right of the King of *Spain*, becauſe no man contradicted them in it. At that time the *Engliſh* blamed the French King's Embaſſadour for want of Wiſedom, in not contradicting it, and publickly proteſting againſt the Emperour's Embaſſadour, if he pretended to take Place for the *Spaniard* alſo before the French King. They obſerved alſo that the *Spaniards* challenged to themſelves the better Place in regard of the large Extent of the Spaniſh Empire, his Powerfulneſs above all the reſt of the Kings of the World, his great Merits towards the Church of *Rome*, and his taking Place in the Council of *Trent* under *Pius Quartus* before the French King, though it were out of due Order. But let us omit theſe things.

Commiſſioners for the Treaty of Peace.

At the day appointed there met at *Bologne* for the Queen, Sir *Henry Nevill* Embaſſadour Leiger in *France*; *John Herbert*, now made one of the Secretaries; *Robert Beale*, Secretary to the Council in the North; and Sir *Thomas Edmunds*, Secretary for the French Tongue: for the *Spaniard*, *Balthazar* Lord of *Zuniga*; *Fonſeca*, one of the Privy Council, and Embaſſadour in the *Low-Countries*; and *Ferdinando Carillo*, Licentiate of the Order of Saint *Jago*, the King's Counſellour in *Caſtile*: for the Archduke, *John Richardot*, Seigniour *de Barly*, chief Preſident of the Council; and *Lodowick Verrekeim*, Audientiary and principal Secretary. The *Engliſh* had in their Inſtructions, "That above all things they ſhould have a Care of the Ho-
"nour and Safety of the Queen and Realm of *England*, and of the
"publick Profit and Advantage. As for matter of Honour, That they
"ſhould by no means yield the more honourable Place to the *Spani-*
"*ard*, but ſhould rather poſitively, yet modeſtly and diſcreetly, chal-
"lenge it, upon the Arguments and Reaſons which I have before re-
"lated. That if the Spaniſh Commiſſioners would not yield it, ſome
"middle

The Inſtructions of the *Engliſh*.

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"middle and indifferent way ſhould be propounded, leſt the *Engliſh* "might ſeem to ſtand more upon Honour then upon Points of real "Concernment and Advantage; as ſuppoſe this, That the Prece- "dence ſhould be taken by Turns, and the firſt to take it by Lot. "As for matter of Safety and the publick Profit, That they ſhould "have a Care that no Fraud or Prejudice ſhould be done to the "*Engliſh* or the United Provinces in their Trading. That the *En-* "*gliſh* ſhould have Liberty to trade freely in the *Indies*, foraſmuch "as it was granted them in the Treaty of 1541. that they might "doe it in all the Dominions of *Charles* the Fifth; at leaſt in thoſe "Places where the *Spaniards* have not ſet Footing, and with thoſe "Indian Princes which are not under the Command of the *Spani-* "*ards*. That the *Spaniards* ſhould firſt propound their Conditions, "foraſmuch as they had invited to the Treaty. That as touching "Rebels and Fugitives (which according to the ancient Leagues "with the *Burgundians* were to be expelled on both Sides out of one "anothers Dominions, and by that with the *French*, to be delive- "red up,) they ſhould not mention a word: But if the Spaniſh "Commiſſioners ſhould propoſe it, they ſhould then declare, that "there were none entertained in *England* out of the *Netherlands* "but Merchants and Artificers; but in the *Netherlands* ſeveral *En-* "*gliſh* were maintained with Penſions to trouble and diſturb the "State.

Exceptions of the Commiſſioners to the Commiſſions on both ſides.

The Title of *moſt Serene.*

Having now ſhewed their Credential Letters on both ſides, the *Spaniards* excepted in thoſe of the Queen's againſt the Epithete of *moſt Illuſtrious* in the Archduke's Title, who being deſcended (as they ſaid) of Sacred Emperours, and being Son-in-law and Brother to two Kings of *Spain*, the Husband and Head of the moſt Serene *Infanta Iſabella*, eldeſt Daughter of *Spain*, was honoured by all Princes with the Title of *moſt Serene.* When the *Engliſh* ſhewed that an Archduke was not to be equalled to a King in Title, and that no other Title then *moſt Illuſtrious* was given in ancient Treaties to the Archduke *Philip*, Father to *Charles* the Fifth; the *Spaniards* anſwered, That it was no marvell if the Title of *moſt Illuſtrious* were given in that Age to the Archduke *Philip*, ſeeing no other was given in the ſame Treaty to King *Henry* the Eighth. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* obſerved theſe Defects in the King's Commiſſion. That there wanted a Form of Subdelegation; that the Commiſſion was made obſcure by intermingling of other Commiſſioners; that it was ſealed with the King's Private Seal, whereas that of the Queen was under the Great Seal of *England*; and that there wanted a Clauſe, that the King would ratifie whatſoever ſhould be concluded on. They anſwered, That the formal Power of Subdelegation was comprehended in theſe words, *Par trattar y hazar trattar:* That the names of Private Seal and Great Seal are things unheard of and unknown in *Spain:* That the King's Commiſſion was ſubſcribed with the King's own Hand before his Secretary, confir-

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med by the publick Seal of the King and Realm; and that by theſe words, *Eſtar y paſſar y eſtare y paſſare*, all things are ratified.

Within a few days after the Title of *moſt Serene* being duly inſerted in the Queen's Commiſſion, as often as the Archduke's Name was mentioned; the Engliſh Commiſſioners required that they might meet together and treat, (for till now they treated onely by Writing and Conferences with the Archduke's Commiſſioners,) and that the Priority of Place might be given to the Queen. The *Spaniards*, being diſpleaſed that the *Engliſh* had firſt challenged the Priority, as if in ſuch matters (as they often ſaid) *le premier demandeur eſtoit le vaincueur*, that is, the firſt Challenger were the Conquerour, anſwered, that it was a thing ſtrange and unuſual for the Kings of *England* to be upon an Equality with the Catholick King; but to inſiſt upon Priority was a thing never before heard of. The *Engliſh* replied, that the Precedence of the Kingdom of *England* was notoriouſly known through the whole World, and to be proved by ſolid Reaſons: and that the Queen's Embaſſadour Leiger, in regard he had a double Power, was to be preferred before him that came with the bare Title of a Commiſſioner or Delegate. *Edmonds* alſo affirmed, that he had told *Richardot* before the Conference, that the Queen would not yield in the Point of Priority: and when he urged for *Richardot*'s Anſwer, he ſaid nothing againſt it, but told him he would give his Anſwer when they met together; and that he did not believe the Treaty would be broken off for that matter. Then the Commiſſioners invited one another to Treatments at their ſeveral Lodgings, upon Pretence that they might confer together more familiarly, but in very deed that they might circumvent one another in the matter of Honour. But this alſo was avoided on both Sides. And though the *Netherlanders* laboured ſeriouſly to make the *Spaniards* more pliable; yet would they not once hear of it, that the Catholick King ſhould acknowledge himſelf the Queen of *England*'s Equal, becauſe he muſt then of neceſſity own the French King to be his Superiour, ſince it is confeſſed that the Kings of *England* have always given the Priority to the *French*. Yet the *Engliſh* ſtifly perſiſted in their firſt Reſolution, defending their ancient Right in Point of Honour: affirming that there neither was any juſt Cauſe why the *Spaniards* ſhould be offended, foraſmuch as *He which uſeth his own Right doeth nothing to the Prejudice of another*; nor was there any Reaſon why the *Spaniard* ſhould not acknowledge her his Equal, ſince ſhe was as abſolute a Monarch as he, and had equal (if not more ample) Priviledges and Prerogatives of Majeſty in her Kingdoms. Afterwards was *Edmonds* ſent into *England*, and came back again with theſe new Inſtructions. "That if any Courſe of Equality in Point of Honour "were propounded, which were not prejudicial to the Queen, it "ſhould be admitted, and they ſhould not rigidly inſiſt upon their "firſt Inſtructions. That a perpetual Peace ſhould be concluded "between

The *Engliſh* claim the Priority.

The *Spaniards* will not yield an Equality.

The *Engliſh* maintain their Priority

New Inſtructions to the *Engliſh*.

"between both Princes and their Succeſſours. That no Mention ſhould "be made of a Truce. That Commerce ſhould be reduced to the "ſame ſtate it was at in the Year 1567. That it ſhould be ſolemnly "covenanted and agreed, that no Ships ſhould be detained without "the Conſent of the Prince to whoſe Subjects they did belong. "That they ſhould by no means yield that the Spaniſh Men of war "ſhould have the Liberty of the Queen's Ports. That if Com- "merce in the *Indies* were once denied, they ſhould paſs the matter "over in Silence, as the *French* had done in the Treaties of *Cambre-* "*ſie* and *Vervin*. So let every one try his Fortune at his own Peril. "For by admitting a Reſtraint, the Navigation of the *Engliſh* into "thoſe Parts would for the future be forejudged and wholly barred. "That they ſhould likewiſe omit Mention of the Rebells and Fugi- "tives, like as the *French* had done in the Treaties of *Bloys* and *Ver-* "*vin*. That they ſhould engage that the Engliſh Garriſons in the "Cautionary Towns ſhould onely maintain the Towns, and not ſerve "in the Wars againſt the *Spaniard*. And that they ſhould declare, "that the Queen was fully determined that her Subjects ſhould trade "in the Archduke's Provinces, and yet the Engliſh Souldiers under "the Eſtates Pay ſhould not be recalled out of their Service. Final- "ly, that they ſhould accommodate and order themſelves in relati- "on to all matters according to Time and Place, which miniſter bet- "ter Counſells and Reſolutions to men, then men can to things: and "that they ſhould diligently mind what the *Spaniards* drove at in "this Treaty; whether onely to hold the Queen in Suſpenſe while "they invaded *England* or *Ireland*; or elſe to draw the United "Provinces to their Party, and work them off from the Engliſh Inte- "reſt. 1600.

In the mean time the Archduke, who was much buſied and perplexed with the War being ſo hot in *Flanders*, complained that auxiliary Supplies and Succours were ſent to the Eſtates by the Queen, and Ships prepared for the *Indies*. The Commiſſioners anſwered, that theſe things were unknown to them: but if they were true, this was no Innovation or new Hoſtility, but a Continuation of what was begun before the Treaty, and was to be tolerated till ſuch time as a Peace was concluded. They retorted upon the *Spaniard*, that he had openly ſupplied the Rebels in *Ireland* both with Munition and Money, received Hoſtages of them, and promiſed them Forces to aſſiſt them: that this appeared plainly by his own Letters, which were ſent over to the Queen by the Rebels, to curry Favour with her, and might be preſently produced to their Faces. That this was a manifeſt Innovation, foraſmuch as the King of *Spain*'s Father never relieved them but covertly and underhand.

The Archduke complaineth of Succours ſent to the Eſtates.

The Engliſh Commiſſioners Anſwer.

Whilſt theſe things were argued and debated, and Suſpicions increaſed on both Sides, that Peace was pretended, but other things cunningly intended, the Spaniſh Commiſſioners declared, that the Catholick King would by no means grant the Priority, or admit an

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The Treaty diſſolved. New Propoſals, but in vain.

Equality; and had peremptorily commanded them to break off the Treaty. This much troubled both the Archduke's and the Queen's Commiſſioners. And that the Treaty might not abſolutely be diſſolved, the *Engliſh* propounded, that, omitting the Queſtion of Priority, they might treat by Writing and Conferences with the Archduke's Commiſſioners, as before they had done, or elſe by Meſſengers to be imployed betwixt them. The *Spaniſh* propounded, that if there might be a Meeting in *Holland*, and the Eſtates would alſo meet there, they would treat in any Place of *Holland* which was not in the Queen's Poſſeſſion. Or if they would meet in any Place of the Spaniſh Dominions, they would ſhew the *Engliſh* that Civility with which every man entertaineth a Gueſt in his own Houſe. It was alſo propounded that the Treaty might be prorogued for 60 days, ſo as it might ſeem rather diſcontinued then diſſolved; and in the mean time every one ſhould doe his beſt to perſwade a Peace, if it ſeemed good to the Princes on both Sides. But all was in vain: for preſently both the Spaniſh and the Archduke's Commiſſioners poaſted Home more haſtily then was expected, and the Queen forthwith called Home hers; having firſt entred her Proteſtation, "That ſhe, out of a ſincere Intention, had omitted nothing that "could be required of a Chriſtian and abſolute Princeſſe for the e-"ſtabliſhing of a true, firm and perpetuall Peace, that ſo the Effuſi-"on of more Chriſtian Bloud might be ſpared: foraſmuch as, "(to ſpeak ſummarily) though there were many Suſpicions and "Jealouſies of Double dealing, Succours being lately ſent into *Ire-*"*land* to the Rebels, yet had ſhe at their Deſire ſent her Commiſſio-"ners to this Treaty: and whereas ſhe ſaw no Reaſon why ſhe "ſhould yield the Priority to the *Spaniard*, (as ſhe had intimated "by *Edmunds* before the Treaty,) ſhe required onely an Equality; "and if that would not be admitted, ſhe refuſed not to treat by Pa-"pers and Meſſengers to be diſpatched betwixt them. Thus after three Moneths time ſpent did the Treaty at *Bologne* come to nothing.

The Eſtates Deſign upon the Sea-Towns in *Flanders*.

The Eſtates in the mean time, having proſperous Succeſs in their Affairs above what their Hearts could wiſh, were ſo far from any Deſire of Peace, that at this very time they had a Deſign to get the maritime Coaſt of *Flanders* into their Hands, the better to ſecure their Navigation, (for *Spinola's* Gallies much infeſted the Sea,) and to ſet *Oſtend*, the onely Town they had in *Flanders*, at Liberty, which was now ſtreightned by ſeverall Forts and Sconces raiſed by the *Spaniards* round about it. Theſe ſeemed things eaſily to be performed, the Affairs of the Enemy being now in a bad Condition, the old Souldiers ſome of them revolting, and others mutining. Having therefore collected an Army of 14000 Foot and 3000 Horſe under the Conduct of Grave *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, to which the chief of the Eſtates joyned themſelves, they determined to land at *Oſtend*: but the Wind being contrary, they landed their Army at *Philippine* Sconce

They land an Army there-

in

in *Flanders* at an Ebbe, by the Help of their flat-bottom'd Boats, wherein they had approached the Land at High-water; and ſuch a Terrour they ſpred round about, that the Garriſons by the way, even the ſtrong Sconce of *Saint Albertus* near *Oſtend*, yielded themſelves: and on the eighth day after, having waded over a ſmall Plaſh of the Sea, they came to *Newport* without any Difficulty. The next day, as they were ready to encamp againſt it, behold, beyond all Expectation, News was brought them that the Archduke was upon his full March towards them with 7000 Foot and 1000 Horſe. For he followed night and day after them, recovered moſt of the Sconces, overthrew 800 *Scots* which were laid in the way to ſtop his Paſſage, and cut off their ſtraggling and tired Souldiers almoſt as far as *Newport*. Here the *Spaniards* thought good to make a Halt, to recover *Albertus* Sconce, and by drawing a Trench to hinder Grave *Maurice* his men of Proviſions. But the Archduke, being encouraged by his fortunate Succeſſes, rejected this Project, as not becoming valiant Souldiers. On the other ſide Grave *Maurice* was not at all backward, but prepared himſelf to fight. The Foot-forces which made the Van he committed to Sir *Francis Vere*, (as *Vere* himſelf hath written in his Commentaries:) Count *Lodowick* of *Naſſau* commanded the Horſe: and it was unanimouſly reſolved, as ſoon as the Tide ſerved, to wade back again over the Plaſh. *Vere* commanded his men to put off their Cloaths, telling them, that by and by either they ſhould need none, or get better. He choſe a moſt convenient place for the Battell, being a narrow Plain betwixt the Sea and the ſandy Hillocks, the Hillocks as well to Sea-ward as to Land-ward riſing to a pretty Height. In the higheſt of theſe Hills he placed the *Engliſh*, (which were not above 1500 men,) and 2500 Frieſe Muskettiers. Grave *Maurice* now propoſed, whether they had beſt to march forward againſt the Enemy, or attend him there. Moſt were of Opinion to march forward; for ſo they ſhould terrifie the Enemy, and eaſily carry away the Victory: whereas by expecting his coming on they ſhould both leſſen the Courage of their own men, and increaſe that of their Adverſaries; who would alſo have Opportunity thereby to fortifie themſelves, and hinder them both of their Retreat and of coming at Proviſion. *Vere* was of Opinion to the contrary, that the Enemie's Army, being ſuddenly collected, was not ſo well provided of Victuals, as to ſubſiſt long in a Country waſted with the War: that Lack of Victuals on their ſide was not to be feared, for they had enough in their Ships, and the Sea was open to bring them all manner of Neceſſaries: that the Enemie, after a long March, being tired out with climbing up and deſcending down the ſteep Hills in the Heat of the Sun, might eaſily be defeated by their Forces, which would be freſh and in heart. This Counſell Grave *Maurice* well liked, and made a Stand in the place where he was, appointing certain Companies to hinder the Sallying of the Garriſon out of *Newport*, commanding the Shipping to be withdrawn farther

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Newport attempted.

The Archduke cometh to relieve it.

The Battell of *Newport*.

1600. ſarther off, that his men might have no Hopes of retreating thither, but be made deſperate; and then ſetting his Army in Order, he placed ſix Pieces of Ordnance before the firſt Battalion. The Archduke being now come near *Newport*, deliberated for an Hour or two whether he were beſt to ſtay there, to refreſh his tired men, and expect the coming up of the reſt of his Troups which were ſtill behind; and by that means loſt the Opportunity both of Place and Time. Yet being full of Hopes he advanced with great Alacrity; and when he ſaw the Paſſage grow too narrow and incommodious for his Horſemen by reaſon of the Tide coming in, ſo as they were of neceſſity to turn aſide to the ſandy Hills, he let go a Priſoner of purpoſe, (to ſtrike a Terrour into the Enemy,) who cried aloud that the *Scots* were put every man to the Sword, and that the Archduke would not come to a Battell: but his Mouth was ſoon ſtopped. Now *Vere* adviſed to ſend out the Horſe againſt the approaching Enemy: but the Generall of the Horſe (haply envying *Vere*'s Glory) would not agree to it. The Ordnance being therefore by *Vere*'s Command diſcharged upon them, the Enemy were ſoon routed, and betook themſelves to the Hils, there ſtaying for the coming up of their Foot, who, marching along the Shoar, played upon Grave *Maurice* his men now and then with their Ordnance; and were themſelves alſo, the Tide increaſing, ſhot at from the Ships. Their Files being now doubled by reaſon of the Narrowneſs of the place and ſomewhat diſordered, they were fain to climb the Hils till they were out of Breath. *Vere* took his Standing on the Top of the foremoſt Hill, that he might from aloft obſerve the Motions of the Enemy: againſt whom when 500 *Spaniards* aſcended without either Colours or any good Order, they were received by the Frieſe Muskettiers with a Volley of ſmall Shot, and repulſed back. Then aroſe there a very confuſed Fight, according to the Inequality of the Ground, riſing here into little Hils, and there ſinking into Valleys, wherein the Sand was ſo looſe and yielding, that there was no-where any firm Footing to be taken. Yet was the Fight maintained very ſtoutly by freſh Troups ſent in on both Sides, whilſt they aſcended and deſcended the Hills, and now the one, and then the other, according to the Advantage of the Place, were Conquerers, and by and by Conquered. *Vere*, whilſt he diſcharged valiantly the Office both of a Commander and a Souldier at once, was hurt, firſt in his Leg, and a little while after in his Thigh; yet concealed it, leſt he ſhould diſcourage his Souldiers: and they that were with him were ſo overlaid, that they were forced to deſcend to their Ordnance by the Sea-ſhoar. He himſelf following them againſt his Will, had his Horſe ſhot under him, which fell and lay upon him, till Sir *Robert Drury* and *Higham* helped him up, and mounted him upon *Drury*'s Horſe; and that in very good time, for the Enemy was juſt upon him. By the Ordnance he found his Brother *Horace* with 300 Foot; and preſently commanded the Ordnance to be diſcharged upon the Enemies,

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mies, who were now very thick upon the narrow Shoar. His own Troup of Horſe and *Bale*'s he commanded to charge the Enemy, and *Horace Vere* with his Foot to be ready to aſſiſt: who repulſed the Enemy to the Hills; from whence they were again beaten back by a Showr of ſmall Shot. And withall, as ſoon as they ſaw Grave *Maurice* advance with the middle Battell, firſt the Horſe, and then the Foot, fled confuſedly, and in their Flight were cut down with a great Slaughter. There were ſlain in about 9000: there were taken Priſoners, the Admirall of *Arragon*, *Vigilare*, *Sapena*, and many others of great Quality: there were wounded, the Archduke himſelf, who omitted no Part of a moſt valiant Generall, the Duke *D' Aumale*, *Alphonſo Davales* Camp-maſter, *Roderico Laſſo*, and others. But let the Writers of the Netherland Hiſtory relate theſe things: it is enough for me to have given this brief Account out of Sir *Francis Vere*'s own Commentaries, who, how great the Valour of the *Engliſh* was in this Battell, hath left to be eſtimated by this one thing, that of 1500 *Engliſh* which were there, 800 were ſlain and wounded, 8 Captains loſt, and all the reſt but two hurt. The *Spaniards* imputed this Defeat to the Number of the Enemie, which was double to theirs, to their being wearied with their long March, to the Sun's being in their Faces, to the Winds blowing the Sand in their Eyes, to the Unevenneſs of the Ground where they fought, the Cowardiſe of their own Horſe, and the Valour of the *Engliſh*. Of whom Sir *Francis* and *Horace Vere*, Brethren, *Edward Cecyl*, *Caliſthenes Brook*, *Thomas Knolles*, *Daniell Vere*, *John Ogle*, *Taxley*, *Fairfax*, *Valvaſour*, *Holcroft*, *Denis*, *Tirell*, *Hammond*, *Sutton*, *Foſter*, *Garnet*, *Morgan*, and *Scot*, deſerved ſingular Commendations for their Fortitude and Gallantry.

The *Spaniards* flee.

The ſlain, taken, and wounded.

Betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *French* all this Year, as alſo the laſt, Complaints were made concerning Repriſals, which through the Inſolency of Pirates on both Sides were grown too common. But now an Agreement was made by the Endeavours of Monſieur *Thunier Boiſſiſſie*, the French Embaſſadour, a grave and ſolid Perſon, to this effect. *That the Subjects of both Princes ſhould be taken into mutuall Protection, lawfully to follow their Merchandize, according to former Treaties. That ſufficient Security ſhould be taken for Merchants Ships and others ſent forth with Proviſion for War and Repriſals, to the double Value of the Proviſion and Victuals in the Ship, and for others without Repriſals to the ſingle Value. That if the Officers of the Admiralty ſhould either take no Security, or that which was not ſufficient, they ſhould be bound to anſwer for all the Injuries and Dammages done through their Default. That Care ſhould be had of the Coſts and Charges of the Merchants; and that their Cauſes ſhould be diſpatched within 6 Months, if it might conveniently be. That Judgements given in Actions brought at the Civill Law ſhould from thenceforth be fully executed againſt all manner of Delinquents. That the Sureties ſhould anſwer the Penalty agreed upon ſo far onely as till Satisfaction be made to the perſon wronged. That if Juſtice were denied after three Months Requeſt made by either*

A Treaty concerning Repriſals betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *French*.

1600. *either Prince, or his or her Embaſſadour Leiger, Repriſals from thenceforth might be granted on either Side. That no kind of Arms or Munition for War ſhould be tranſported into the King of* Spain's *Dominions. That if any thing ſhould be taken or detained by the King's or Queen's Officers, the due Price not being payed, Care ſhould be taken by both their Majeſties that due Payment be made in convenient time. That all Ships ſent forth by immediate Command of either Prince, or made Uſe of by their Admiralls for publick Occaſions, ſhould be reputed and taken for the King's or Queen's Ships, and if any thing amiſs ſhould be acted by them, the Princes themſelves ſhould ſee that Juſtice ſhould be done. That Repriſals ſhould not onely be ſuſpended, but alſo abſolutely revoked, on both Sides. That publick Proclamations ſhould be made, that no Diviſion, Tranſportation or Alienation ſhould be permitted to be made of Goods taken, and that no man ſhould buy, receive, or conceal them, unleſs they ſhould be firſt adjudged to be juſt and lawfull Prize by Sentence of the Judge of the Admiralty. That no Pirates ſhould be received into the Cities, Ports or Towns on either Side, or permitted to ride at Anchour, but ſhould be made Stay of, and brought to Triall; and ſhould be ſubjected to the Penalties due by Law, with Reparation of Dammages, and Intereſt. Yet that theſe things ſhould not be interpreted otherwiſe but with this Proteſtation, That if any things herein ſhould be found repugnant to the ancient Leagues, nothing ſhould be underſtood to be derogated therefrom; but that ſufficient Care might be taken againſt Piracies, according to the licentious Badneſs of the Times, this ſhould be taken onely to be by way of preſent Proviſion, till a more ample Treaty of all theſe Matters ſhould be had, to the Profit and Satisfaction of both Princes.* Controverſies alſo aroſe about new Cuſtoms impoſed upon Engliſh Merchandize, contrary to the Treaty of *Bloys*; and about corrupt and deceitfull making of Engliſh Cloaths, to the Diſhonour and Diſcredit of our Nation. The Queen alſo now calmly demanded her Money lent heretofore to the King: ſome part whereof he repayed, with a Proteſtation of his great Thankfulneſs in full and ample Expreſſions.

Some other Differences with the *French*.

Contentions alſo with the *Danes* about Commerce.

And not onely was this Difference with *France*, but in *Denmark* alſo a Contention now roſe afreſh about Commerce, and the Fiſhing of the *Engliſh* upon the Coaſt of *Norway* and near *Iſeland*; and that upon this Ground. The King of *Denmark* taking Offenſe the laſt Year at theſe Fiſhings, and the Piracies of the *Engliſh*, at unawares ſurprized ſome Engliſh-men of *Hull*, as they were fiſhing near *Norway*, with ſeverall of his Men of war, confiſcated their Ships and Lading to a great Value, and put the Sea-men to the Torture, ſaying, That he had two years before let them know in *England*, that he forbade them Fiſhing, and that they muſt expect this Puniſhment, if they offered to fiſh without asking his Leave. Theſe things being done without Examination of the Cauſe firſt had the Queen took very ill, as Acts of Hoſtility committed without any Regard of her Perſon, her Subjects, or of ancient Leagues betwixt them. She ſeriouſly ſolicited him

him for the *Hull*-men by Letters ſent by *Stephen Leiſier* and *Thomas Ferrar*. She confeſſed that *Whitfield* and *Bernic* had in bare Words pretended that the Fiſhing of *Iſeland* and *Norway* was uſed by the *Engliſh* contrary to the Leagues, but brought no Proof thereof. She ſhewed him that ſeverall Priviledges about Fiſhing had been granted the *Engliſh* by the ancient Kings of *Norway*, before the Uniting of the Crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway*; and that the ſame Priviledges were afterwards confirmed by *John* and *Chriſtiern* Kings of *Denmark*. Whereas it was objected, that by the Treaty with King *John* Licence for Fiſhing was to be demanded from ſeven Years to ſeven Years: ſhe anſwered, that it had been omitted for many Years; and that the Fault of the Omiſſion was not in the *Engliſh*, but in the *Danes*. For till the Expulſion of King *Chriſtiern* in the Year 1521. that Licence from ſeven Years to ſeven Years had been conſtantly asked by the *Engliſh*: and ſince that time neither *Frederick* the King's Great-grandfather, nor *Chriſtian* his Grandfather, nor *Frederick* his Father, had exacted it: which *Frederick* promiſed by his Letters in the Year 1585. that if the *Engliſh* would abſtain from Injuries and Abuſes, they ſhould enjoy the ſame Liberty which before they enjoyed, without any demanding of Licence. That the *Engliſh* therefore were now injurioutly dealt withall, foraſmuch as of late they refuſed not for the future to ask Licence from ſeven Years to ſeven Years, as in old time they did; and that the famouſeſt Lawyers have given their Opinions, that the Sea is free and common by the Law of Nations, and cannot be ingroſſed by any Prince whatſoever. In a word, the Queen deſired that the whole matter might be referred either to Commiſſioners on both Sides; or elſe to the Electour of *Brandenburg* the King's Father-in-law, the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, and *Henry Julius* Duke of *Brunſwick*, the King's Brother-in-law, as Arbitratours. The King refuſed. And when neither *Stephen Leiſier* and *Ferrar*, who were ſent into *Denmark*, nor *Nicholas Crag*, a learned man, ſent thence into *England*, could compound the Matter; it was agreed at length that Commiſſioners on both Sides ſhould be ſent to *Embden*. Thither the Queen ſent *Richard Bancroft* Biſhop of *London*, *Chriſtopher Parkins* and *John Swale* Doctours of Law, to treat with the Daniſh Commiſſioners. But the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of contrary Winds, or I know not what other Hindrance or Miſtake, not coming at the Day prefixed, the *Danes*, pretending that the time of their Commiſſion was expired, made Haſte to be gone Home: but ſome thought it was becauſe their Proviſion of Victuals failed them; (for the *Danes* allow their Embaſſadours a certain quantity of Victuals, and not a daily Penſion in Money, as other Princes do.) Neither would they liſten to the Motion made to them, that they ſhould deſire of their King a lengthning of the time of their Commiſſion. Hereupon the *Engliſh* complained that the *Danes* intended nothing elſe but the Continuance of things in the ſame ſtate they then were, *viz.* that they might every day at their Pleaſure exact new Cuſtoms of the *Engliſh* in the

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1600. Streight called *Oreſund*, confiſcate their Ships and Goods by new Orders and Decrees, and wholly prohibit their Fiſhing in the open Northern Ocean, and their Navigation by that Sea into *Moſcovia*.

The *Eaſt-India* ompany eſtabliſhed.

The Queen nevertheleſs, for the increaſe of Navigation, the Honour of the Kingdome, and the propagation of Trade, about this time ſet up a Company or Society of *Eaſt-India* Merchants with large Priviledges; who forthwith ſent *James Lancaſter* thither with three Ships, the ſame man whom we mentioned in the Year 1594. to have valiantly wone *Fernambuck* in *Braſil*. And they have luckily diſpatched a Fleet thither every Year ſince to their great Profit and Advantage; and to the Honour of the Engliſh Nation have placed Factories in *Surat*, in the Empire of the Great *Mogull*, in *Maſilipatam*, *Bantam*, *Patane*, *Siam*, *Sagad*, *Macaſſer*, and alſo in *Japan*; and have with happy Victories repreſſed the Inſolency and Turkiſh Treachery of their Enemies: whether to the Good of the Commonwealth, ſo great a Maſs of Silver being ſtill exported out of *England*, and ſuch a Multitude of Sea-men conſumed every Year in the Voiage, let Wiſe men ſpeak, and Poſterity judge.

The Pope's Breves againſt the King of *Scots*.

Whilſt the Queen thus ſought to inrich her Subjects, *Clement* the Eighth Biſhop of *Rome*, knowing that ſhe was now far ſtricken in Years, to the end he might provide for the Advantage of the Romiſh Religion in *England*, ſent two Breves (as they call them) into *England*, the one to the Popiſh Clergy, the other to the People; wherein he gave them Warning, *That they ſhould admit no man, how near ſoever he were in Bloud, for King after the Queen's Death, unleſs he were ſuch a one as would not onely tolerate the Roman Catholick Religion, but alſo promote the ſame with his whole Study and Endeavour, and bind himſelf by Oath, as his Anceſtours uſe to doe, to perform the ſame.* But theſe Breves, as they were ſent privately, ſo were they kept very cloſe, and communicated but to few. Yet hence that dreadfull Monſter of the horrid Powder-treaſon had its firſt Riſe. As theſe Breves were ſent from *Rome* to exclude King *James* from his hereditary Right to the Kingdome of *England*, ſo alſo was the Sword prepared at the ſame time in *Scotland* by the *Rethuens*, Brethren, to take away his Life, who, boiling with Revenge for the putting to Death of their Father the Earl *Goury*, by Law, during the King's Nonage, by a Wile enticed the King, to whom they were much obliged, into their Houſe, moſt villainouſly deſigning him to the Slaughter; and had doubtleſs murthered him, had not God, the Protectour of Kings, through the Fortitude and Manhood of the King himſelf ſtruggling with them, and the Help of *John Ramſey* and *Thomas Areskin*, turned that wicked Plot upon the Heads of the Authours. For as they were committing the Fact they were ſlain themſelves, their Acceſſaries were put to Death, and in an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realm their Goods and Lands were confiſcate, their Houſe levelled with the Ground, their Bodies quartered, and ſet upon Poles in divers Towns, and as many as bare the Name of *Rethuen* were com-

The Treaſon of Earl *Goury*'s Sons againſt him.

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commanded to change their Surname, for the damning of their Memory for ever. And let it not be laid upon me as an Imputation, to have mentioned the damning thereof, ſeeing others have at large related the ſame in their Writings.

Complaint of the dearth of Corn.

About this time there was grievous Complaining throughout *England* of the Dearth of Corn, which grew partly through an immoderate rainy Seaſon about the end of the laſt Year, partly through a cold Spring this Year, and partly through the private Avarice of ſome, who, having obtained a Licence, tranſported great Quantities into forrein Countries, and made exceeding great Gain thereby. The Common people, who are moved no leſs with Opinion and Suſpicion then by certain Grounds of Reaſon, taxed the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, both with reproachfull Words and ſcandalous Libels, as if he had given them their Licence. Which he ſlighted not, but applied himſelf to the Queen; who by Proclamation teſtified his Innocency, laying the Fault upon the Huckſters and Foreſtallers, and commanded theſe foul-mouth'd Railers to be apprehended and ſeverely puniſhed. But they (ſuch is the querulous Malice of the Vulgar) complained the more, and, taxing him in ſecret as if he did acknowledge it, railed more bitterly againſt him.

The Earl of *Eſſex* repenteth himſelf.

Six Months had the Earl of *Eſſex* been now detained in Cuſtody at the Lord Keeper's, when out of his own innate Good nature, the Senſe of this heavy Affliction upon him, and the good and faithfull Counſell of his Friends, eſpecially of the Lord *Henry Howard*, he began ſeriouſly to repent him, determined to remove from him ſuch as gave him corrupt and bad Counſell, namely, Sir *Gilly Merick* and *Cuffe*, and made Shew of ſuch Piety, Patience, Modeſty and Humility, that his Friends had great Hopes of him, all men extolled and commended him, his Adverſaries envied him, and the Queen, being pacified with his Submiſſion and humble Letters, ſuffered him to depart to his own private Houſe under the free Cuſtody of Sir *Richard Barkley*; proteſting ſeverall times, that ſhe would doe nothing againſt him for his Ruine, but onely for his Amendment.

He is permitted to goe to his own Houſe.

But whereas the Vulgar ſort every-where openly cried up his Innocency, it ſeemed good to the Queen, for removing all Suſpicion of too much Severity, Injuſtice and Prejudice, from herſelf and her Councill, that his Cauſe ſhould be plainly and openly heard, (not in the *Star-Chamber*, leſt he ſhould be heavily fined, but) in the Lord Keeper's Houſe, before the Queen's Councill, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges; and that ſome cenſorious Animadverſion ſhould be made upon his Actions, yet without any Charge of Perfidiouſneſs. The chief Heads of the Accuſation againſt him were theſe. "That, contrary to what he had in Charge, he had made "the Earl of *Southampton* Generall of the Horſe: That he had con- "ferred the Honour of Knighthood upon ſo many: That he had "drawn his Forces into *Munſter*, and neglected *Tir-Oen* the Arch- "rebell: That he had Conference with him, which neither beſee-

He is brought before Commiſſioners.

The Heads of his Accuſation.

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His Anſwer, He, kneeling at the Table upon one Knee, thanked Almighty God for all his Mercies, and his moſt gracious Princeſs, that ſhe would not have his Cauſe to be heard publickly in the *Star-Chamber*, but commanded that Cup to paſs from him, (for thoſe were his very words,) and him to be cenſured in a private Houſe. He profeſſed therefore that he would not conteſt with her, nor either in whole or in part excuſe the Errours and Failings of his young and inconſiderate Years, and of his own Weakneſs. He proteſted that he had moſt ſincerely and intirely kept his Allegeance, and had not had ſo much as a Thought not to obey the Queen, and that he would for ever be obedient to her. Briefly, that in all things his Meaning was good, howſoever it fell out otherwiſe; and that now he would bid the World Farewell. And withall he ſhed plenty of Tears: the Standers by alſo weeping with him for Joy, out of the great Hope they had of him. Yet could he not contain himſelf, but began to make Excuſes: "That he had made *Southampton* Generall of the Horſe out "of a credulous, though miſtaken, Opinion he had, that the Queen "would admit of the Reaſons which he gave for it: but they being re- "jected, he preſently diſplaced him again. That he had conferred the "Honour of Knighthood upon ſo many, the better to retain the "Gentlemen-voluntiers about him. That he undertook the War "in *Munſter* by the inconſiderate Advice of the Council in *Ireland*: "that *Ormond*, the principal man of them, had rued the ſame by "the Loſs of his Sight, and Sir *Warham Saint-Leger* by a violent "and bloudy Death. As he was going on, the Lord Keeper inter- rupted him, and put him in mind to proceed as he had at firſt be- gun; to fly to the Queen's Mercy, who would not have him char- ged with Perfidiouſneſs, but with Contempt and Diſobedience; and not to pretend Obedience in Words, when he had ſhewn ſo lit- tle in his Actions. For by extenuating his Offenſes, he might ſeem

and Juſtifi- cation of himſelf.

He is inter- rupted by the Lord Keeper.

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to extenuate the Queen's Clemency. That it was abſurd to colour over open and flat Diſobedience with a pretended Will to obey. What every one elſe ſaid it is needleſs to repeat, ſeeing they were in a manner the ſame things which were either before ſpoken, or after happened to be ſpoken, in the *Star-Chamber*. In concluſion the Lord Keeper pronounced this Sentence, That he ſhould be removed from his Place of a Counſellour, ſuſpended from his Offices of Earl-Marſhall and Maſter of the Ordnance, and detained in Cuſtody during the Queen's Pleaſure. This Cenſure the reſt approved by their Voices: and many were in good Hope that he would ere long be received again into Favour, foraſmuch as the Queen had expreſly commanded that he ſhould not be ſuſpended from his Maſterſhip of the Horſe, (as if ſhe would uſe his Service again,) and that this Cenſure ſhould by no means remain upon Record.

His Sentence

Some are in hopes of his coming again into Favour.

Some, who had obſerved the Nature and Diſpoſition of the Queen, of the Earl, and of his Adverſaries, together with the Sequele of Events in like Caſes, conceived yet greater Hopes upon theſe probable Arguments. "That the Queen, being a Princeſs "naturally mild, merciful, and eaſily appeaſed, in her Wiſedom knew "that Mercy is the Eſtabliſhment of a Throne. That ſhe could "and would have Commiſeration, and withall ſhew herſelf wiſe. "That ſhe would not by exaſperating ſo Great a man drive him in"to Deſperation. That ſhe would by no means have him periſh, "becauſe he might be of great Uſe to the Commonwealth. That "ſhe had hitherto ſquared all her Actions by the Rule of Juſtice. "That ſhe had ſaid, ſhe intended the Earl's Amendment, not his "Ruine. That this Word of a Prince was to be accounted as an "Oracle. (And as nothing is done by God which may imply a "Contradiction, ſo neither by Princes.) Moreover, that ſhe ha"ted no leſs then did *Mithridates* ſuch as maliciouſly perſecuted "Vertue when it was once forſaken of Fortune. That whom ſhe "once had vouchſafed to favour, to them ſhe always conſtantly "continued her Favour. That many who had offended notoriouſly "never quite loſt her Favour: as namely, that the Earl of *Suſſex* "had been accuſed concerning Iriſh Treaſons; the Duke of *Nor*"*folk* accuſed by *Crofts* and *Sadleir* for not following his Inſtructi"ons in the Siege of *Leith*; *Bacon* Lord Keeper, about a Book "written by *Hales* touching the Succeſſion to the Crown; *Henry* "Earl of *Arundell*, *Henry* Father to *Southampton*, and *Lumley*, about "ſecret Intelligence with the Queen of *Scots*; *Crofts*, for a private "Conference with the Prince of *Parma*; *Walſingham*, about the "intercepting of the King of *Scots* by *Gowry* without her Know"ledge, or the Knowledge of the reſt of the Council; and the "Earl of *Leiceſter*, for Low-Country matters: and yet neverthe"leſs every one of theſe perfectly recovered their former Favour "with her. As for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, who

From the nature and diſpoſition of the Queen.

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"who had conſpired with Forreiners to the Deſtruction of their "Prince and Country, and had ſet up the Banners of Rebellion, "they were juſtly put to Death: and ſo alſo was the Duke of *Nor-* "*folk*, who, contrary to his Faith and Promiſe, had offended twice "in one and the ſame kind, by ſeeking to marry the Queen of *Scots*, "concealing the Deſigns which ſhe drove on with Forreiners, and "relieving thoſe *Scots* which were proclaimed Enemies to *England:* "as was alſo the Queen of *Scots* herſelf, though ſhe ſeemed ſecured "by her Prerogative of being an anointed Queen, when ſhe once "took ſiniſter and violent Courſes to procure her Liberty, ſo far "that the Safety of the Queen and Realm was indangered thereby, "and no other Expedient or Remedy could be deviſed by the "Eſtates of the Realm. But againſt the Earl of *Eſſex* there was "nothing of this Nature objected, whoſe Slips and Failings through "Errour had been by the Sentence of all the Council, and of the "Queen herſelf, abſolved from all Note of Perfidiouſneſs. That "the Queen (to keep him from Deſpair, and put him ſtill in Hope,) "had advanced none of his Adverſaries while ſhe thus mortified "him, though they had importunately ſued for higher Dignities "and Promotions.

From the Earl's Nobility and Ingenuity.

"That the Earl, for the Nobility of his Deſcent (for he was re-"lated to the Bloud Royal, though afar off,) and the great Hopes "of his Vertue, was in his young days choſen out by the Queen "from amongſt many others, and highly beloved and affected by "her. That he had endured her Diſpleaſure even to the recei-"ving of a Box on the Ear. That he had deſerved exceeding well "of his Country both at Home and abroad. That there was not "any other of the Engliſh Nation ſo well accompliſhed with the "Abilities and Knowledge of a Generall, to mannage a War, "and repell all hoſtile Attempts of an Enemy, nor more beloved "and reſpected by the People; and therefore he was the fitteſt "Perſon to appeaſe any Commotions if they ſhould ariſe, and ſet-"tle the Commonwealth, and, without Controverſie, the worthieſt "man to enjoy the clear Beams of the Queen's moſt gracious Aſ-"pect and happy Influence. That Severity uſed towards one who "had deſerved ſo well did concern all. That nothing could give "more Heart and Courage to the Enemy, then for thoſe men to be "hardly dealt withall who were more eminent then others, and ac-"counted Innocent. That he had not any deadlier Enemies then (as "was ſaid in old time of *Germanicus*) his own Ornaments and Ver-"tues. And that thoſe who were his Adverſaries had nothing to "complain of him more then of his being Great. With whom not-"withſtanding they need not deſpair to return into Favour, ſeeing "he (as *Pompey* of old) was neither tart to his Enemies, nor hard "to be reconciled to ſuch as yielded and ſubmitted.

From the diſpoſition and condition of his Adverſaries.

"That his Adverſaries were not all of one Mind and Opinion, "but were divided into different Affections concerning him; inſo-

"much

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"much that when of late he was to be called to his Anſwer in the "*Star-Chamber*, ſome of them were of Opinion that he was not to "be rigorouſly uſed. That the Secretary would not eaſily give "way to any circumventing and unfair Dealings with him. That "his Ill-willers durſt not doe ſo much as they deſired. Beſides, "they were ſo wiſe as to conſider that Affairs in Court do not long "move and turn upon one and the ſame Axle-tree, but that there "are Periods of Hatred, Love, Suſpicion, Severity, and Clemency, "though to us unknown. That no man knoweth whether to "morrow he may be thought worthy of Love or Hatred. "That the Intentions of Princes are cloſe and ſecret. That, to "redeem their own Credit, they are wont oftentimes to ſacrifice "their chief Miniſters to the Fury of the Multitude: inſtancing in "*Empſon*, *Dudley*, Cardinall *Wolſey*, *Cromwell*, &c. Such as men "find a Prince to be toward others, ſuch may they judge he will "be toward themſelves when Occaſion ſhall be offered. His Ad-"verſaries therefore ought to beware that they engage themſelves "no deeper in this Buſineſs, nor proſecute it any farther, leſt they "hurt themſelves moſt at laſt, whilſt they adde (which is an inhu-"mane part) Affliction to the afflicted; and that they inſtigate not "the Queen againſt ſo Great a Perſon, and put her in Fear of him "without any Ground: otherwiſe, though men ſtand onely won-"dring at it, God will be the Avenger, who, being a juſt God, will "doubtleſs protect thoſe that are unjuſtly afflicted.

Upon theſe and the like Arguments many indifferent men grounded their Hopes that the Earl of *Eſſex* would recover the Queen's Favour again. The ſame men alſo deliberated with themſelves how the Earl might beſt frame his Life in the Interim, during this doubtfull Uncertainty of things: whether it were beſt for him to procure himſelf a * free Embaſſage, and ſo depart out of the Way into forrein Parts, untill Fair weather ſhould diſpell theſe Clouds and Storms; or to give up himſelf to a private and contemplative Life, that his Soul might ſeem to aſcend by the ſame Degrees by which his Fortune had deſcended; or to enter into a mixt Courſe of Life, prepared for either good or bad Fortune. So might thoſe Sparks of Vertue, which many thought to be quenched, appear onely to be raked up and covered for a time.

They deliberate how the Earl may beſt lead his life at preſent.

* *A kind of voluntary Exile, under the colour of an Embaſſage.*

In the mean time he himſelf made a Shew of extraordinary Humility of Mind, proteſting, both in his Diſcourſe and Letters, that he had renounced the Vanities of the World, quenched the burning Heat of his Ambition with Tears flowing from his Heart, and now deſired nothing more, then that the Queen (to uſe his own words) *would let her Servant depart in Peace.* Theſe things the Queen was very glad to hear, and within a while after removed *Barkley* his Keeper from him, commanding that he ſhould be at his own free Liberty, and, if he would, that he might betake himſelf into the Country. But ſhe admoniſhed him, for the future to make himſelf and

His pretended humility

He is ſet at liberty from all Reſtraint.

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and his own Diſcretion his Keeper; and that he ſhould by no means come to the Court, or near her Perſon.

Cuffe taxeth *Eſſex* of Faint heartedneſs.

After this Sentence paſt, *Cuffe* (who had always perſwaded the Earl that he ſhould by no means confeſs himſelf Guilty, but reſolutely defend his Cauſe, and not ſuffer his Honour to be ſtained,) did ſo ſharply tax him as low-ſpirited and faint-hearted, and thoſe who had perſwaded him to the contrary as men of ſlender and weak Judgment, that the Earl was diſpleaſed with him, and commanded his Name to be ſtricken out of the Liſt of his Servants: which notwithſtanding *Merick* his Steward (who was ſecretly of the ſame Opinion with *Cuffe*) did not doe, for Fear leſt out of Stomack and Revenge he ſhould joyn with his Adverſaries againſt him.

Eſſex his meſſage to the Queen.

The Earl was now at his own Liberty, and ready to goe into the Country, when he let the Queen know by the Lord *Henry Howard* what followeth. *That he kiſſed her Royal Hand and that Rod which had corrected him, not ruined him; but he could never be poſſeſſed of his wonted Joy till he beheld again thoſe benign Looks of hers which had been his Star to direct and guide him, and by the Conduct whereof he ſailed moſt proſperouſly whilſt he held his Courſe in a due Latitude. That he was now determined to repent him of his Fault, and to ſay with* Nebuchadnezzar, Let my Dwelling be with the Beaſts of the Field, to eat Graſs as an Oxe, and to be wet with the Dew of Heaven, *till it ſhall pleaſe the Queen to reſtore my Underſtanding unto me.*

Her Anſwer.

The Queen rejoyced at theſe Expreſſions, and ſaid, *Would God his Deeds would be anſwerable to his Words. He hath a long time tried my Patience, and I muſt have ſome time to make Proof of his Humility. My Father would never have endured ſuch Perverſeneſs. But I will not look behind me, leſt, with* Lot's *Wife, I be turned into a Pillar of Salt. All is not Gold that gliſtereth. If this could be brought to paſs by the Furnace, I ſhould be more favourable to the Profeſſion of Alchimy.*

Cuffe's ill Suggeſtions to *Eſſex*.

Now when *Cuffe* had Acceſs again to the Earl, he ſung the ſame Song in his Ears more boldly then before. "That he had betrayed "his Cauſe by Confeſſing: That he had thereby ſuſtained ſuch "a Loſs of his Reputation as could not be valued, and was to be "repaired though it were with the Loſs of his Life: That the Lord "*Henry Howard* and others had wound themſelves into Credit with "him in ſmall matters, that they might deceive him in greater, and "had expoſed him as a Prey to his Enemies: That he was quite "excluded from all Hope of his former Liberty, unleſs he would "ſeek it by ſome deſperate Attempt. He ſhould therefore re-"ſolve upon ſomewhat worthy of himſelf, for the perfect Recove-"ry of his loſt Reputation and Liberty, for the delivering of his "Friends from Slavery, and the Kingdom from the corrupt Mana-"gery of certain perſons.

He neglecteth them.

To theſe Suggeſtions *Eſſex* ſtopped his Ears, having a confident Hope that he ſhould recover his Favour with the Queen, and get a new Grant for his again Farming of the *Sweet Wines*, (for ſo they call all but French and Rheniſh Wines,) which

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which brought in ſo great Profit to him, his Term therein being now almoſt expired. She gave him Hopes of her Favour both by Word and Letters: But touching the Farm, ſhe return'd him theſe brief and girding Anſwers; *That ſhe muſt firſt underſtand what Value it was of: That Benefits are not to be beſtowed blindfold.* She ſuffered others to carry away the Profit thereof, ſaying, *That an unruly Horſe muſt be abated of his Provender, that he may be the eaſilier and better managed.* That Aphoriſm of the Phyſicians ſhe commended, *Corrupt Bodies, the more you feed them, the more Hurt you doe them.*

The Queen anſwereth not his hopes

Nipping Expreſſions of hers.

With theſe Anſwers the Earl of *Eſſex* being vexed at the very Heart, was all on fire with Indignation, and ſubjecting his Judgement to his Paſſion, hearkened now to *Cuffe* and other Kindle-coals and Make-bates, who ſuggeſted to him, that now at length it plainly appeared, that the Queen, the Council and his Adverſaries were reſolved to thruſt him down into that Extremity of Poverty, that he ſhould be forced to live upon the Alms-basket, and gather up Crums under the Table; and being once become a poor man, and neglected by the Queen, he would ſoon be neglected and ſlighted by all men, forſaken by his Friends, and ſcorned, inſulted and triumphed over by his Enemies. Hereupon the Earl of *Southampton* is called Home out of the *Low-Countries*; certain Divines at *Oxford* are conſulted about I know not what matters; and the Earl returneth to *London*. Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, being much perplexed that he had by his Counſell caſt the Earl into theſe Difficulties, (for he had perſwaded him (as I have before ſaid) to return into *England* with but a ſmall Company,) and hearing that the Lord *Henry Howard*, who laboured to reconcile him again to his Adverſaries, had loſt his Labour, adviſed him (as he himſelf afterward confeſſed) to force his Acceſs to the Queen's Preſence: and withall gave him ſome Inkling, that ſeverall Gentlemen would aſſiſt and ſecure him both in his Acceſs and Return. But the Earl anſwered, that he was held back from any ſuch thing by Scruple of Conſcience, and that ſome Divines were to be conſulted about the matter. Yet afterward he ſignified to *Blunt* by *Cuffe*, that he would ſhortly reſolve upon ſome Courſe or other, and acquaint him therewith.

Wherewith he is exaſperated. And hearkeneth to ill Counſell.

Adviſed to force his Acceſs to the Queen.

Now are his Doors ſet open to all Comers; *Merick*, his Steward, entertaineth at his Table all Sword-men, bold confident Fellows, men of broken Fortunes, diſcontented perſons, and ſuch as ſaucily uſed their Tongues in Railing againſt all men; Sermons are preached there every day by zealous Miniſters, to which the Citizens flock in great numbers; the Lady *Rich*, the Earl's Siſter, (who for violating her Husband's Bed was in great Diſfavour with the Queen,) viſiteth him daily. And theſe things if any man ſhewed a Miſlike of, he was preſently cenſured as an Envier of the Earl's Honour and Liberty.

Sedition brewing.

1600.

The death of the Lord *North.*

In the laſt Moneth of this Year paſſed quietly into his heavenly Country *Roger* Lord *North*, Treaſurer of the Queen's Houſhold, the Son of *Edward* Lord *North*; a man of a quick and lively Spirit, fitted both for Action and Counſel, of whom I have ſpoken before in the Years 1567. and 1574. His Succeſſour in his Eſtate was *Dudley North*, his Grandſon, whom his Son had by *Dorothy* the Daughter and Heireſs of *Valentine Dale*, a very learned Civil-Lawyer: and in his Place of Treaſurer, Sir *William Knolles*; in whoſe Room of Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold ſucceeded Sir *Edward Wotton*, a man remarkable for his Employment in many and great Affairs of the State.

The Four and fortieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1601.

Embaſſies from *Morocco* and *Ruſſia.*

IN the Beginning of the Year the Queen gave Audience to ſeverall Honourable Embaſſadours. For from the South *Hamet*, King of *Morocco*, and from the North *Boris Pheodorick*, Emperour of *Ruſſia*, ſought her Friendſhip with great Earneſtneſs. She alſo honourably entertained *Wolfgang William*, Son of *Philip Lodowick* Count *Palatine*, Duke of *Zweibruck* and *Neuburg*; *Virginius Urſinus*, Duke of *Bracciano* in *Tuſcany*, and the *Rohans*, Brethren, as they returned from Viſiting the King of *Scots* their Kinſman, (for they derive their Pedigree from *James* the Firſt King of *Scots.*) All which noble Perſonages made their Viſits to her out of the Honour and Eſteem they bare her.

And Viſitations of Princes.

The Earl of *Eſſex* in the mean while kept at Home, and gave himſelf wholly to the Service of God, the Entertainment of his Friends, and hearing of Sermons: yet now and then he let fall ſome words which ſhewed his diſdainfull Stomacking the Power his Adverſaries had with the Queen; in which thoſe that loved him beſt judged there was more Paſſion then Diſcretion. And when they, out of their Love to him, adviſed him ſeriouſly by their Letters, as the Lord Keeper had done before, *That he ſhould not neglect himſelf, his Friends, and his Countrey; that the Care of the Commonwealth ſhould reconcile and unite thoſe whom different Affections had ſet at Diſtance; that he ſhould not goe about to heal his private Wounds with Miſchief to the Commonwealth; that he ſhould yield to the Time; that he ſhould humbly ſue for the Queen's Favour, who had been ſo infinitely bountifull to him, and not give his Adverſaries cauſe to triumph over him:* he utterly diſliked their Counſell, and anſwered them as before he had done the Lord Keeper. *There where I expected to reap an Harveſt, a Tempeſt is fallen upon me. If I be wanting to myſelf, my Friends, and my Countrey, it is long of others, not of me. The*

Eſſex letteth fall unadviſed Speeches

Good Counſell given him.

Vide 1598. His ſtrange Anſwers.

Queen

1601.

Queen hath thruſt me down to a private Life. I cannot ſerve with baſe Obſequiouſneſs. I am not conſcious to myſelf of having done amiſs: I have been unjuſtly committed to Cuſtody. Princes have not an infinite Power; they may erre as well as others. I have received Wounds from my Adverſaries all my Body over. Their Violence in oppreſſing me ſhall not be greater then my Conſtancy in bearing what they can doe againſt me. Let them triumph, I will never follow their triumphall Chariot. Theſe things coming to the Queen's Knowledge alienated her Affection from him more and more: but the Affront he did her in undervaluing her perſonall Shape inflamed her moſt of all. For he had given out, (to mention nothing elſe,) that being now an Old woman, ſhe was no leſs crooked and diſtorted in Minde then ſhe was in Body. This Flame ſome Ladies of the Court, whom he had deluded formerly in Love-matters, kept alive, yea, increaſed, by their repeated Complaints; inſomuch as ſhe did as good as flatly deny him the Farm of Wines. Hereby new Coals were added to his Diſcontent, which were much blown up both by an Aſſault which the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* made with his drawn Sword upon the Earl of *Southampton*, his intimate Friend, as he rode along the Street, (for which notwithſtanding he was impriſoned by the Queen's Command,) and alſo by the ſiniſter Suggeſtions of his Adverſaries, who ceaſed not continually to ſting and nettle his already diſtracted Mind.

The Queen incenſed.

Eſſex more and more enraged.

Hereupon, hearkening to evill Counſellours, he began ſecretly to hammer anew thoſe clandeſtine Deſigns he was formerly upon in *Ireland*, for the Removing of his Enemies forcibly from the Court. Freſh Projects every day offered themſelves to him, and there wanted not ſuch as would put them in Execution. He left no means unuſed to win the Hearts and Affections of all men more unto him, which he perceived to incline towards him out of an Opinion they had of his Vertue. The Favour of the King of *Scots*, whom before he was thought to have wronged and diſpleaſed, he laboured to procure again by Letters full of Obſervance and Reſpect towards him, and Accuſations of his Adverſaries.

His cloſe and dangerous Deſigns.

He tampereth with the King of *Scots*

The Power of his Adverſaries he ſetteth forth particularly: to wit, that in the Weſtern parts of *England*, &c. *Raleigh* was Governour of the Iſle of *Jerſey*; in the Eaſtern parts the Lord *Cobham* was Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports; the Lord *Burghley* was Preſident of the North; and Sir *George Carew* Preſident of *Munſter*, the Southern part of *Ireland*. That theſe were the moſt convenient Places for letting in the *Spaniards*: That theſe men were well-affected to the *Spaniard*, and were all at Secretary *Cecyl's* Devotion, who now (with *Buckhurſt* Lord Treaſurer, in whoſe Hands were the Sinews of War, and the Lord Admiral, who had the Command of the Queen's Navy, both of them at his Service) had in a manner the ſole managing of the whole State. He dealt therefore with the King of *Scots*, to ſend Embaſſadours into *England*, to urge a Declaration

Out of *Caſſe's* Confeſſion.

1601.

claration of his Title about the Succeſſion. For theſe Embaſſadours he prepareth Inſtructions, wherein by divers Proofs he maketh appear the boundleſs Power of his Adverſaries, their Malice againſt the King, and their Good will to the *Infanta*. I will not ſay he did this with a Purpoſe, that if ſuch a Declaration were not made, he would from thence take Occaſion to remove his Adverſaries as Oppoſers of the undoubted Heir of the Crown. And whereas Religion is the greateſt Winner of mens Affections, he endeavoured to allure unto him the Puritans and their Miniſters, whom the Queen did not at all like of; and withall the Papiſts, by ſeeming to pitty their afflicted Condition. He procured Souldiers and bold daring Fellows from round about, under ſeverall Colours and Pretences, and ſecretly diſpoſed of them near his Houſe. In the mean time he made but few of his intimate Counſel, (following therein the Advice of *Cuffe*, who had given him an Item, that many were to be got together, but his Deſigns to be communicated but to few:) namely, the Earl of *Southampton*, of whoſe Fidelity he was well aſſured; Sir *Charles Danvers*, a man devoted to *Southampton*, as having been beholden to him for his Life; Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governour of the Garriſon of *Plymouth*; Sir *John Davis*, Surveyour of the Ordnance under him, a man ſingularly well skilled in the Mathematicks; and *John Littleton* of *Frankel*, a man accompliſhed both for Arms and Counſell, but caſt off by his Father, whom he had diſhonoured, and offered him Indignities not beſeeming a Son.

With Puritans and Papiſts.

His Counſellours.

All theſe meeting ſecretly in *Drury*-Houſe for avoiding of Suſpicion, the Earl of *Eſſex* firſt produced a Catalogue of thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen which he perſwaded himſelf to be much addicted unto him, wherein were reckoned about 120 Earls, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen of good Houſes. Then he willed them to conſult among themſelves, and make Report to him, whether it were better to ſeize firſt upon the Court, or upon the Tower of *London*, or both at once; and what ſhould be done concerning the City of *London*. They all thought it beſt to ſeize upon the Court, and that in this manner: Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* with a ſelect number ſhould ſeize upon the Court-gate, *Davis* the Hall, *Danvers* the great Chamber (where the Guard kept but a careleſs Watch) and the Preſence-Chamber; and withall *Eſſex* himſelf, from the Stable called the *Mues*, near the Court, ſhould with certain choiſe men (his Way being thus made) come ruſhing in, and fall upon his Knees before the Queen, and pray her to remove his Adverſaries from about her: whom he had determined (as ſome confeſſed afterward) to bring to their Triall, and, having called a Parliament, to alter the Form of the Commonwealth.

He adviſeth with them about his Deſign.

Their Anſwer.

The Court to be ſurprized.

Whilſt the Scotiſh Embaſſadours and a fit Opportunity for putting theſe things in Execution are expected, the Suſpicions of him grow ſtronger and ſtronger, both by reaſon of a more frequent Reſort

He begins to be more ſuſpected.

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ſort then uſual of the Multitude to *Eſſex*-Houſe, under Pretence of hearing Sermons; as alſo of ſome Words which had dropt from the Preachers Mouths, as if the Superiour Magiſtrates of the Realm had Power to reſtrain Kings themſelves. Hereupon, or upon ſome light Diſcovery of one or other, *Robert Sackvill*, the Lord Treaſurer's Son, gave the Earl a Viſit on the ſeventh of *February*, under Shew of an officious Salutation, but in deed to ſpy who were there with him. The Earl of *Eſſex* was ſhortly after ſent for by Sir *John Herbert*, one of the Secretaries, to come to the Lord Treaſurer's Houſe, where the Council was met, that he might be admoniſhed to uſe the Liberty which was granted him ſoberly: and at the ſame time there was a Note delivered privately into his Hands, whereby he was warned to look to himſelf. Whereupon, ſuſpecting that ſomewhat was come to Light, and fearing leſt he ſhould be committed again to Cuſtody, he excuſed his appearing before the Council by his Indiſpoſition of Body; being reſolved to preſerve his Liberty, though it were with his Bloud. Now did this Deſign fail, which had been full four Moneths laid, and for Fear they make haſte to a new one. He, unreſolv'd in Mind what to doe, called to him his moſt intimate Friends, and when he had given them to underſtand that ſome of them would preſently be carried to Priſon, he adviſed with them, whether it were better forthwith to ſeize on the Court; or to try firſt the Affections of the *Londoners*, and with their Aſſiſtence to ſet upon the Court by Force; or to ſave themſelves by Flight. To ſeize upon the Court they were unprovided of a ſufficient Strength of Men and other Neceſſaries: and ſome told them that the Guards there were ſtrengthened. And to ſet upon the Court by Force ſeemed an inexcuſable Crime of Diſloyalty towards the Queen. Whilſt they were arguing concerning the Affection and Love of the *Londoners*, and the uncertain Diſpoſition of the Vulgar, behold, one came in of ſet Purpoſe, who, as if he had been ſent from the Citizens, made large Promiſes of Aſſiſtence from them againſt all his Adverſaries. Herewith the Earl being ſomewhat animated, he began to diſcourſe how much he was favoured throughout the City; and perſwaded himſelf, by the former Acclamations of the People, and their Mutterings and Murmurings againſt his Adverſaries, that many of them were devoted to him, to maintain his Credit and Fortune. He believed alſo, upon other mens Reports, that Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sheriff of the City, who had the Command of a thouſand of the trained Bands, would be aſſiſtent to him upon all Occaſions. He reſolved therefore, foraſmuch as Delay was now no leſs dangerous then plain Raſhneſs, to enter the next day, which was Sunday, into the City with 200 Gentlemen, a little before the end of the Sermon at S. *Paul's*, there to inform the Aldermen and People of the Reaſons of his coming, and to crave their Aid againſt his Enemies. And if the Citizens ſhewed themſelves hard to be wone, he determined to withdraw preſently

Sent for to the Council.

Refuſeth to appear.

New Conſultations with his Friends what to doe.

His hopes of the City,

and Sheriff.

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He ſcattereth falſe Rumours.

A great multitude aſſemble at his Houſe.

His Stories to them.

preſently to ſome other part of the Kingdome: but if they ſhewed themſelves pliable, then to make himſelf a Way to the Queen by their Aſſiſtence. All that Night ſome were ſent out of *Eſſex*-Houſe and employed to all parts to give his Friends Notice that the Lord *Cobham* and *Raleigh* lay in wait for his Life. Hereupon reſorted to him betimes in the Morning upon Sunday the 8. of *February* the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Sandes*, *Parker* Lord *Monteagle*, and about 300 Gentlemen of good Quality. All theſe he courteouſly received and embraced. Some he told that a Plot was laid for his Life: that he was therefore reſolved to goe to the Queen, and inform her of the Danger he was in, foraſmuch as his over-potent Adverſaries abuſed the Queen's Name to his Prejudice. Others he told, that the City of *London* ſtood for him; that he would therefore betake himſelf thither, and with the Help of the Citizens revenge the Injuries he had received from his Adverſaries. All this while was his Houſe kept cloſe ſhut, and no man let in, unleſs he were well known, nor any man ſuffered to goe forth. But whereas Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* was permitted to goe to *Raleigh*, who had ſent for him, and ſtayed his coming in a Boat, *Blunt* perſwaded him to ſeize upon *Raleigh*. Some there are who ſay that *Gorges* at this time made a Diſcovery of the whole Buſineſs to *Raleigh*. Certain it is that *Raleigh* gave *Gorges* warning to look to himſelf that he were not impriſoned for being abſent from his Government without Leave: and that he in like manner warned *Raleigh* to look to himſelf, for ſeverall Gentlemen had conſpired againſt him and others that abuſed the Queen's Authority.

A paſſage betwixt *Raleigh* and *Gorges*.

Some of the Council ſent to the Earl to know his Grievances.

His complaints to the Lord Keeper.

At this very time the Queen gave Order to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to take Care that the Citizens were ready every man in his Houſe to execute ſuch Commands as ſhould be injoyned them. To the Earl ſhe ſent the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Knolles* Comptroller of her Houſhold, the Earl's Uncle, and *Popham* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, to underſtand the Cauſe of this Aſſembly. Theſe Counſellours were with much adoe let in through the Wicket, their Servants being all Shut out but the Purſe-bearer with the Seal. In the Court-yard was a confuſed Multitude of men, and in the midſt of them *Eſſex*, with *Rutland*, *Southampton*, and many others, who preſently flocked about them. The Lord Keeper turned himſelf to *Eſſex*, and gave him to underſtand, that he and the reſt were ſent from the Queen to know the Cauſe of ſo great a Concourſe of People; and if any Injury were done unto them by any man, he promiſed them equitable Juſtice. *Eſſex* anſwered him with a loud Voice: *There is a Plot laid againſt my Life; ſome are ſet on to ſtab me in my Bed; we are perfidiouſly dealt withall; Letters are counterfeited under my Name and Hand. We are met here together to defend ourſelves and ſave our Lives, ſeeing neither my Patience nor Miſery can aſſwage the Malice of my Adverſaries, unleſs they may alſo ſuck my Bloud.* *Popham* ſpake to him to the ſame effect that the Lord Keeper did, promiſing that if he would tell him plainly what had been attempted againſt

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againſt him, he would report it faithfully to the Queen, and he ſhould be juſtly and duly heard. *Southampton* mentioned, that the Lord *Grey* had drawn his Sword upon him. But he (ſaid *Popham*) was impriſoned for it. When the Lord Keeper preſſed him again to diſcover his Grievances to them, if not openly, yet at leaſt privately; the Multitude interrupting him cried out, *Let us goe, they abuſe your Patience, they betray you and undoe you, the Time paſſeth away.* To whom the Lord Keeper turned about, and commanded them upon their Allegeance to lay down their Arms.

The ſeditious ſpeeches of his Companions.

In the mean time *Eſſex* retired into his Houſe; the Lord Keeper with the reſt followed him, with intent to have ſome Diſcourſe with him in private. Meanwhile they hear ſome of the Multitude throw out theſe ſeditious Words, *Kill them; Throw away that Great Seal; Shut them up in Cuſtody.* When they were come into the inner Rooms of the Houſe, *Eſſex* commanded to bolt the Doors and ſhut them in; and then ſaid unto them, *Have Patience a while, I muſt preſently goe into the City, to adviſe with my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs: I will return again by and by.*

The Counſellours confined.

Thus were theſe four Counſellours there ſhut up, and left in the Cuſtody of Sir *John Davis*, *Francis Treſham*, and *Owen Salisbury*, an old Souldier, and a confident bold man, with a Guard of ſome Muſkettiers. *Eſſex* through this unexpected coming of theſe Counſellours forgot both Horſes and his main Deſign, and went haſtily out of the Houſe (the Defenſe whereof he committed to Sir *Gilly Merick*) with a Party of 200 men or thereabouts, all of them luſty young men and of ſtout Courage, but no-ways provided of Arms like Souldiers, moſt of them having their Cloaks wrapped about their Arms, and onely Swords by their Sides. The Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Noblemen, joyned themſelves with them as they went along. Being entred into *London* he preſently cried out, *For the Queen, For the Queen; A Plot is laid for my Life:* And ſo he went forward in much Haſte through the chief Street of the City directly to Sheriff *Smith*'s Houſe near *Fan-church*. The Citizens running together without any Weapons to gaze, he beſought them to arm themſelves, elſe they would be of no Uſe to him. Nevertheleſs in all the City, though then well trained to their Arms, populous and numerous, and much devoted to him, not ſo much as one man of the meaneſt Quality took Arms for him. For the Citizens, though, according to the Temper and Diſpoſition of the Vulgar, they were deſirous of Change and Innovation, yet by reaſon of their Wealth they were fearfull withall, and unſhaken in their untainted Fidelity to their Prince. (And indeed Poverty of all other things is that which ſooneſt plungeth the *Engliſh* into Rebellion.) Having paſſed nigh the whole Length of the City, to the Sheriff's Houſe he came, much perplexed in Mind, and in ſuch a Sweat, that he was fain to ſhift his Shirt.

Eſſex entreth *London*.

He endeavoureth to debauch the Citizens,

But in vain.

The Sheriff, in whom he had put an aſſured Confidence, upon the uncertain

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He and his Party proclaimed Traitours.

uncertain Reports of others, preſently withdrew himſelf by a back Door to the Lord Mayor. In the mean time *Thomas* Lord *Burghley* and *Dethick* Garter King at Arms, entring the City, proclaimed *Eſſex* and his Complices Traitours, though ſome oppoſed them, and offered Violence. In like manner did the Earl of *Cumberland* and Sir *Thomas Gerard* Knight Marſhall in other Parts of the City. Which as ſoon as *Eſſex* underſtood, he haſted out of the Sheriff's Houſe with a melancholick and down-caſt Countenance, crying that *England* was appointed to be aſſigned over to the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and calling upon the Citizens to arm, but all in vain. When he ſaw that not a man took Arms, and that his own Company ſlunk away from him privately by degrees, and withall heard that the Lord Admirall was coming with a ſtrong Party of men, he began now to caſt away all Hope. He purpoſed therefore in his Mind to return Home, in Hopes to obtain Favour with the Queen by the means of the Lord Keeper and the reſt of the Councill whom he had ſhut up Priſoners in his Houſe. But when Sir *John Leviſon*, who commanded a Company of men at *Ludgate*, had denied *Gorges* Leave for the Earl to paſs, *Gorges*, being provident for his own Intereſt, perſwaded the Earl that he might be ſent to releaſe the Counſellours, and might with them intercede and make Supplication to the Queen in his behalf for a Pardon, while there was Room for and Hope of Pardon, no Bloud having been yet ſpilt, the Queen remaining doubtfull of the Succeſs, and the Citizens Minds ſtill uncertain. The Earl conſented that *Popham* the Lord Chief Juſtice, but none elſe, ſhould be releaſed: who when he would not be ſet at Liberty unleſs the Lord Keeper might as well as he, *Gorges* ſet them all at Liberty, and went with them by Water to the Court.

The Fidelity of the City.

He is minded to return home.

The Counſellors releaſed.

In the mean while *Eſſex*, thinking to return Home, found a Chain drawn croſs the Street near the Weſt Gate of *Saint Paul's* Church, and both Pikes and Muskettiers placed againſt him, by the Care of the Biſhop of *London*, under the Command of Sir *John Leviſon*. Now did the Earl firſt draw his Sword, and commanded *Blunt* to ſet upon them: which he reſolutely performed, falling fiercely upon *Waite*, (one that had been formerly ſent into *Holland* by *Leiceſter*, who was jealous of *Blunt*, to kill him.) Him he ſlew, and was himſelf ſore wounded, and taken Priſoner. There fell alſo *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman, whom *Eſſex* loved dearly, and one or two Citizens. Being repulſed from hence, his Hat ſhot through, and many ſlipping away from him, he turned aſide with ſome few, which would not leave him, to *Queen-hyth*, and there getting Boats, returned Home to his Houſe.

A Conflict near *Saint Paul's*.

He returneth Home by water.

He was very much offended that the Councill were let looſe: ſeverall Papers he caſt into the Fire, leſt (as he ſaid) they ſhould tell Tales; and prepared himſelf for Defenſe: and being now reduced to his laſt Hope, of expecting Aid from the *Londoners*, he fortified his Houſe on all ſides. The Lord Admirall preſently beſieged the

He fortifieth his Houſe.

He is beſieged.

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the Houſe to Land-ward: he aſſigned the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Burghley*, the Lord *Compton*, and others, with Forces of Horſe and Foot, every man his Poaſt. He himſelf, with the Lord *Effingham* his Son, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Stanhop*, Sir *Robert Sidney*, Sir *Fulk Grevill*, ſeized upon the Garden by the *Thames* ſide. Being now ready to aſſault the Houſe, he ſummoned him by *Sidney* to yield. *Southampton* asked him to whom they ſhould yield. To their Adverſaries? that were to run themſelves headlong to Ruine: or to the Queen? that were to confeſs themſelves guilty. But yet (ſaid he) if the Lord Admirall will give us Hoſtages for our Security, we will appear before the Queen. If not, we are every one of us fully reſolved to loſe our Lives fighting. The Lord Admirall returning word by *Sidney*, that neither were Conditions to be propounded by Rebels, nor Hoſtages to be delivered to them, ſignified to *Eſſex*, that, for ſparing the weaker Sex, he would permit the Counteſs his Wife, the Lady *Rich* his Siſter, and their Waiting-gentlewomen, who filled all places with their Shrieks and womaniſh Lamentations, to come forth. Which *Eſſex* took as a Favour; onely he deſired that an Hour or two's time might be granted him to fortifie the Place by which they ſhould goe forth: which was alſo granted.

Summoned. The Anſwer.

The Admiral's Reply.

Before the Hour was expired, *Eſſex*, holding all things now for deſperate and loſt, reſolved to make his way out: and the Lord *Sands*, who was more aged then the reſt, earneſtly urged him ſo to doe, often repeating that Saying, *That the reſoluteſt Counſells are the ſafeſt: That it is more honourable for Noble Perſons to die fighting, then by the Hand of the Executioner.* But *Eſſex*, wavering in his Reſolution, began preſently to think of Yielding, and gave Notice that upon certain Conditions he would yield. But when the Lord Admirall would admit of no Conditions; he ſaid he would not give Conditions, but rather take them: yet three things he requeſted. Firſt, *That they might be civilly dealt withall.* This the Lord Admirall promiſed. Secondly, *That their Cauſe might be juſtly and duly heard.* He anſwered, that there was no Reaſon to doubt thereof. And, laſtly, *That* Aſhton, *a Miniſter of God's Word, might be with him in Priſon, for his Soul's Comfort.* The Lord Admirall anſwered, that for theſe things he would make Interceſſion to the Queen. When preſently all the Noblemen, falling upon their Knees, and delivering their Swords up to the Lord Admirall, yielded themſelves at ten of the clock at night. There were no more ſlain but *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two who were killed in the Houſe by Shot, and as many of the Beſiegers.

They reſolve to break forth.

They conſult to yield.

They yield.

Eſſex himſelf and *Southampton* were firſt conducted by the Lord Admirall to the Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*'s Houſe at *Lambhyth*, and not directly to the Tower of *London*, becauſe the Night was dark, and the River not paſſable under Bridge. But from thence they were ſhortly after by the Queen's Command carried to the Tower

And are impriſoned.

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by Boat; and *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Monteagle*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Bromley*, in other Boats. The reſt were put into the common Priſons. Thus in twelve Hours time was this Commotion ſuppreſſed; which ſome called a Fear and Miſtruſt, others an Overſight: others, who cenſured it more hardly, termed it an obſtinate Impatience, and ſeeking of Revenge: and ſuch as ſpoke worſt of it called it an unadviſed and indiſcreet Raſhneſs. And to this day there are but few that ever thought it a capitall Crime.

Mens opinions of this Action.

The next day after the Queen by an Herald commended the unſhaken Fidelity of the *Londoners*, acknowledging the ſame with loving and kind words; and withall willed and adviſed them to take Care of the publick Quiet, foraſmuch as the Contagion of this Sedition ſeemed to have ſpred far abroad; as alſo diligently to obſerve thoſe that ſhould attempt any Innovation, by thruſting forward the Ignorant people to Sedition, or defaming the Queen's Miniſters.

The Citizens Fidelity commended.

On the 12. day of *February* *Thomas Lea*, (Kinſman of Sir *Henry Lea* a noble Knight of the Garter,) a notable audacious confident man, Captain of a Company in *Ireland*, intimate with *Tir-Oen*, and much devoted to *Eſſex*, (who, the ſame Night that *Eſſex* refuſed to appear before the Councill, had offered his Service to take or kill him,) told Sir *Robert Croſs*, a Captain of a Ship, that it were a glorious thing for ſix courageous brave Fellows to goe together to the Queen, and compell her by Force to deliver *Eſſex*, *Southampton*, and the reſt, out of Cuſtody. All this *Croſs* immediately diſcovered to the Councill. *Lea* was preſently ſought for, and found in the Evening about Twilight near the Door of the Queen's Privy-chamber, very thoughtfull, pale, and in a great Sweat, often asking whether the Queen were ready to goe to Supper, and whether the Councill would be there. Which whilſt he was doing, he was taken and examined, the next day arraigned, and by the Teſtimony of *Croſs* and his own Confeſſion condemned, and brought to *Tyborn*; where he confeſſed that he had been indeed a great Offender, but in this matter innocent: and then proteſting that he never had ſo much as an ill Thought againſt the Queen, he was executed. And this was deemed to be a ſafe and ſeaſonable piece of Severity as the Times were.

Thomas Lea taken.

Executed for Treaſon.

On the 15. of this Moneth, Haunters of Alehouſes and Taverns, Vagabonds, and ſuch kind of men, who lurked in Tippling-houſes, and flocked many of them daily into the City, greedily hearkening after Rumours and Stories, ready for Tumults and Pillage, were commanded forthwith to depart the City upon pain of Death.

A Proclamation againſt Vagabonds and ſpreaders of Rumours.

And now ſome one or other of the Conſpiratours, tempted with Hope of Life or ſome ſmall Reward, diſcovered the whole Deſign as it was laid in *Drury*-Houſe. Who it was I know not. Which when the reſt perceived by ſome Circumſtances in their Examinations, concluding

The Conſpiratours Deſigns diſcovered.

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concluding that all was now diſcloſed, and that it was a fooliſh Fidelity to goe to conceal that which was already revealed by others, or would be revealed, and having no Hope of any good by their Silence, they freely diſcovered all. Hereupon *Eſſex* and *Southampton*, who thought they had kept all things in the dark, were arraigned on the 19. of *February* in *Weſtminſter* Hall, before the Lord *Buckhurſt* Lord Treaſurer of *England*, who was made Lord High Steward of *England* for that Triall. Their Judges or Peers were, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Worceſter*, *Cumberland*, *Suſſex*, *Hartford*, and *Lincoln*, the Lord Viſcount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Barons of *Hunſdon*, *De-la-Ware*, *Morley*, *Cobham*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Windſore*, *Rich*, *Darcy* of *Chiche*, *Chandois*, *Saint-John* of *Bletneſho*, *Burghley*, *Compton*, and *Howard* of *Walden*, who was then Conſtable of the Tower of *London*. Their Aſſiſtents were, *Popham* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, *Periam* Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, *Gawdy*, *Fenner*, *Walmſley*, *Clerk*, and *Kingsmill*.

Eſſex and *Southampton* arraigned.

After the Peers were called over by Name, *Eſſex* demanded, whether it were not lawfull for them (as it was uſuall for private men) to except againſt ſome of their Peers. The Judges anſwered, that ſuch was the Credit and Eſtimation of the Peers of *England*, that they are neither compelled to an Oath in Trialls, nor liable to Exceptions. Then were they joyntly arraigned of Treaſon, "That they "had plotted to deprive the Queen of her Crown and Life, having "conſulted to ſurprize the Queen in the Court; and that they had "broken out into open Rebellion, by impriſoning the Counſellours "of the Realm, by ſtirring up the *Londoners* to Rebellion by Tales "and Fictions, by aſſaulting the faithfull Subjects in the City, and de"fending the Houſe againſt the Queen's Forces. Being asked whether they were Guilty or Not guilty of the Crimes objected; they anſwered, *Not guilty*, and ſubmitted themſelves to Triall by God and their Peers: And *Eſſex* averred that he had done nothing but according to the Law of Nature and upon urgent Neceſſity. Then *Telverton*, the Queen's Sergeant at Law, punctually and at large laid open the matters charged againſt them, and ſhewed, that the very entertaining a Thought againſt the Royal Majeſty was High treaſon. He compared *Eſſex* with *Catiline*; for as *Catiline* aſſociated to himſelf men of all Sorts, ſo had *Eſſex* entertained Atheiſts, Papiſts, and debauched criminall perſons. He upbraided him with the Favours beſtowed on him by the Queen, who had conferred over-early Honours and Preferments upon him whilſt he was yet but a Young man and had merited nothing. He taxed him that he had abuſed thoſe Honours, hunting after popular and military Favour and Applauſe, out of an inſatiable Ambition, which never knoweth any Stop, but groweth daily greater, as the Crocodile doth as long as he liveth. He wondred the Earls ſhould plead *Not guilty*, ſeeing their Crimes were ſo notoriouſly known to all men.

The Heads of the Charge againſt them.

Opened by *Telverton*,

Edward Coke, the Queen's Atturney, proved out of *Fitz-Herbert*, a learned and famous Engliſh Lawyer, that the inward Imagining of

and *Coke*.

1601. any Miſchief againſt the Prince was Treaſon; but not to be ſo adjudged, till it have broken forth into ſome overt Act by Word or Deed. Then he ſhewed, that thoſe men practiſe and attempt the Deſtruction of the Prince who run into Rebellion, gather together an armed Multitude, refuſe to ſeparate themſelves and depart when they are commanded; or elſe plot to reduce the City, the Tower, the Court, or the Prince, into their own Power. That there was no Reaſon why the Earl ſhould excuſe himſelf by the Law of Nature, ſeeing the Majeſty of a Prince is not to be violated upon the Account of any private Revenge. The Queen's Favours conferred upon him he reckoned up particularly; to wit, that ſhe had made him Maſter of the Horſe, Maſter of the Ordnance, taken him into her Privy Councill, made him Earl-Marſhall of *England*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and had bountifully given him 30000 *l.* of Engliſh Money in a ſhort ſpace of time. He mentioned his Impriſoning of the Counſellours, his Threatning them, and putting them in Fear. He charged him with his aſſociating with *Blunt*, *Danvers*, and *Davis*, men addicted to the Popiſh Religion. He obſerved that they went rather into the City then to the Court; in regard the Luſter of the Divine Majeſty gliſtered ſo brightly in the Royall Majeſty, and did ſo dazzle their Eyes, that they durſt approach no nearer. The Confeſſions which were to be produced againſt them he commended and approved, as being voluntary, not extorted by Torture, and agreeing one with another. And ſo, inſerting an hiſtoricall Narration of the whole matter, about his Seizing on the Queen, and calling a Parliament, he ended his Speech with this tart Concluſion; *It were to be wiſhed that this* Robert *might be the laſt of this Name Earl of* Eſſex, *who affected to be* Robert *the firſt of the Name King of* England.

Eſſex his Anſwer.

To all theſe things the Earl of *Eſſex* anſwered with a chearfull Voice and Countenance, and a courageous Heart, "That this Art "of Oratory was proper to Advocates, who account it their great "Glory to bear down the Innocent by their Multiplicity of Spea-"king. He prayed the Peers to weigh the Matter according to the "Truth of Things, not by the terrible Sound of Words. He prote-"ſted his ſincere Affection to the true Religion. That he never took "*Davis* to be Popiſh, who was every day at Divine Service. That "amongſt all the Noiſes made in the Hurly-burly he heard no Threats "uſed againſt the Counſellours: that he honoured and loved them "as his ſpeciall Friends. That he was compelled by the tumultu-"ous Multitude to ſhut them up in Cuſtody; and driven of Ne-"ceſſity to his own Defenſe, ſince he had underſtood, not by un-"certain Rumours and Conjectures, but by moſt aſſured and credi-"ble Meſſages, that he was deſtin'd to be ſlain at unawares by his "Enemies. That he had perſiſted, and ever would perſiſt, immo-"vable and untainted in his Fidelity to his Prince, (to whom he was "ſo infinitely obliged,) and to his Country. That he had no other "Deſign, but to proſtrate himſelf at the Queen's Feet, to make "known

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"known his juſt Complaints and Grievances, and to let her under-
"ſtand the Dangers that threatned his Country.

Popham Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* being ſworn, and asked what he could ſay of the Priſoners, related how unworthily the Counſellours were uſed. The Earl anſwered, "That he thought no "Hurt againſt thoſe moſt Honourable Perſons, but reſpected them "with the greateſt Reverence and Eſteem. That he ſaw that the "Queen's Command protected not the Earl of *Southampton* from In-"jury, when the Lord *Grey* drew upon him in the Street; and there-"fore he had made uſe of the Aſſiſtence of his Friends and Followers, "to repell the Violence of his Enemies by Force. Yet did he not ſhake "off his Allegeance to his Prince and Countrey: nor did he ſpeak "this to ſave his Life, whereof he was heartily weary; but for his "Adherents ſakes, whoſe ſincere and untainted Minds and able Bodies "might doe their Countrey good Service. That it appeared that Vio-"lence was intended to be offered unto him even by this, that *Raleigh* "had given Notice to *Gorges*, preſently to withdraw himſelf from his "Company, as from a Ship in danger to be wrecked. He complained "that Prieſts had been ſet on to accuſe him, and that his Hand-writing "had been counterfeited. (Which indeed had been done by a cheating Impoſtour purpoſely to get ſome Money, as we ſhall relate afterward.

He excuſeth the Affront done to the Counſellours.

Layeth open the Wrongs done to himſelf.

Then was *Gorges* his Evidence produced, to wit, That *Eſſex* had reſolved to ſet upon the Court, and to ſummon a Parliament; that he put his chief Confidence in the *Londoners*, &c. *Gorges* was ſent for from the Priſon near hand, to teſtifie theſe things to his Face. As ſoon as *Eſſex* ſaw him, ſuppoſing that he (becauſe his Evidence was firſt produced) had either out of Hope or Fear diſcovered the whole Buſineſs, and came in voluntarily as a Witneſs againſt him, out of Madneſs and Vexation he ſmartly ſnibbed and checked him, endeavouring to invalidate the Credit of his Teſtimony by the Paleneſs of his unſettled and diſcompoſed Countenance.

Gorges's Evidence.

Invalidated by *Eſſex*.

Now were they charged with the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe about ſeizing the Tower or the Court into their Hands. *Southampton* in a mild and modeſt Speech craved Pardon for his Fault, occaſioned by his great Love towards *Eſſex*, and, proteſting his ſincere Fidelity to his Prince, anſwered, "That ſuch things were indeed "propounded, yet not abſolutely reſolved on, but referred to *Eſſex*. "And it was not that which was conſulted on, but another thing, that "brake forth into Action, namely, the going into the City; and that "with no other Intention but to ſecure *Eſſex*'s Acceſs to the Queen, "that he might make his Complaint to her perſonally of the Wrongs "and Injuries done unto him. That he had not drawn his Sword all "that day. That he heard not of the Proclamation whereby they "were declared Rebels. That he had hindered as much as lay in his "power the Shooting out of *Eſſex*-Houſe. He prayed that the Cauſe "might be carried according to Equity and Indifferency, and not by "the Rigour and Quirks of Law. This the Queen's Atturney called a palliated

Southampton defendeth himſelf.

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The Attorney takes him up.

palliated Concluſion, asking whether to ſeize by Force of Arms upon the Court-gate, the Court, the Privy-Chamber, &c. thereby to get the Queen into their Power, were not Treaſon? *Southampton* calmly asked him, what he thought in his Conſcience they would have done to the Queen. The ſame (ſaid he) which *Henry* of *Lancaſter* did againſt *Richard* the Second. He went to the King and fell on his Knees, pretending onely to beg the removing of his evill Counſellours: but having once gotten the King into his Power, he deprived him both of Crown and Life.

The Opinion of the Juſticers Aſſiſtents in ſome Points propounded to them.

The Judges Aſſiſtents being asked by the Peers, whether the Conſultation in *Drury* Houſe were Treaſon, ſeeing it was never brought to effect; affirmed unanimouſly that it was; and that the Rebellion in the City was in Proſecution and Conſequence of that Conſultation: for if they had gotten together an Army of men in the City, they would preſently have ſet upon the Court. Then it was demanded whether this Conſultation were holden by the Means and Procurement of *Eſſex*. It was proved by the Teſtimonies of many, that the Heads of that Conſultation were written with his own Hand; and that he threw ſome Papers into the Fire, leſt (as he ſaid himſelf) they ſhould tell Tales.

Eſſex accuſeth his Adverſaries.

When he heard all this, which he thought had been kept cloſe from every body, "The Hope (ſaith he) of Life and Pardon hath drawn "theſe things out of ſome men. And let them freely enjoy their Lives: "for my part, Death is far more welcome to me then Life. *Cobham*'s, "*Cecyl*'s and *Raleigh*'s Violence hath driven me to a neceſſary De- "fenſe of myſelf. Howſoever the Lawyers do interpret my going into "the City; mine own Conſcience is clear from all Blot or Stain of "Perfidiouſneſs and Diſloyalty, which is my great Comfort. *Cobham*, riſing up, affirmed that he had done nothing maliciouſly againſt the Earl, but he had always miſliked his Ambition. To whom *Eſſex* anſwered, "But ſuch a Backbiter and Informer I would have removed "from the Queen though it had coſt me the Loſs of my Right hand.

Cobham's Anſwer.

Bacon anſwereth *Eſſex* his Accuſations.

Francis Bacon, one of the Queen's Counſell at Law, endeavoured by a polite and elegant Speech to take off the Excuſe for his Rebellion upon a pretended Plot of his Enemies againſt him, affirming that *Cobham*, *Cecyl* and *Raleigh* were ſuch upright and honeſt men, and had ſuch fair Eſtates, that they would never hazzard both their Eſtates and Hopes by committing ſo foul a Deed. He ſhewed that thoſe Fictions of a Plot againſt him fell to the Ground of themſelves, by reaſon of their various Inconſiſtency; foraſmuch as *Eſſex*, running from one Story to another, pretended one while that he was to be ſtabbed in his Bed, then that he was to be ſlain in a Boat, and laſtly, by the *Jeſuites*: and alſo by reaſon of their idle Vanity, ſeeing he exclaimed that the Kingdome of *England* was ſold to the *Spaniard*. He added, that it was a uſuall thing with Traitours to ſtrike at Princes, not directly, but through the Sides of their Miniſters. He taxed *Eſſex* with deep Diſſimulation

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tion and Hypocriſy, as if he had onely put on a Maſk of Piety: and likened him to *Piſiſtratus* of *Athens*, who gaſhed and mangled his own Body, and being ſo wounded ſhewed it to the People, as if it had been done by his Adverſaries; and having thereby procured himſelf a Guard of Souldiers, he enſlaved the Commonwealth. As he was proceeding, *Eſſex* interrupted him, and mentioned how *Bacon* not long before had written a pithy ſmart Letter in his Behalf to the Queen againſt thoſe his very Adverſaries. (Which indeed he had done like a Friend, whilſt he endeavoured to bring *Eſſex* into Favour again with the Queen.) *Eſſex* added, that he underſtood that Secretary *Cecyl* had ſaid to one of the Councill, that the Title of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England* was as good as any other of the Competitours whoſoever. Scarce had he ſpoken the word, when *Cecyl*, who ſtood hidden in a cloſe Room juſt by, and heard all, bolted forth into the Court, and, falling on his Knees, beſought the Lord Steward that he might have leave to anſwer ſo falſe and foul an Accuſation. Which being granted, he ſpake to the Earl of *Eſſex* in this manner. *For Wit, wherewith indeed you do abound, I am your Inferiour; I am your Inferiour for Nobility: for I am not in the Rank of the prime Nobility, yet Noble I am. A Sword-man I am not, and herein alſo you goe before me. Yet doth my Innocency protect me: and in this Court I ſtand an Honeſt man, you a Delinquent. Wherefore I challenge you, if you dare, openly to name that Counſellour to whom I ſpake thoſe Words.* *Eſſex* refuſed. *Cecyl* therefore inferred, that it was to be taken for a Fiction of his own Invention. *Eſſex* denied it. Then *Cecyl* turned to *Southampton*, and ſaid, *I adjure and beſeech you, Sir, by the intimate Friendſhip and Familiarity that hath been betwixt us from our tender Years, by our joynt Chriſtian Profeſſion, by the Honour of your Family, that you name the man.* *Southampton* referred it to the moſt Honourable Bench, and to *Cecyl* himſelf, whether he might doe it and ſave his Honour, and whether it were agreeable to Reaſon that he ſhould name him. When they all thought it reaſonable that he ſhould be named, he named Sir *William Knolles*, Comptroller of the Queen's Houſhold, *Eſſex* his Uncle. He, being ſent for at the earneſt Intreaty of *Cecyl*, came and acknowledged, that he had heard *Cecyl* two years before ſay, that one *Dolman* had in a printed Book maintained the Title of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Crown of *England*; and other then this he had not ſpoken. *Eſſex* ſaid, But theſe words were reported to me in another Senſe. *Cecyl* anſwered, *Your Malice, whereby you ſeek to procure me Hatred with all men, hath been occaſioned onely by my Affection and Love to Peace, for the Good of my Countrey, and your own ardent Deſire of War, for the Pleaſure and Profit of military men, whom you labour to bring to your Beck and Devotion. Hence was it that you ſet forth your Apology againſt the Peace: hence proceeds your generall Hatred againſt all that are affected to Peace, as if they were addicted to the* Spaniard. *For my part, I am ſo far from inclining to the* Infanta *of* Spain, *that my Heart even trembleth*

Eſſex interrupteth him.

Cecyl taxed by *Eſſex*.

He cleareth himſelf.

Sir *William Knolles* produced.

Cecyl inveigheth againſt *Eſſex*.

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Eſſex taxed of Hypocriſie. His Anſwer.

trembleth to think ſhe ſhould ever have any thing to doe here.

Whilſt *Knolles* was expected, the Atturney taxed *Eſſex* of hypocritical Diſſimulation, that, openly profeſſing himſelf of the Evangelicall Religion, he had yet promiſed *Blunt* a Toleration of the Popiſh Religion. *Eſſex* denied it: but confeſſed that he knew *Blunt* to be Popiſh, (for when he was a Boy he was brought up under *Allen*, who was after Cardinal,) and that he had endeavoured his Converſion; and that indeed he did not like that Chriſtians ſhould be vexed and tormented for their Religion's ſake.

Southampton again excuſeth himſelf.

Here again *Southampton* excuſed himſelf by his ardent Love to *Eſſex*, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and with great Humility begged the Queen's Mercy and Clemency, whom he had ever looked upon as a lively Pattern of the Divine Goodneſs, and againſt whom he had never harboured the leaſt Thought of any Harm in his Heart.

The Juſticers Opinion of their Proteſtations.

The Juſticers Aſſiſtents being asked their Opinion concerning the ſo-often-repeated Proteſtations of the Earls, that they intended no Harm againſt the Queen, declared, That *if any man ſhall attempt to make himſelf ſo ſtrong that the King ſhall not be able to reſiſt him, he is guilty of Rebellion.* That *the Law interpreteth, that in every Rebellion there is a Conſpiracy againſt the Life and Crown of the King: for a Rebell will never ſuffer that King to live or reign, who may afterwards puniſh or revenge ſuch his Treaſon or Rebellion.* Theſe things they confirmed by the Imperial or Civil Law, whereby to doe any thing againſt the Safety of the Prince is reputed to be Treaſon; by the force of Reaſon, becauſe it cannot be that he which hath once given Law to his King ſhould ever permit the King to recover his former Authority, or to live, leſt at any time after he ſhould recover it; by Examples drawn out of our Engliſh Chronicles, of *Edward* the Second and *Richard* the Second, both which being once by Force of Arms gotten by their Subjects into their Power, were not long after depoſed alſo, and made away.

Then Sir *John Leviſon* Knight, ſtanding by, gave an Account at large againſt *Eſſex* of the Tumult and Buſtle which I mentioned to be near S. *Paul's* Church-yard. After which were read the Confeſſions of the Earls of *Rutland*, and of the Lord *Cromwell* and the Lord *Sands*.

Eſſex his Anſwers to ſeverall things objected.

Now the Earl of *Eſſex* anſwered more mildly and calmly, That he intended nothing elſe but to repell Force with Force; neither would he have entred ſo inconſiderately into the City, had he not foreſeen that he was in Danger of his Life. Then Mr. Atturney urged the late Conſpiracy of *Lea*, and ſome Iriſh Matters, to him. He charged him likewiſe again with his affecting the Crown, with Atheiſm, and Popery; all which he flatly denied, and ſaid, he doubted not but by his Chriſtian Death he ſhould ſoon wipe away all ſuch Aſperſions and Calumnies. *Bacon* afterward told him the Opinions of the Judges, whereby they both were adjudged guilty

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of Treaſon: and he proved that they could not excuſe this Offenſe, becauſe, though they were commanded by the Lord Keeper, and admoniſhed by an Herald, to lay down their Arms, yet they refuſed. *Eſſex* ſaid, I ſaw no Herald but that defamed looſe Fellow, whom I took not to be an Herald. If I had intended any other thing then mine own Defenſe againſt my private Adverſaries, I would not have gone forth with ſo ſmall a Company, and ſo ſlightly armed. (For they had onely their Swords, Daggers, and Piſtols.) To whom *Bacon* replied, This was cunningly done of you, who placed all your Hope in the Citizens Aid, ſuppoſing that they would arm both you and yours, and take up Arms for you; imitating herein the Duke of *Guiſe*, who, not long ſince, entring into *Paris* with a ſmall Company, excited the Citizens to Arms in ſuch ſort, that he drove the King out of the City. And that Herald, though he may be a man of bad Report, is nevertheleſs an Herald.

They are pronounced Guilty by their Peers.

Shortly after the Earls were by the Lord Steward's Command withdrawn: when their Peers, riſing from their Places, and going aſide, conferred together, and, having maturely conſidered of the Matter, returned within an Hour to their Seats, where every one of them by their Suffrages pronounced both *Eſſex* and *Southampton* Guilty. The Priſoners being again called to the Bar, the Clerk of the Crown, according to Form, acquainted them with the Verdict; and asked them ſeverally and ſingly, whether they had any thing to ſay why Sentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt them. *Eſſex* beſought the Peers that they would make Interceſſion to the Queen for *Southampton*, who might doe her good Service. *For mine own Life* (ſaid he) *I care not: I deſire nothing more then that I may lay down my Life with ſincere Faith towards God and Loyalty to my Prince, whatſoever the Interpretation of the Law be againſt me. Yet would I not that any man ſhould tell the Queen I ſlight and contemn her Mercy, which notwithſtanding I believe I ſhall never fawningly beg. And I beſeech you, my Peers, that though you have condemned me in Court of Judgement, yet in the Court of your Conſciences ye would abſolve me, who never intended any Harm againſt my Prince.*

Eſſex his Speech thereupon,

Southampton humbly begged the Queen's Mercy, and earneſtly requeſted the Peers to mediate for him, and to make uſe of their Favour with her, yea and their Conſciences too, in his behalf; proteſting again, that he never had an ill Thought againſt the Queen. And this he did with ſuch ſweet and winning Expreſſions, and ſuch ingenuous Modeſty, that he moved the Hearts of all the Standers by to Pity.

and *Southampton's*.

The Lord Steward now made a ſerious Speech, wherein he adviſed *Eſſex* to beg the Queen's Mercy; and then pronounced the Sentence of Death againſt them in the uſual Form of Words, to be hanged and quartered, &c. The Edge of the Axe being now turned towards them, which before was from them, *Eſſex* ſaid, *This Body might have done the Queen better Service if it had ſo pleaſed her:*

Sentence pronounced againſt them

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I ſhall be glad if it may be ſerviceable to her any way. He prayed that before his Death he might participate of the Myſtery of the Holy Euchariſt; and that *Aſhton*, a Miniſter of God's Word, might be with him for his Soul's Health. He craved Pardon of the Earl of *Worceſter* and the Lord Chief Juſticer of *England*, for his keeping them Priſoners; and of the Lord *Morley* and the Lord *La-Ware*, for bringing their Sons into Danger, who were ignorant of the whole Buſineſs. So the Lord Steward's Staff being broken, the Court brake up. Theſe things, whereat I was preſent myſelf, I have ſincerely and faithfully, as compendiouſly as might be, related, not having willingly omitted any memorable Paſſage, unleſs my Obſervation deceived me.

Severall others arraigned.

The next day after were arraigned Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Edmund Bainham*, Knights, *John Littleton*, *Henry Cuffe* the Earl of *Eſſex* his Secretary, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Chriſtopher Wright*, Brethren, and *Orell* an old Souldier. As ſoon as every of them had holden up their Hands, as the manner is, a Letter came from the Queen, wherein ſhe (having been informed by Sir *Fulk Grevill* that they were moſt of them drawn in unwittingly) commanded that *Littleton*, who was then dangerouſly and irrecoverably ſick, *Bainham*, a laſcivious man, and a Contemner of the Magiſtracy, and *Orell*, ſhould be brought upon their Triall, and the reſt remanded to Priſon. *Bainham* and *Orell* pleaded Ignorance for Excuſe; and that they followed the Earls out of their Reſpect and Obſervance towards them. *Littleton*, being convicted by the Evidence of *Danvers*, who had drawn him into the Company, could not deny but he was preſent at the Conſultation. When, amongſt other Heads of the Accuſation againſt him, he was charged to have deſigned ſome Miſchief and Sedition by the great number of Horſes and quantity of Arms which he had at that time in his Inne; he anſwered, That his Eſtate was able to maintain good ſtore of Horſes, and that he had always delighted in Arms and Horſes. Being condemned with the reſt, he ſaid no more but, (lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven) *We praiſe thee, O God, we knowledge thee to be the Lord.* Yet were all their Lives ſpared. *Bainham* redeemed his with a Summe of Mony paid to *Raleigh*. *Littleton* ſhortly after rendred his Life to Nature through the Violence of his Diſeaſe. And *Orell* endured Impriſonment for a while.

Their Lives ſpared.

Eſſex deſireth to ſpeak with ſome of the Council.

Eſſex in the mean while, whether through the pricking of his own Conſcience, or a Terrour ſtricken into him by the Miniſter, was ſo troubled in Mind, that he verily perſwaded himſelf he ſhould goe damned to Hell, if he concealed any part of the Truth, and did not diſcover thoſe that were his Acceſſaries. Hereupon he deſired to ſpeak with ſome of the chief of the Council, and particularly with *Cecyl*. There repaired to him the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord Admirall, and *Cecyl*. After he had asked Pardon of the Lord Keeper for detaining him in Cuſtody, and

His words to them.

of

of *Cecyl* for taxing him in the matter of the *Infanta*, a perfect Reconciliation was made in Chriſtian Charity on both ſides. Then he told them, that the Queen could never be ſafe as long as he lived. He deſired that he might ſuffer privately within the Tower. Some of his Aſſociates in the Conſpiracy he very much accuſed, as breathing after the Ruine and Deſtruction of their Country: he deſired to ſpeak with them, eſpecially with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*. As ſoon as he ſaw them, he brake forth into theſe words, *O* Cuffe, *Ask Pardon of God and the Queen's Majeſty, and ſee you deſerve it. For my part, my Minde is now wholly fixed upon another Life, I have reſolved to deal ſincerely before God and Man: and I cannot but tell you this plainly, You were the principall man that moved me to this Diſloyalty.* 1601.

He taxeth *Cuffe*.

Theſe words daunted *Cuffe*, who thereupon briefly and ſharply taxed the Earl of Levity and Inconſtancy, in that he had betrayed thoſe that were moſt devoted to him, and ſo held his Peace.

Cuffe's Anſwer.

He impeached alſo Sir *Henry Nevill*, a noble Knight, as privy to the Conſpiracy, who was now ready to return as Embaſſadour Leiger into *France*, about the Ratifying of the Treaty of *Bloys*, and Reſtraining of Depredations on both Sides: whereupon he was called back from his Journey, and committed to the Lord Admiral's Cuſtody. Some alſo he made Diſcovery of in *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, and of the Lord *Montjoy* alſo, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, as acceſſary to his Deſign, and others in *England*: but becauſe they were many of them, and the Lord *Montjoy* governed *Ireland* very happily, the Queen was ſo wiſe as to diſſemble and conceal her Knowledge of it.

Eſſex reveaſeth his Aſſociates.

Neither did he think it ſufficient to diſcover theſe by word of Mouth, but (through the Miniſter's terrifying and lancing of his Conſcience, threatning him with horrid things,) he alſo delivered the ſame in Writing under his own Hand; which being by his Adverſaries ſhewed to King *James*, did afterward much prejudice the Reputation and Eſteem both of him and his Friends.

On the 25. of *February*, which was the day appointed for his Execution, *Thomas Montford* and *William Barlow*, Doctours of Divinity, with *Aſhton*, the Miniſter of the Church, were ſent unto him early in the morning, to adminiſter Chriſtian Conſolation unto his Soul. In preſence of theſe men he gave thanks to Almighty God from the bottom of his Heart, that his Deſigns, which were ſo dangerous to the State, ſucceeded not. He told them, he had now looked throughly and ſeriouſly into his Sin, and was heartily ſorry that he had ſo obſtinately defended an unjuſt Cauſe at the Bar. He thanked the Queen that ſhe had granted he ſhould not be publickly executed, leſt his Mind, which was now ſettled and compoſed, might be diſturbed by the Acclamations of the People; proteſting that he had now learned how vain a thing the Blaſt of popular Favour and Applauſe is. He acknowledged how worthy he was to

His Expreſſions to the Divines that attended him.

1601.

be ſpued out by the Commonwealth (for ſo he pleaſed to expreſs it) for the Wickedneſs of his Enterpriſe, which he likened to a Leproſie ſpred far and near, and that had infected many.

The Queen unreſolved about him.

The Queen in the mean time wavered in her Minde concerning him. On the one ſide, her former Affection and Favour towards him recalled her to ſome degree of Clemency, and ſhe ſent her Command by Sir *Ed. Cary* that he ſhould not be executed: on the other ſide, his perverſe Obſtinacy, who ſcorned to ask her Pardon, and had declared openly, that his Life would be the Queen's Deſtruction, did ſo prick her forward to uſe Severity, that ſhortly after ſhe ſent a freſh Command by *Darcy*, that he ſhould be put to Death.

He is led to Execution.

He was brought forth therefore betwixt the Divines to a Scaffold erected within the Court-yard of the Tower of *London:* near unto which ſate the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hertford*, Viſcount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, the Lord *Darcy* of *Chiche*, and the Lord *Compton*. There were preſent alſo ſome of the Aldermen of *London*, and ſeverall Knights; amongſt whom was *Raleigh*, with a Purpoſe (if we may believe himſelf) to make Anſwer if any thing ſhould be objected againſt him by the Earl at his Death: but others conſtrued his being there in a worſe Senſe, to wit, that he came to feed his Eyes with a Sight of the Earl's Sufferings, and to ſatiate his Hatred with his Bloud. But being admoniſhed not to preſs upon the Earl at his Death, which is the Part rather of ignobler Brutes, he withdrew himſelf farther off, and beheld his Execution out of the Armoury.

Raleigh deſired to withdraw.

His Chriſtian Deportment at his Death.

The Earl, as ſoon as he was come upon the Scaffold, uncovered his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, acknowledged that many and great had been the Sins of his Youth, for which with moſt fervent Prayer he begged Pardon of the eternall Majeſty of God through *Chriſt* his Mediatour; eſpecially for this laſt Sin, which he termed a *bloudy*, *crying* and *contagious* Sin, wherewith ſo many had been ſeduced to ſin againſt God, their Prince, and Country. He beſought the Queen and her Miniſters to forgive him, praying for her long Life and proſperous Eſtate; proteſting withall, that he never intended to lay violent Hands upon her Perſon. He gave God Thanks that he had never been Atheiſt or Papiſt, but had placed all his Hope and Confidence in the Merits of *Chriſt*. He prayed God to ſtrengthen his Minde againſt the Terrours of Death: deſiring the Standers by to joyn with him in a ſhort Prayer, which with broken Sighs and fervent Affection of inward Devotion he preſently uttered. Afterward the Executioner asking him Forgiveneſs, he forgave him. He recited the Apoſtles Creed; and then laying himſelf down, placed his Neck upon the Block: and having repeated the firſt Verſes of the 51. Pſalm, he ſaid, *In Humility and Obedience I proſtrate myſelf to my deſerved Puniſhment: Thou, O God, have Mercy on thy proſtrate Servant: Into thy Hands, O Lord,*

He is beheaded.

1601.

Lord, I commend my Spirit. His Head was ſtricken off at the third Stroke; but the firſt took away both Senſe and Motion.

Thus moſt piouſly and truly Chriſtianly (though Marſhall *Biron* of *France* and other prophane perſons derided this his Piety as rather becoming ſome ſilly Miniſter then a ſtout Souldier, as if the Fear of Hell were not a Chriſtian man's Fortitude,) died *Robert D' Evereux*, Earl of *Eſſex*, in the 34. Year of his Age. So that his Father's Premonition was not altogether vain and inſignificant, who upon his Death-bed forewarned his Son to beware of the 36. Year of his Age: inſomuch as that Speech may ſeem to have been inſpired into his Minde from Heaven. But this is mentioned before in the Year 1576. He was accompliſhed with all thoſe Vertues which compleat and become a Nobleman. His Genealogy was ancient, and very noble. The Surname of his Family came from *Eureux*, a City in *Normandy*. His Revenue and Eſtate, together with his Dignity of Baron, came by a Marriage in former time with *Cecily* the Daughter of *William Bourchier*, whoſe Grandmother was Siſter to *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*, her Great-grandmother was Daughter to *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, (Son of King *Edward* the Third,) born of one of the Daughters of *Humfry Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*: whereupon the Title of Viſcount *Hereford* was conferred upon his Great-grandfather *Walter* by King *Edward* the Sixth, and the Honour of Earl of *Eſſex* upon his Father by Queen *Elizabeth*.

His Commendation. His Genealogy.

This *Robert* was in his young Years brought up at *Cambridge* in the Studies of Learning and true Religion; and being recommended to the Queen by his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and made Maſter of the Horſe, he had much adoe to get into her Favour, becauſe ſhe did not well affect his Mother. But no ſooner had he by his dutifull Demeanour obtained her Favour, but ſhe diſcharged him of a Debt which his Father had contracted in the Exchequer; choſe him into the Order of *Saint George*, and made him of her Privy Council when he was ſcarce 23 Years old. She made him ſeverall times Generall of her Armies, though Fortune often failed him, (I will not ſay, with the Aſtrologers, by reaſon of the malign Aſpect of *Mars*, which at the Hour of his Nativity was diſaſterouſly and unfortunately placed in the eleventh Houſe of Heaven.) She continually heaped Honours and Favours upon him, and highly eſteemed him, becauſe he bent his Minde wholly to noble Studies, and inured his Body to Perils and hazzardous Attempts. When he had now got not onely an Appearance and Shew, but a reall Intereſt in the Queen's Favour, he preſently made it his Buſineſs (as the wiſer ſort of the Courtiers complained) to goe beyond both his Equals and Superiours; to diſparage and diſpraiſe all that were not at his Devotion, and frown upon thoſe who had any Power or Grace with the Queen; by his courteous Behaviour and Liberality to hunt after popular Favour and Applauſe, which

His Education.

His Preferments.

His great Favour with the Queen.

1601.

His perverſe carriage towards her.

which is always of ſhort Continuance and unjuſt, and Repntation with the Souldiery, which is perpetually dangerous. He began alſo, out of the Greatneſs of his Spirit rather then real Pride, to uſe ſome contumacious Carriage towards the Queen, eſpecially after ſhe had more then once, out of her Bounty and Goodneſs, reſtored him to her loſt Favour, and thereby opened a way for conferring new Kindneſſes upon him. But his Contumacy, together with an obſtinate kind of extorting (as it were) Favours from her, his proud neglect of Dutifulneſs and Reſpect towards her, with the ſubtill Contrivances of his envious Adverſaries, by little and little changed, and at length quite alienated, the Queen's Affection from him.

He was not made for a Courtier.

And indeed he ſeemed not a man made for the Court, being not eaſily induced to any unhandſome Action, of a ſoftly and eaſie Nature to take Offenſe, but harder to remit it, and one that could not conceal himſelf, but (as *Cuffe* was wont to complain to me) carried his Love and his Hatred always in his Brow, and could not hide it. In a word, No man was more ambitious of Glory by vertuous and noble Deeds, no man more careleſs of all things elſe.

His Wife and Children.

He married *Frances* the Daughter of Sir *Francis Walſingham*, the Widow of Sir *Philip Sidney*, (without acquainting the Queen therewith, who was therefore offended at it, as if by this Affinity he had diſparaged the Dignity of the Houſe of *Eſſex*,) on whom he begate a Son named *Robert*, and two Daughters, *Frances* and *Dorothy*; and on Miſtreſs *Southwell*, his Paramour, another Son called *Walter*.

Other Perſons arraigned.

On the fifth day of *March* were Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merick*, Knights, and *Cuffe*, arraigned in *Weſtminſter*-Hall before the Lord High Admirall of *England*, the Lord *Hunſdon* Lord Chamberlain, Secretary *Cecyl*, Sir *John Forteſcue* Chancellour of the Exchequer, the Lord Chief Juſticer of *England*, and other Commiſſioners. They were accuſed of the ſame Crimes that *Eſſex* before was charged with, to wit, "That they had plotted and contrived the Deſtruction of the "Queen's Majeſty, by conſulting to ſeize upon her Perſon, by rai- "ſing a Rebellion in the City, &c.

The three former of them asked this Queſtion, Whether they might not confeſs the one part of the Indictment, and plead *Not guilty* to the other part: For they denied that they had plotted the Deſtruction of the Queen's Perſon. *Merick* and *Cuffe* being removed from the Bar, the Judges declared as formerly, "That he "which rebelleth with a Purpoſe to preſcribe Law to his King, and "reſtrain the Royall Power, plotteth the Deſtruction of the King, "and intendeth to deprive him both of Crown and Life.

What it is to plot the Deſtruction of a Prince.

This they proved by the Examples of thoſe Countrey-people which within our Fathers Remembrance were condemned of High treaſon for aſſembling in *Oxfordſhire* and *Kent*, and taking up Arms;

Arms; the *Kentiſh*-men for the augmenting the Price of Day-labour, the other to throw down the Ditches and Fences of Paſture-grounds and Incloſures. To this purpoſe they brought in many other Proofs, and ſhewed, That it could not be but they which reduced their Prince into their Power, would alſo offer Violence to him; becauſe Conquerours are always inſolent, and the Fury of a Multitude cannot eaſily be reſtrained, who, to ſave and ſecure themſelves, will not ſpare to commit the moſt villainous Deed. 1601.

Blunt was urged with his own Confeſſion, and the Confeſſion of the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf, who had accuſed him as an Inſtigatour of him to this treaſonable Attempt. As ſoon as he heard this Confeſſion read, and ſaw it ſubſcribed with the Earl's own Hand, he admired and grew as it were amazed at it, and earneſtly beſought that he might have Speech with the Lord Admirall and *Cecyl* about that matter in another place. Then fetching a deep Sigh, and lifting up his Eyes, he ſaid, *Thou, O God, knoweſt from what manner of Deſigns I diſſwaded the Earl.* Then was read the Confeſſion of *Thomas Lea*, of whom I have before made Mention; who acknowledged, that he by the Leave of *Blunt*, who was Marſhall in the Iriſh War, had ſent to *Tir Oen*, and underſtood from him by the Meſſenger, that *Tir-Oen* ſhould ſay, that if the Earl of *Eſſex* would be ruled by him, he would make him the greateſt man in *England*. It was farther affirmed that *Lea* had ſaid, that he knew that *Eſſex*, *Tir-Oen* and *Blunt* aimed all at one and the ſame thing. Neither indeed did *Blunt* deny but he had, by *Eſſex* his Command, given Leave to *Lea* both to ſend and goe himſelf to *Tir-Oen*. Other things alſo were read which were ſent over out of *Ireland*, to prove the good Underſtanding betwixt *Eſſex* and *Tir-Oen*. The Trial of Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*.

Then *Flemming* the Queen's Solicitour, turning to *Danvers*, diſcourſed according to the Minde and Judgment of the Law, "That "if a man, though he know nothing of any Deſign to take up "Arms againſt his Prince, ſhall notwithſtanding aſſociate himſelf "with the Complices in that Action, he is guilty of High treaſon: "much more then was *Danvers* guilty, who was convicted, by his "own and other mens Confeſſions, to have been himſelf one of the "Partners and Confederates in the Conſultation and Conſpiracy. To this he anſwered nothing, but that, for the Love he bare to the Earl of *Southampton*, he had in this Buſineſs not regarded the Danger either of his Life or Eſtate. (For when *Danvers* formerly fled for killing a man, *Southampton* harboured him, hid him, and conveyed him over into *France*, where he followed the French Camp with great Commendation for his Valour, till ſuch time as the Queen, upon much Intreaty, gave him his Pardon.) Of *Danvers*.

Davis, being convicted in his own Conſcience and by his Confeſſion, in a manner held his Peace: and being taxed by the way that he was Popiſhly affected; he denied not that he had been inſtructed by his Tutour in the Univerſity of *Oxford* in the Popiſh Religion, Of *Davis*.

1601. Religion, and confirmed in the ſame by *Blunt* whilſt he ſerved in the Wars in *Ireland*. At which word when he ſaw *Blunt* ſomewhat moved, he ſoon ſatisfied him by ſaying, that he was confirmed in that Religion, not by *Blunt*'s Perſwaſion, but by obſerving his Chriſtian and upright Life and Converſation.

Of *Cuffe*. Then were *Cuffe* and Sir *Gilly Merick* brought to the Bar. *Cuffe* was urged with the Confeſſions of *Danvers*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Henry Nevill*. *Danvers* had confeſſed that *Cuffe* knew of all the Conſultations, and always adviſed to ſet upon the Court. The Earl had affirmed before the Council, and given it under his Hand, that he was the main Inſtigatour of him to all this Treaſon. And Sir *Henry Nevill* ingenuouſly confeſſed, (if my Memory deceive me not; for I was then preſent, and heard his Confeſſion read,) "That "*Cuffe* told him at his (the ſaid *Nevil*'s) Return out of *France*, that "it would be imputed to him that the Treaty at *Bologne* failed of "Succeſs. That he came to him oftentimes afterward, and per-"ſwaded him to come and give the Earl a Viſit; which once he "did. That after this, when he was juſt ready to return to *France*, "he intreated him to goe to *Drury*-Houſe, and hear what would "be conſulted on; proteſting that nothing was to be propounded "there, but what was for the Good of the Kingdom and the "Earl, and which he might ſafely hear without breach of Loyalty "to the Queen. Laſtly, That he prayed him that he would be "with the Earl when he ſhould attempt the Court; and laid open "unto him the whole Plot. Which when *Nevill* miſliked, as a ve-"ry dangerous, difficult and wicked Undertaking, and ſmiling ſaid, "it was one of thoſe things *which are never praiſed till performed:* "*Cuffe* extenuated both the Danger and Difficulty; told him that "the City of *London* and many of the Aldermen were at the Earl's "Devotion, and ready to aſſiſt him at his Beck; making uſe of that "of *Lucan*,

"*Arma tenenti Omnia dat qui juſta negat*,
"Unto a man that's arm'd with Power and Might
"He giveth all that doth deny him Right.

Neither could *Cuffe* deny theſe things.

Hereupon the Queen's Atturney-generall argued ſyllogiſtically; and *Cuffe* anſwered ſo acutely and Logically, that *Cecyl* ſaid he was a ſubtill Sophiſter: but *Anderſon*, Chief Juſticer in the Court of Common Pleas, waxing angry, and crying out that both of them made but fooliſh Syllogiſms, ſharply urged againſt him the Statute of Treaſon made in the Reign of *Edward* the Third. To be ſhort, *Cuffe* betook himſelf to theſe two Pleas, as the chief Heads of his Defenſe: "Whereas (ſaith he) I am accuſed of Treaſon be-"cauſe I was in *Eſſex*-Houſe the day of the Rebellion, by the ſame "Reaſon may a Lion within a Grate be charged with Treaſon. All "that day I bewailed the deplorable Condition of the Earl; and "that was all I did. I perſwaded him as much as lay in me to beg "the

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"the Queen's Mercy. And for the Conſultation in *Drury*-Houſe, "it was no more to be accounted Treaſon, ſeeing it never came to "effect, then the Child in the Mother's Belly is to be accounted a "perfect Child. In Anſwer to this the Lawyers ſhewed, "That "there was no neceſſity for his tarrying in *Eſſex*-Houſe. That eve- "ry man of them had his Part aſſigned him; to ſome to make good "the Houſe, of which Number he was one; to others to make ſure "of the City: and theſe were mutually to aſſiſt one the other. That "in the caſe of Treaſon there were no Acceſſaries, but all were "Principals, and equally guilty. That the Conſultation in *Drury*- "Houſe was of it ſelf Treaſon, becauſe they deliberated there a- "bout the Deſtruction of the Queen; which Conſultation alſo after "brake forth into Act. Laſtly, it was delivered by the Judges for Law, "That if ſeverall men conſpire againſt their Prince, and execute "their Deſigns in divers manners, ſome in one way, ſome in another, "yet is it adjudged to be one and the ſame Offenſe in them all, in "regard of the common Malice of the Conſpiratours. Theſe An- ſwers of the Judges, and the Confeſſions of *Eſſex*, *Nevill* and *Dan- vers*, cut the Throat of *Cuffe*'s Cauſe.

Merick was accuſed, "That he had by Letters ſent to his Brother "*Salisbury*, *Groine*, and other Perſons of experienc'd Boldneſs and "Audacity, drawn them to his Party. That he undertook the De- "fenſe of *Eſſex*-Houſe. That he had fortified and defended the "ſame againſt the Queen's Forces. That he had at his own Charge "procured an old out-worn Play, of the Tragicall Depoſing of "King *Richard* the Second, to be acted upon the publick Stage be- "fore the Conſpiratours: which the Lawyers interpreted to be done by him, as intending to ſignifie to them, they ſhould now be- hold that acted upon the Stage, which was the next day to be acted by themſelves in Depoſing the Queen. And the like Cenſure was given upon a Book of the ſame Argument ſet forth a little before by one *Hayward*, a learned man, and dedicated to the Earl of *Eſ- ſex*; as if it had been written purpoſely to ſhew them the Way and incite them to the Depoſing of the Queen: a dear Book to the Authour, who was puniſhed by a tedious Impriſonment for his un- ſeaſonable publiſhing of it, and for thoſe Words in his Preface to the Earl, *Great thou art in Hope, greater in Expectation of future time.* All this *Merick* heard with a reſolved Silence, and ſaid no more but this, Eſſex *firſt raiſed me up, and* Eſſex *hath thrown me down.*

of *Merick*.

By the Jury of Twelve men they were every one of them found guilty of High treaſon. The Sentence of Death being pronoun- ced, *Blunt* and *Danvers* requeſted that they might die the Death of Noblemen, that is, be beheaded. And indeed they were both of them nobly deſcended. For *Danvers* his Mother was Daughter and one of the Heireſſes of *Nevill* Lord *Latimer* by the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Worceſter*; his Grandmother was the Lord *Mordant*'s

The Requeſts of *Blunt*, *Danvers* and *Davis*, after Condemna- tion.

1601. Daughter; and his Great-grandmother of the Family of the *Courtneys*. The other was deſcended of the *Blunts* of *Kiddermiuſter*, who were of the ſame Houſe that the Lords *Montjoy* were of. *Davis* requeſted, that though he were not of ſo Noble an Extraction, yet he might ſuffer the ſame Death: if not, that he might not be quartered; but that his dead Body might be interred with Chriſtian Buriall.

Cuffe's Speech at his Execution.

On the 13. of *March Merick* and *Cuffe* were drawn to *Tyburn*. *Cuffe* (to repeat it briefly) ſpake to this purpoſe at the Gallows. *I am brought hither to pay my Debt to Nature, and to ſuffer for my Offenſes againſt God, my Prince, and my Country. As in beholding the Multitude of my Sins I ſee the infinite Juſtice of God; ſo, by the Greatneſs of the Puniſhment inflicted on me, I firmly believe I ſhall at laſt taſte of his infinite Mercy. We are here a Spectacle and Example of humane Condition. The Death which we are to undergo is terrible, (for Life is ſweet even to the Beſt of men,) and indeed accompanied with Ignominy; but yet common to the beſt, yea to God's Saints themſelves, with whom I have an aſſured Hope of Reſurrection in* Chriſt. *And let not any man think by this that I rely upon mine own Merits: Away with them: I put my whole Truſt and Confidence in the precious Blood of my Saviour. I am verily perſwaded, that whoſoever is puniſhed in this Life, and at the ſame inſtant feeleth inward Comforts from Heaven in his Soul, God puniſheth that man as a loving Father, not as an angry Judge. But to come to the Cauſe of my Death. There is none here but knoweth what a confuſed Tumult there was on the* 8. *of* February *by means of that Great, but unadviſed, Earl. I call God, the Angels and mine own Conſcience to Witneſs, that I had no Hand in it, but was ſhut up all that day long within the Houſe, where I ſpent my time in Weeping and Mourning. As for the Deſign; it was twofold.* Here he was interrupted, and admoniſhed not to wrong the Truth by Diſtinctions, nor to ſow Fig-leaves together to cover his Fault. *I confeſs* (ſaid he) *that it is a grand Offenſe, yea Treaſon, for a Subject thrown out of Favour, and impaired in his Honour, to make his Way by Force and Arms to the Queen's Majeſty. For my part, I never excited any man to take up Arms againſt the Queen. But whereas I have brought that Noble Knight Sir* Henry Nevill *into Danger, I am heartily ſorry for it, and I earneſtly intreat him to forgive me. And whereas I ſaid that of four and twenty Aldermen of* London, *one and twenty were at the Earl's Devotion; this I meant of their Favour and Affection towards him, not that they would take up Arms for him.* Here being interrupted again, he fell to his Prayers, and prayed fervently; and then making a devout Profeſſion of his Faith in God, and craving Pardon of God and the Queen, he ended his Life by the Halter. A man he was of exquiſite Learning, and of a ready and fluent Wit, but turbulent and perverſe.

Merick's Execution.

The ſame kind of Death died Sir *Gilly Merick* after him, with a Soul altogether undaunted, who, as if he were weary of his Life, interrupted

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rupted *Cuffe* once or twice, wiſhing him to ſpare his wiſe Diſcourſe, which was altogether unſeaſonable now that he was ready to die. The Lord *Montjoy* he cleared as ignorant of the Matter; and beſought thoſe Noblemen that ſtood by, to intercede with the Queen, that there might be no more proceeded againſt by the Law who had unwittingly been drawn in to be Partners in the Crime.

Danvers beheaded.

Two days after Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* and Sir *Charles Danvers* were beheaded upon *Tower-hill*. *Danvers*, notwithſtanding he had offered Ten thouſand Pound to ſave his Life, though it were to live in perpetuall Impriſonment, yet took his Death with a quiet and compoſed Mind and Countenance moſt Chriſtianly, having firſt craved Pardon of God, of the Queen, (to whom he wiſhed all Happineſs,) and of the Lord *Grey* there preſent; to whom he acknowledged he had been a great Enemy, not for any Wrong done to him by that Lord, but out of his entire Love to *Southampton*, with whom the Lord *Grey* had been at profeſt Enmity.

Blunt's Confeſſion.

Blunt, when he was aſcended the Scaffold, ſpake to the People after this manner. *Although the time rather require to lay all other matters aſide, and to crave Mercy of God for my Sins; yet ſeeing I am accuſed to have inſtigated the Earl of* Eſſex *to this great Crime, I will declare the Truth, as I hope for the Salvation of my Soul. Above three Years agoe it is that I firſt perceived the Earl's Mind diſcontented, and inflamed with ambitious Thoughts. In* Ireland, *while I lay wounded at the Caſtle of* Rheban, *and afterward at* Dublin, *he told me that he was reſolved to ſend over the choiceſt Troups out of* Ireland *to* Milford-*Haven in* South-Wales, *and to make himſelf Maſter thereof, to gather a greater Army, and ſo march up to* London. *I, conſidering well of the matter, diſſuaded him from it, as a thing full of Danger, and like to coſt much Blood. I perſuaded him indeed, with a ſelect Number of men to make himſelf Maſter of the Court, and then to force reaſonable Conditions for himſelf. And though it be true, that in all our Conſultations we never intended to offer Violence to her Majeſtie's Perſon: yet, if Fortune had favoured our Enterpriſes, I know not whether the Buſineſs could have been accompliſhed without her Ruine and Deſtruction. After the Earl had his full Liberty, he began to break the ſame Deſign to me again in* Eſſex-*Houſe, but reſolved determinately upon nothing. Afterward he ſent for me out of the Countrey, not many days before this Rebellion was acted. For other matters, I have particularly confeſſed them before the Right Honourable the Lord Admirall and the moſt Worthy Secretary, to whom, I beſeech you, Sir* Walter Raleigh, *to commend me: and of you alſo I ask Forgiveneſs.* And then, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, he ſaid, *God preſerve and defend the Queen's Majeſty. And thou, O God, of thine infinite Mercy forgive me my wicked Thoughts and licencious Life. I beſeech you all bear witneſs that I die a Catholick; yet ſo, as I put my whole Truſt and Confidence in the Death and Merits of* Chriſt: *and withall I deſire you to pray for me.* Then he bade the Lord *Grey* and the Lord

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His Execution.

Compton Farewell, who were there present: and praying with a low Voice, he laid down his Neck to the Stroak of the Executioner with an undaunted Courage.

The rest pardoned.

Thus by the Execution of the Earl of *Essex*, *Cuffe*, *Merick*, *Danvers* and *Blunt*, was the Rebellion laid asleep, Peace and Tranquillity restored to the Commonwealth, and the rest of the Conspiratours brought to their right Minds. The richer sort were Fined, which very few of them ever pay'd: the rest had their Lives pardoned, and their Offenses graciously remitted. *Southampton*, and *Smith* the Sheriff of *London*, were kept Prisoners in the Tower. But *Smith*, who was upon the Informations of some few and *Essex* his Credulity falsly accused, and put to a great deal of Trouble, was either by the Queen's Clemency or his own Innocency preserved from farther Suffering, and at length delivered upon Bail.

Sir *Henry Nevill's* Charge and Defense.

On the 8. of *July* was Sir *Henry Nevill* called before some of the Queen's Privy Councill and Judges at *York*-House, and charged, "That he had been at the Consultations in *Drury*-House; That he "had not discovered the Designs there agitated; and That he had "acquainted *Essex* with the Secrets of his French Embassy. He confessed, "That at the Earl's Request he had acquainted him with "the Journall of his French Embassy: That he was present onely "at one Consultation: That he slighted their Projects as the Dreams "of a Sick man: That he durst not disclose *Essex* and such great "Persons; for he hated the name of an Informer, and had Hopes "they would alter those inconsiderate Purposes, which at that time "they had not resolved upon; or that he might timely enough, and "without any Jealousy or Suspicion, discover them after he was got "into *France*. Yet for all this he was by the unanimous Consent of them all sharply reprehended as worthy of severe Punishment, and adjudged to the Tower.

Sentenced to the Tower.

John Daniel an Impostour punished.

To this Cause also belongeth a Censure given at this time in the *Star-Chamber*, and therefore is not to be past over in Silence. I said before that the Earl complained of his Letters being counterfeited. Hereof a diligent Inquiry was made, and a notable Imposture discovered. The Countess his Wife, misdoubting some Mischief to her Husband and herself in this troublesome Time, put certain Love-letters which she had received from him into a Cabinet, and intrusted them in the Keeping of a Dutch-Woman named *Ribove*. This Dutch-woman hid them at her House. By chance *John Daniel*, her Husband, lighted upon them, read them, and, observing that there was somewhat in them which might endanger the Earl, and incense the Queen, caused them to be transcribed by one that was expert in imitating Hands very like the Original. And when the fearfull Countess was ready to lie in, he told her that he would presently deliver them into the Hands of the Earl's Enemies, unless she would forthwith give him 3000 Pound. She, to avoid the Danger, gave him presently 1170 Pound down. And yet for that great Summe she received

1601.

received not the Original Letters, but the Copies, from the Impoſtour, who purpoſed to wipe the Earl's Adverſaries alſo of a great Summe of Money for the Originals. For this Impoſture he was condemned to perpetuall Impriſonment, fined at 3000 Pound, whereof the Counteſs was to have 2000, and to ſtand with his Ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Inſcription, *A wicked Forger and Impoſtour.*

Not long before this the Scotiſh Embaſſadours, the Earls of *Marre* and *Kinloſſe*, (who, as I ſaid, came ſomewhat late,) had Acceſs to the Queen; and after they had congratulated the timely Prevention of this Rebellion, they expoſtulated with her for not puniſhing of *Valentine Thomas*, and the Deceit uſed in fetching *William Evers* and *Aſhfield*, Engliſh-men, out of *Scotland*: they demanded alſo that ſuch a Portion of Land in *England* might be aſſigned to the King. To whom Anſwer was given, "That their Congratulation was ve-"ry acceptable: and that the Queen wiſhed with all her Heart that "no ſuch Rebellion might ever happen in *Scotland*; but if it ſhould "happen, that it might with the like happy Succeſs be extinguiſhed "within the ſpace of one Day, as this was. That *Valentine Thomas* "was therefore purpoſely ſpared, to prevent the rubbing up of an "old Soar; conſidering that a Calumnie, though never ſo falſe and "unjuſt, is no ſooner heard, but it gets Credit with evill-diſpoſed "men. That *Evers*, by his peremptory Deniall, and his Proteſtati-"on contrary to the Truth, had drawn upon himſelf the Suſpicion "of a bad Intention. That *Aſhfield*, a man of a turbulent Spirit, ha-"ving cunningly deluded the Warden of the *March*, and ſo gotten a "Licence to travell into *Scotland*, was by the ſame Warden (to "correct his Errour) as cunningly fetched back again. That to "harbour the turbulent Subjects of another Prince, was nothing elſe "but to teach his own People to raiſe Troubles and Commotions at "Home. Concerning the Aſſignment of Land, ſhe ſaid ſhe had gi-"ven a ſufficient Anſwer before. But ſhe condeſcended to adde an "Augmentation of 2000 Pound yearly, as long as the King did ſin-"cerely embrace and maintain Friendſhip with her, and did not "conform himſelf to the Humours of thoſe men who hunted after "their own private Gain, though it were to the Detriment and "Prejudice of the Publick.

The Queen's Anſwer to the Scotiſh Embaſſadours.

About this time, the Spaniſh Galleys which lay at *Scluis* much terrifying the Coaſt of *Kent*, but more the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, the Queen built ſeverall Galleys alſo, freed many out of Priſon, and condemned them to the Oars: and the *Londoners* contributed chearfully to that Service. But they proved to be unuſefull. But that theſe Galleys might not longer be a Terrour to them, the Eſtates of the Confederate Provinces, mindfull of their own Concernments, reſolved to tranſport an Army once again into *Flanders*, to win the Sconces about *Oſtend*, that ſo they might the more freely pillage and ſpoil the Country round about, fetch in Contribution from thence,

Galleys built in *England*.

The Eſtates aim to ſubdue the Sea-towns in *Flanders*.

1601.

His Execution.

Compton Farewell, who were there preſent: and praying with a low Voice, he laid down his Neck to the Stroak of the Executioner with an undaunted Courage.

The reſt pardoned.

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Sentenced to the Tower.

John Daniel an Impoſtour puniſhed.

To this Cauſe alſo belongeth a Cenſure given at this time in the *Star-Chamber*, and therefore is not to be paſt over in Silence. I ſaid before that the Earl complained of his Letters being counterfeited. Hereof a diligent Inquiry was made, and a notable Impoſture diſcovered. The Counteſs his Wife, miſdoubting ſome Miſchief to her Husband and herſelf in this troubleſome Time, put certain Love-letters which ſhe had received from him into a Cabinet, and intruſted them in the Keeping of a Dutch-Woman named *Ribove*. This Dutch-woman hid them at her Houſe. By chance *John Daniel*, her Husband, lighted upon them, read them, and, obſerving that there was ſomewhat in them which might endanger the Earl, and inceenſe the Queen, cauſed them to be tranſcribed by one that was expert in imitating Hands very like the Original. And when the fearfull Counteſs was ready to lie in, he told her that he would preſently deliver them into the Hands of the Earl's Enemies, unleſs ſhe would forthwith give him 3000 Pound. She, to avoid the Danger, gave him preſently 1170 Pound down. And yet for that great Summe ſhe received

1601.

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Galleys built in *England*.

The Eſtates aim to ſubdue the Sea-towns in *Flanders*.

1601. thence, and reduce the maritime Parts of *Flanders* into their Power, that the Galleys of the Enemies might have no Harbour nor Protection thereabout. And at the ſame time, the better to conceal their Deſign, and divert the Enemy, they thought good to ſend Grave *Maurice* into *Gelderland* to beſiege *Rhynberck*. Herewith they acquainted the Queen by Sir *Francis Vere*, and requeſted her to permit 4000 men to be raiſed in *England* and tranſported at their Charge. To which the Queen aſſented. But before *Vere* was returned out of *England*, Grave *Maurice* was marched towards *Berck*, and the Archduke *Albert* had beſieged *Oſtend*: So as now the Eſtates were forced to take new Reſolutions, and rather ſeek to defend *Oſtend*, then win the Spaniſh Forts; to which Purpoſe they forthwith gave *Vere* the Title of *Generall of all the Forces within and without Oſtend*, with plenary Commiſſion and Authority. From *Berck* they ſent for 20 Companies of *Engliſh*: of which nevertheleſs Grave *Maurice*, having now begun the Siege, and expecting the Enemy to come upon him, ſent but 8 Companies under the Leading of Sir *Horace Vere*, and that very unwillingly too. With theſe Forces Sir *Francis Vere* (taking their Faithfull Promiſe that the reſt ſhould follow ſoon after, and that he ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with Victuals and Proviſion,) arrived in the Month of *July* at *Oſtend* by Night over againſt the Old Town, in a place that was much expoſed to the Enemie's Ordnance; (for they had before his coming block'd up the Haven.) And ſhortly after Sir *Edward Cecyl* made a bold Adventure with great Commendation for his Valour, and (though it were his firſt Acquaintance with the Wars) happily brought in both Men, Proviſion and Victuals, to the Beſieged.

The Archduke *Albert* preventeth them, by beſieging *Oſtend*.

Vere made Governour of it.

Oſtend deſcribed.

This *Oſtend*, which within our Fathers Remembrance was nothing elſe but a few Cottages of poor Fiſher-men on the naked Shoar, was, at the beginning of the Low-Country Troubles fortified by the Eſtates, firſt with a Paliſado, and afterward, the Sea working in, and making a very commodious Haven, with a Trench and other Works, and an Engliſh Garriſon placed in it. Theſe, firſt under Sir *John Conway*, and afterwards under Sir *Edward Norris*, did ſo diſturb and over-run *Flanders*, that, to reſtrain them, the Prince of *Parma* began to beſige it, but in vain; *La Motte* attempted it by Treachery, but was beaten off with great Loſs of men; and the Archduke *Albert* begirt it with ſeventeen Sconces. But when the Garriſons in theſe Sconces proved no leſs burthenſome to *Flanders* then the Enemies, and the Haven being thought convenient both to harbour the Spaniſh Galleys, and diſturb the Navigation of the *Zelanders* and *Engliſh*, the *Spaniards* reſolved whatſoever it coſt them to attempt the winning of it; and the Eſtates on the other ſide with all their Force and Skill to defend it. And verily there was never in our Age any Siege maintained more obſtinately, nor a gallanter Defenſe made; never was a greater Slaughter of men, nor a Piece of Service that laſted longer. But the Journall of the Siege which is extant in print,

Several ways attempted by the *Spaniard*.

print, I will not here repeat. I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf to obſerve theſe few things following. Sir *Francis Vere*, in the fifth Month of the Siege, finding his Forces much diminiſhed by frequent Sallies, Shot of the Enemy, and the Peſtilence, a part of the Old Town ſwallowed by the Sea, their Victuals almoſt ſpent, and, by reaſon of contrary Winds, no Hope of Supplies, which he had often demanded in vain, and underſtanding that the Enemy was ready to make a generall Aſſault upon the Town, deſired a Parley with the Archduke about yielding the Place; who, after Hoſtages were given on both Sides, ſent Commiſſioners to that Purpoſe. But General *Vere* onely delayed the time, cunningly feeding them with Hopes of a Surrender, till freſh Supplies of men were come to him; and then preſently ſent the Commiſſioners back diſappointed of their Hopes, excuſing himſelf by that military Axiome, *To delude and beguile an Enemy is a thing not onely juſt, but pleaſant alſo and profitable*: and flouting them with a nipping Jeſt, he deſired them to pardon him, if in caſe of urgent Neceſſity he ſhould doe the like again; for he could now in Honour doe no other, having received freſh Supplies of Men, and all manner of Neceſſaries for the War. The Archduke, being incenſed hereat, upbraided *Vere*, that he knew better how to overcome by Craft and Cunning then by true Valour and Courage: and on the 14. day after he thundered all the day long with 18 great Pieces upon the Counterſcarps. In the Evening, at Low-water, he compelled 2000 old Souldiers againſt their Wills to aſſault the Old Town, the Horſe following at their Backs and forcing them forward. But Generall *Vere*, who with his Brother Sir *Horace* was preſent in all places of Danger with a ſelect Party of men, valiantly repulſed them at three ſeverall Aſſaults. Thoſe that were to fall upon the Eaſt ſide, beginning ſomewhat late, retired in good time upon the coming in of the Tide; yet not without Loſs. They which were appointed to fall upon the Fort *Helmont*, and that called the *Hedgehog*, together with the Engliſh Bulwark, eaſily took them, the Souldiers being drawn off to the Defenſe of other Places; but ſoon quitted them again. Two thouſand being ſent to the Weſt Inlet of the Sea, called the *Gullet*, took an Half-moon which was abandoned: out of which they were ſoon after driven again, and many of them periſhed, while they fled confuſedly, leſt they ſhould be hemmed in with the Water. Nine great Pieces of Ordnance, mounted near the Weſt Gate, thundered forth a continuall Storm, not of ſingle Bullets, but of Chain-ſhot and Caſe-ſhot, pieces of Iron and other murthering Inventions, and did ſo overlay thoſe that attacqued the Weſtern Bulwark and the Sand-hill, that they fell by Heaps with a lamentable Slaughter; and in the midſt of the Aſſault the Tide coming in, and the Sluces being opened upon them, were ſo terrified, that throwing away their Arms, Ladders and Draw-bridges, they expoſed themſelves either to be ſlain by the Souldiers that ſallied out, or to be ſwallowed up of the Sea. The Archduke, nothing daunted with this Slaughter

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Reduced to great ſtreights.

Vere deſireth a Parley.

And, having ſerved his Turn, breaks it off.

The Town ſharply aſſaulted.

And manfully defended.

The *Spaniards* diſtreſſed.

1601.

Slaughter of his men, obſtinately continued the Siege, though with very ſmall Hope of winning the Town, conſidering that he could neither hinder the daily bringing in of Proviſion and freſh Supplies of men; nor was there any Opportunity for Undermining, there being ſo many Works and Forts round about the Town. But Generall *Vere*, when he had made good the ſhaken and battered places with new Works, was called away by the Eſtates, who thought good to ſend every five Months a new Governour and freſh Supplies of men, leaving his Place to *Frederick Dorpe*. Which Generals, and their Succeſſours, with great Care and Reſolution defended the Town three compleat Years and about an hundred Daies againſt the furious Aſſaults, not ſo much of the Enemy, as of the Sea. Happy had it been for the Military ſort of men, if the Sea had been let in, and quite ſwallowed it up. For the ſtouteſt and braveſt Souldiers of the *Low-Countries*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Italie*, whilſt they eagerly contended for a barren Plot of Sand, found here as it were one common Sepulchre, though withall it were an eternall Monument of their Valour. But theſe things belong rather to the Hiſtory of the *Netherlands:* Yet is it not impertinent to the Engliſh Story, to give an Account what Engliſh-men died reſolutely, and fought manfully, at this Siege, and have thereby eternized their Memory with Poſterity. Of the latter ſort the moſt remarkable were the two *Veres*, Brethren, Sir *Edward Cecyl*, and Sir *John Ogle:* of the former, Sir *Charles Fairfax* Knight, *Laurence Dutton*, and *Drake*, Colonels, Serjeant-Major *Carpenter*, *Holcroſt*, *Jeffery Dutton*, *Grevill*, *Wilford*, *Humfreys*, *Drake*, *Broughton*, *Herbert*, *Froſt*, *Maddiſon*, *Gerard*, *Butler*, *Rogers*, *Dennis*, and *Conigrave*, Captains. Neither muſt we here forget *John Carew* of *Antony*, a young Corniſh Gentleman, who, in a Salley having his Arm taken off by a Piece of Ordnance, and carried a good way from him, whilſt his Fellows lamented his Miſhap, took it up with an undaunted Courage, and without all ſenſe of Pain, brought it into the Town in his other Hand, and ſhewing it to the Chirurgeon, cried, *Behold the Arm which to day at Dinner ſerved my whole Body.*

The Governour changed.

The Town defended three years and an hundred days.

The *Engliſh* that were ſlain there.

The ſtout heart of *John Carew*.

This Siege drew the French King to *Calice*, from whence is the ſhorteſt Cut over into *England*, that he might be near at hand to ſecure the Frontiers of his Kingdome. Which as ſoon as the Queen heard of, ſhe ſent Sir *Thomas Edmunds* to give him a Viſit, and congratulate his Health. He, in Acknowledgment and Requitall of her Civility, ſent *Biron*, Marſhall of *France*, with *D' Arverne*, *D' Aumont*, and ſeverall other Noble Perſons, into *England:* whom the Queen, being then taking the Country Air at *Baſing*, welcomed, entertained and diſmiſſed with that Kindneſs and Civility, that they extolled her Courteſy, as alſo her Prudence and Eloquence, to the very Sky. But whereas certain French Writers have recorded, that, amongſt ſeverall other things belonging to thoſe which were lately condemned, the Queen ſhewed the Earl of *Eſſex* his Skull to

The French King cometh to *Calice*. Mutual congratulations betwixt the Queen and him.

A Calumny wiped of.

Biron

1601.

Biron and the French-men in her Closet, or (as others write) fastned upon a Pole, it is a ridiculous vain Story; for that was buried together with his Body. This is certain, that in discoursing with *Biron* she sharply accused *Essex* of Ingratitude, rash Counsells, and obstinate disdaining to ask Pardon; and wished that the most Christian King would rather use a mild Severity then an unwise and destructive Clemency, by cutting off the Heads of treacherous and disloyall persons in time, who sought nothing but Innovations, and the Disturbance of the publick Quiet and Tranquillity. Which might have terrified *Biron* from those wicked Designs which he was at this very time plotting against his King, had not his Mind been besotted: but the power of his approaching Fate did so blind him, that within a few Months after he underwent the same Punishment which *Essex* had done before him.

The Queen's discourse with *Biron*.

The Queen, being returned from her Progress, held an Assembly of the Estates of the Realm at *Westminster*, wherein, amongst other things, many wholsome Laws were made for the Relief of Poor people, Impotent persons, maimed Souldiers and Sea-men; against fraudulent Overseers of Wills, against the Deceit of Clothiers, and Robberies and Depredations upon the Borders towards *Scotland*. But whereas heavy Complaints were brought into the Lower House concerning Monopolies, (for some there were who, under a specious Pretence of the Publick good, but indeed to the great Prejudice of the Commonwealth, had obtained to themselves, by the Queen's Letters Patents, the sole Priviledge and Leave of selling certain Merchandizes,) the Queen, to be beforehand with them, put forth a Proclamation, whereby she partly declared those Grants to be void, and partly left them to be tried by the Laws. Which was a thing so pleasing to the Lower House, that eighty of them were deputed by the rest to wait upon the Queen, and give her most humble Thanks by the Mouth of their Speaker in the name of the whole House: whom she graciously received, and spake to them as followeth.

A Parliament called.

Divers good Laws made.

Monopolies restrained.

The Parliament's thanks to the Queen.

I owe you hearty Thanks and Commendations for your singular Good will towards me, not onely in your Hearts and Thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an Errour proceeding from my Ignorance, not my Will. These things had undeservedly turned to my Disgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear then the Safety and Love of my People) had not such Harpyes and Horseleaches as these been made known and discovered to me by you. I had rather my Heart or Hand should perish, then that either my Heart or Hand should allow such Priviledges to Monopolists as may be prejudiciall to my People. The Splendour of Regall Majesty hath not so blinded mine Eyes, that licencious Power should prevail more with me then Justice. The Glory of the Name of a King may deceive Princes that know not how to rule, as gilded Pills may deceive a sick Patient. But I am none of those Princes: For I know that the Commonwealth is to be governed for the

Her Answer.

1601. *Good and Advantage of those that are committed to me, not of myself to whom it is intrusted; and that an Account is one day to be given before another Judgement-seat. I think myself most happy, that by God's Assistence I have hitherto so prosperously governed the Commonwealth in all Respects; and that I have such Subjects, as for their Good I would willingly leave both Kingdome and Life also. I beseech you, that whatever Misdemeanours and Miscarriages others are guilty of by their false Suggestions may not be imputed to me: let the Testimony of a clear Conscience intirely in all respects excuse me. You are not ignorant that Princes Servants are oftentimes too much set upon their own private Advantage; that the Truth is frequently concealed from Princes, and they cannot themselves look narrowly into all things, upon whose Shoulders lieth continually the heavy Weight of the greatest and most important Affairs.*

The death of *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*.

About the beginning of this Year died *Henry Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, the Son of *William*, chosen Knight of the Order of the Garter in the Year 1574. and made President of the Councill in the *Marches* of *Wales* after the death of Sir *Henry Sidney* his Father-in-law: by whose Daughter *Mary*, a Friend to the Muses, and a Lady much addicted to delightfull Studies, he had *William*, now Earl of *Pembroke*, who succeeded in his Father's Honour; *Philip*, now Earl of *Montgomery*; and *Anne*, who died in the Flower of her Age.

And of the Lord *Norris*.

About this time also died *Henry* Lord *Norris* of *Ricot*, restored to his Estate by King *Henry* the Eighth after the putting of his Father to Death, with some strict Conditions touching the Estate of his Grandmother, who was one of the Heirs of Viscount *Lovell*; but more absolutely and fully by Queen *Elizabeth*, who, after his having performed an Embassy into *France* with great Commendations for his Wisedome, advanced him to the Honour of a Baron. He begat on *Margaret* his Wife, one of the Heiresses of *John* Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, (who in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth was Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, and a Privy Counsellour to Queen *Mary*, entirely beloved and respected by her,) a Brood of Martiall-spirited men: namely, *William*, his eldest Son, Marshall of *Berwick*, who died in *Ireland*, (leaving behind him his Son *Francis*, who succeeded in his Grandfather's Honour;) *John*, whom I have already often mentioned; *Thomas*, President of *Munster*, and for a little while Lord Justicer of *Ireland*, who died of a slight Wound not well looked after; *Henry*, who died there the same Death almost at the same time; *Maximilian*, who was slain in the Wars in *Bretaigne*; and *Edward*, Governour of *Ostend*, the onely Surviver of his Parents.

And of the Lord *Willoughby*.

Within a few days after him died *Peregrine Berty*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Governour of *Berwick*, who in the *Low-Countries* and in *France* went through all the Offices of a Commander with great Commendations. *Robert*, his Son by the Lady *Mary*, Sister to *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, succeeded him in his Estate and Honour.

A Proclamation against carrying over Money into *Ireland*.

Now must we turn aside a while to Irish Affairs. About this time was put forth a Proclamation (conformable to a Law enacted in the Reign

Reign of *Henry* the Seventh,) that no man ſhould carry over any Engliſh Money into *Ireland*; in regard the Rebells drew to themſelves a great part thereof to buy Munition and Proviſion for War; or elſe the Merchants tranſported it from thence into forrein Parts, to the great Detriment and Prejudice of *England*. Serious Deliberation was therefore now had about altering the Iriſh Coin by mingling ſome Braſs with it, in regard the Iriſh War drew yearly out of *England* above 160000 Pound Sterling. By this ſome were of Opinion, "That the Charges of the War might be leſſened: "That all the good Money might by Exchange be drawn out of "*Ireland* into *England*; and ſo the Rebels, when the good Money "failed, be excluded from all Commerce with Forreiners, and conſe-"quently of neceſſity be weakened. Others argued on the contrary, "That this Change of Money would redound to the Queen's Diſho-"nour, and the Dammage of the Subject: That the good Money of "*Ireland* could not be drawn thence without a great Charge to the "Queen: That the Gain gotten hereby, if the new Money were "coined in *England*, would not, when the Accounts were caſt up, "countervail the Charges of carrying over, ſ much leſs would the "Profit be if it were coined in *Ireland*, where a Mint muſt neceſſarily "be ſet up at great Charges, and Minters muſt be hired at dear "Rates: Neither could the Commerce of the Rebels with Forrei-"ners be hindred by it, ſo long as there was Silver in the new Coin, "which the Merchant knew well enough how to ſeparate; to whom "it is all one whether he receive one Piece of Money, or three of the "ſame Value: And that it was to be feared the Souldiers would "mutiny, for hereby their Pay would be diminiſhed. But *Buckhurſt*, Lord Treaſurer, a man well skilled in Money-matters, with much adoe extorted from the Queen, (out of a Neceſſity (for that uſually gives Law to Time) which he alleaged,) that the Money ſhould be altered for a while, and be afterwards recalled again to its full Value; to which the Queen of herſelf was averſe, ſaying often that it would much reflect upon her Credit, and be diſpleaſing to the Army. Yet did the Army for all that continue without any Tumult or Diſorder, through a rare Felicity which attended the Queen, who retained her Authority with her People conjoyned with Love. To the Army certainly it proved a great Prejudice: whether it turned to the Advantage of the Queen or no, I know not: but to the Treaſurers and Pay-maſters without doubt it brought in good Gain, whoſe covetous Humour (which is a diligent Searcher out of new ways to get Money) may ſeem to have at firſt contrived it.

1601.

A Conſultation about Iriſh Coin.

Arguments for the allaying it.

Arguments againſt it.

It is altered without ſtir.

The Lord Deputy no ſooner heard of this Reſolution, but he, leſt any Mutiny ſhould fall out amongſt the Souldiers thereby as they lay idle, drew his Forces together in the firſt beginning of the Spring, and, before they were all got into a Body, marched with thoſe he had ready to *Moghery*, where he held them hard to Work; for, by cutting down the Trees he made himſelf a Paſſage through

The Lord Deputy marcheth againſt the Rebels.

1601. With notable Succeſs. a thick cumberſome Wood, and built a Fort. Out of *Lecale* he drove the *Mac-Geniſes*, who had ſeized upon it, and ſubdued all the Rebels Caſtles as far as *Armach*, into which City he alſo put a ſtrong Garriſon; and made ſuch a Progreſs this Summer, that he removed *Tir-Oen* from *Black-water*, where he had encamped himſelf with great Art and Cunning. In the mean while *John O-Dogherty* being dead in *Tir-Conell*, the Lord Deputy declared his Son to be his Heir, becauſe his Father held his Eſtate according to the Law of *England*; which he delivered the Poſſeſſion of to *Hugh Boy* and *Phelim Reaugh* his Guardians, who had the educating of him. This *O-Neale Garve* took in great Indignation, and forthwith invaded the young Gentleman's Eſtate, out of an imaginary Right he pretended, as if all the Lands and People in *Tir-Conell* belonged to him: and he took it very hainouſly that the Lord Deputy was not of the ſame Opinion with him, who yet had determined to hear both ſides impartially. Yet did Sir *Henry Docwray* by ſoothing *O-Neal Garve* up with fair Promiſes draw him to the Engliſh Party; and to keep him from Idleneſs, ſet upon *Mac-Swine Fanagh*, a notorious Rebell, and drove away a rich Booty, which yet he reſtored to him upon his ſubmitting himſelf, ſwearing Obedience, and giving Hoſtages; whom upon his revolting again from his Allegeance he hung up, and, waſting his Countrey, drove him to thoſe Streights, that he gave Hoſtages again, and ever after was firm to his Allegeance. Then he waſted *Sleugh-Art* a little Countrey in *Tir-Oen*, full of Woods and Bogs, about fifteen Miles long, *Neal-Garve* conducting him. He took *Derry* Caſtle, and put Garriſons into *Newton* and *Ainogh*.

And Sir *Henry Docwray* in another part.

Who ſubdueth *Mac-Swine*.

Taketh the Caſtle of *Derry*,

And now the Lord Deputy, marching again to *Black-water*, ſent for him: but being deſtitute of Neceſſaries, and the Enemy having blocked up all the Ways, he could not come up to him. Whereupon the Deputy in a rebuking manner adviſed him to repair this Negligence by ſome remarkable piece of Service: which in good time he did, taking the firſt Opportunity. For being advertiſed by *Neal Garve*, that the Souldiers were drawn out of *Tir-Conell* to march againſt the Lord Deputy, and that the Monaſtery of *Donegall*, near *Baliſhanon*, had onely a few Religious perſons in it; he ſent him thither with 500 *Engliſh*, who eaſily made themſelves Maſters of the Place. *O-Donel*, when the Lord Deputy was returned, marched with all his Forces to *Donegall*, provided with burning Firebrands to deſtroy the *Engliſh*. Full 30 days he beſieged the Place reſolutely and vigorouſly, with horrible Howlings and Out-cries, as if the Victory were gotten, when the Monaſtery by Accident took Fire and was burnt down in the Night; yet did the *Engliſh* courageouſly and manfully ſuſtain the Siege.

and *Donegall*.

Which *O-Donell* in vain attempts to recover.

Whilſt things ſucceeded thus proſperouſly in theſe Parts, ſeverall acquainted the Lord Deputy by Letters, and certain Intelligence there was, (a thing he had often heard uncertain Rumours of before,) that the *Spaniards* had ſet Sail towards *Munſter*; ſo that now

Rumours of the *Spaniards* call back the Lord Deputy.

1601.

now he was forced to deſiſt from his Enterpriſe begun, and to think of defending *Ireland*, not ſo much from a Rebellion at Home, as againſt the Invaſion of a forrein Enemy. Yet, that he might not loſe what he had gotten, he firſt ſtrengthened the Garriſons in *Ulſter*, and then made Haſte by continued Marches into *Munſter*, attended onely with one or two Cornets of Horſe, giving Order to the Commanders of the Foot to follow. Thither alſo *Tir-Oen*, and after him *O-Donell*, (breaking up the Siege of *Donegall*,) made all the Speed they could by private Ways: upon which Sir *Henry Docwray* marched preſently by Land, and relieved the Garriſon in *Donegall*. Two Companies he placed in *Aſherow* under *Edward Diggs*; by whom within a ſhort time *Baliſhanon* was taken, a Place which had been ſo much deſired and aimed at. And he himſelf was revenged on the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Iriſh*, who had betrayed *Newton* and the Caſtle of *Derry*.

Baliſhanon wone.

The War being now transferred into *Munſter*, the Series both of Matters and Time calleth me thither alſo. *Tir-Oen* and the Rebels of *Munſter* had by means of their Emiſſaries, *Matthew Oviedo* a *Spaniard*, deſigned by the Pope to be Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Biſhop of *Clonfort*, the Biſhop of *Killaloe*, and *Archer* a *Jeſuite*, by Prayer, Intreaty, and earneſt Requeſt, obtained at length of the *Spaniard*, that Succour ſhould be diſpatched to the Rebels in *Munſter*, under the Conduct of Don *Juan D' Aquila*, aſſured Hope being given that all *Munſter* would preſently revolt, and that the titular Earl of *Deſmond* and *Florence Mac-Carty* would joyn great Forces unto them. In the mean time Sir *George Carew* Preſident, to prevent this, forthwith arraigned this titular Earl, whom, as he lurked in By-places not eaſily come at, forſaken of his Friends, he had lately taken in a Cave: and this he did, becauſe if he ſhould die without Triall, his Eſtate could not by Law be confiſcate, but by Act of Parliament. He, being now condemned of Treaſon, proteſted that he took up Arms out of a Deſire to reſtore the Romiſh Religion, and to recover his Anceſtours Inheritance, being provoked thereto by the Injuries and Abuſes of the new-come *Engliſh*, the late Exactions upon every Plough-land, and the Engliſh way of Trials by a Jury of Twelve men; and fed alſo with Hope of Aſſiſtence out of *Spain*, which he knew for certain to be now coming by the Relation of the Archbiſhop, who was ſent into *Spain* in the Moneth of *February*, and upon the Credit and Aſſurance of *Florence Mac-Carty*. The Preſident alſo found out, that a Conſultation had been holden between *Tir-Oen*, the ſaid Archbiſhop, and others, in what Part of *Ireland* the *Spaniards* might land moſt conveniently: and that they had unanimouſly agreed that *Munſter* was far the moſt convenient Part of the Kingdome for it; but at what Haven, they differed in Opinion. Some there were who judged it beſt to ſeize firſt upon *Limerick*, as bordering upon *Connaught* and *Leinſter*, and not far diſtant from *Ulſter*, and therefore ſeated with great Advantage for the joyning their Forces together; and

The *Spaniards* deſign to invade *Ireland*.

The Preſident of *Munſter* ſurpriſeth and arraigneth the titular Earl of *Deſmond*.

And diſcovereth a Conſultation held by the Rebels where the *Spaniards* were beſt to land.

1601.

and ſo far remote from *England*, that there ſeemed to be no Fear of the Engliſh Fleet. Yet *Donat Mac-Cormac* affirmed, that *Florence Mac-Carty*, upon mature Deliberation, preferred *Cork*, as being a Haven more convenient, the City weaker, and therefore eaſier to be wone; and from thence the *Spaniards* might immediately fall upon *Barry*, *Roch*, *Cormac Mac-Dermot*, and *Mac-Carty Reogh*, who continued firm in their Allegeance, and either force them to ſide with them, or ſeize upon their Eſtates. Hereupon the Preſident thought there was no better courſe then by any means to ſurprize *Florence*, although he had formerly granted him Letters of Protection, and a Charter of Pardon for his Life: and having after his many Shiftings taken him, becauſe he had offered Violence to a Creditour contrary to the Form of his Protection, he ſent him into *England* together with the ſaid titular Earl. And now being certainly advertiſed that the *Spaniards* would come, (which he could neither make the Lord Deputy nor the Councill in *England* to believe,) he cauſed Victuals and Proviſion to be brought from all Parts into *Cork*, held an Aſſembly of the Province there, and apprehended ſome turbulent perſons, whom he ſuſpected, leſt they ſhould doe any Miſchief; others he commanded to deliver Hoſtages; and was ſo provident and carefull of his Affairs, that the Town abounded with Proviſions and all Neceſſaries to ſuſtain a Siege of many Months. There came alſo in good time a freſh Supply of 2000 men out of *England* to him.

He taketh *Florence Mac-Carty*, and ſendeth him and the titular Earl into *England*.

He prepareth againſt the *Spaniards*.

The Preſident having received certain Intelligence in the midſt of *September* that the *Spaniards* were under Sail, gave the Lord Deputy Notice thereof with all Speed: who being come as far as *Kilkenny* ſent for the Preſident. While the Preſident haſtned on his way to him, he was called back upon the News of the Spaniſh Fleet's being in Sight. He therefore made *Charles Wilmot* Governour of *Cork*, and then poaſted to the Lord Deputy. Preſently they ſate in Counſell, to conſider whether the Lord Deputy, who had but a ſmall Train, and not ſo much as his Guard, about him, ſhould return back, or ſtay at *Kilkenny* till his Forces were drawn together. Some were of Opinion that it was fitteſt to return, and that it ſtood not with the Dignity of the Lord Deputy to goe forward with ſo ſmall a Train. The Preſident maintained ſtiffly the contrary, "That he "could neither return nor ſtop where he was without Suſpicion of "Cowardiſe, and indangering a generall Revolt of the whole Pro"vince: and That where the Safety of a Kingdome lies at Stake, "needleſs and nice things are not to be ſtood upon. It was there"fore requiſite he ſhould goe forward, and exerciſe his Authority as "Lord Deputy againſt ſuch as were inclined to revolt, who, as "they would be retained in their Duty upon Sight of the Lord De"puty amongſt them, whoſe fortunate Succeſs had made him fa"mous; ſo would they certainly revolt if he ſhould once return "back. Some there were who thought it beſt that the Lord Deputy ſhould goe forward as far as *Clonmel* on the Borders of the Province,

He giveth the Lord Deputy notice of the *Spaniards* coming.

A conſultation whether the Lord Deputy ſhould enter into *Munſter* without his Forces.

1601.

vince, and no farther, till ſuch time as his Forces came up. But when the Preſident had offered him a Guard of 200 Horſe, and informed him that *Cork* was plentifully provided of all Neceſſaries for Service, he went forward with him with great Alacrity.

He entreth.

In the mean time the Spaniſh Fleet, which by reaſon of the Wind ſlackening could not reach the Haven of *Cork*, entred the Mouth of the Haven of *Kinſale* on the 23. of *September*, and landed their men. Preſently hereupon Sir *Richard Percy*, who had the Command of the Town with 150 men, being too weak to make a Defenſe, retired with his men (as he was commanded) to *Cork*. The *Spaniards* with 35 Colours diſplaied (finding the Gates open) were gladly welcomed by the Townſmen, the chief Magiſtrate going before them with his Staffe, and like a Quarter-maſter appointing them their Quarters. The Preſident commanded all the Cattell and ſerviceable Beaſts on this ſide the River *Averley* to be driven away, and ſent *Flower* with 400 light-armed Foot to ſpoil the adjacent Country; and withall (which ſeemed a thing very requiſite to be done) he every-where liſted many of the Citizens and Townſmen in his Army, not that they would ſtand him in any ſtead, but to keep them as Hoſtages, leſt, lying idle at Home, they ſhould, out of their Affection to the Romiſh Religion, and their innate Love to the *Spaniards*, as believing themſelves deſcended from the ſame Originall, contrive to revolt, and deliver up the Towns to the Enemy.

The *Spaniards* arrive in *Ireland*.

Kinſale quitted, and poſſeſſed by them.

The Preſident's great care of things.

Don *Juan d' Aquila*, who had the Command of the *Spaniards* with the Title of *Maſter-Generall and Captain of the Catholick King in God's War for maintaining the Faith in Ireland*, publiſhed certain Papers wherein he endeavoured to perſwade the People, *That Queen* Elizabeth *was by ſeverall Sentences of the Biſhops of* Rome *deprived of her Crown, that her Subjects were abſolved from their Oath of Allegeance, and that the* Spaniards *were come to deliver* Ireland *from the Jaws of the Devill*, (for thoſe were his words.) And by this ſpecious Pretence he drew great numbers of lewd Fellows to joyn with him. The Lord Deputy, having drawn together from all parts what Forces he could, applied himſelf to the beſieging *Kinſale*: and having lodged his Army about it, he thought it very neceſſary to ſubdue *Kincurran*, a Caſtle upon the Haven, not far from the Town, (wherein were put 150 *Spaniards*,) becauſe of its Conveniency as well to defend the Engliſh Fleet, as to annoy the Spaniſh, if it ſhould chance to return. Which the Preſident, who was made Lieutenant-generall of the Army, having mounted his great Ordnance, and repulſed the *Spaniards* both by Sea and Land that came to relieve it, ſoon brought to ſurrender upon Diſcretion.

The *Spaniards* publiſh the cauſe of their coming.

They are beſieged.

Kincurran Caſtle taken.

And now Sir *Richard Leviſon*, Viceadmirall, being ſent out of *England* with two or three of the Queen's Ships to hinder their Relieving it by Sea, blocked up the Haven: and the *Engliſh* as well from Sea as by Land began to thunder into the Town with their Ordnance, and to begirt the ſame with a cloſer Siege. Which notwith-

1601.

Spaniſh Ships ſunk.

withſtanding was ſoon after ſomewhat ſlackened, in regard *Leviſon* with his Sea-men was fain to ſet Sail from hence againſt 2000 *Spaniards* which were landed at *Bere-haven*, *Baltimore* and *Caſtlehaven*; five of whoſe Ships he ſunk.

Tir-Oen cometh into *Munſter* and joyneth with the *Spaniards*.

At the ſame time was the Preſident ſent from the Camp with ſome Troups to prevent *O-Donell*, that he ſhould not joyn with this new Supply of *Spaniards*: but, the Ground being hard frozen, he got by Night through By-ways to the *Spaniards*. And not many days after *Tir-Oen* himſelf, with *O-Rork*, *Reimund Burk*, *Mac-Mahon*, *Randall Mac-Surley*, *Tirell* Baron of *Kerry*, and the choiſeſt of the Rebels, drew near: with whom when *Alphonſo O-Campo* had joyned the new-landed *Spaniards*, and together made up 6000 Foot and 500 Horſe, they were puffed up with an aſſured Confidence of Victory, as being more in Number, freſh men, and well provided of all Neceſſaries; whereas the *Engliſh* were tired out with a Winter Siege, deſtitute of Proviſion, and their Horſes ſpent with hard Service and want of Food.

The Lord Deputy vigorouſly proſecuteth the Siege.

The Lord Deputy in the midſt of theſe Difficulties and Diſadvantages proſecuted the Siege with all poſſible Vigour and Reſolution, and withall ſecured his Camp with new Works. On the 21. of *December* *Tir-Oen* ſhewed himſelf with his Forces upon an Hill about a mile from the Camp, and there encamping ſhewed himſelf again the day following. The next Night the *Spaniards* ſallied out of the Town, and the *Iriſh* endeavoured to put themſelves into it; but they were both of them beaten back. On the 23. of *December* Letters were intercepted from *D' Aquila* to *Tir-Oen*, wherein he intreateth him that the *Spaniards* that were newly come might be put into the Town, and the Engliſh Camp aſſaulted on both ſides at once. That Night, when the Moon was ready to riſe, the Lord Deputy commanded Sir *Henry Poer* to draw forth eight Companies of old Souldiers, and to put them in Battell-array on the Weſt ſide of the Camp. Sir *Henry Greams*, who was upon the Scout that Night with a party of Horſe, ſent the Lord Deputy word very early in the Morning, that the Rebels would certainly advance, for he ſaw a great number of Matches lighted. Hereupon the Alarm was given throughout the Camp, and Companies appointed to all places where there was any Acceſs to the Town. The Lord Deputy with the Preſident, and Sir *Richard Wingfield* Marſhall, marched towards the Watch, and with the Advice of Sir *Oliver Lambard* choſe out a fit Ground to receive the Enemy. Thither were drawn the Regiments of Sir *Henry Folliot* and Sir *Oliver Saint-John*, with 600 Sea-men under the Conduct of Sir *Richard Leviſon*. *Tir-Oen*, who had determined (as came after to be known) to lead the new-arrived *Spaniards* and 800 *Iriſh* by Favour of the Night whilſt it was yet dark into *Kinſale*, eſpied at Break of day the Marſhall and Sir *Henry Danvers* with their Troups of Horſe, and *Poer* at the Foot of the Hill with his Companies of old Souldiers: wherefore being diſappointed of his Hope he made a

The Rebels endeavour to put Relief into the Town.

And the *Engliſh* to hinder them.

The Rebels retire.

Stand,

Stand, and ſoon after cauſed his Bag-pipers to ſound a Retreat.

1601.

The Lord Deputy, as ſoon as he was certified of their confuſed Retreat, commanded to purſue them; and the better to obſerve their Retreat, he himſelf marched in the Head of his Troups. But there aroſe ſuch a thick dark Miſt, with a violent Showr, that for a while it took away all Sight of them. A while after, the Sky clearing up, when he obſerved that they retired with Haſte and Fear in three great Troups, and their Horſemen at their Backs; he reſolved to charge them, ſending back the Preſident with three Cornets of Horſe to hinder the Sallying of the *Spaniards* out of the Town, if they ſhould attempt it. The Lord Deputy purſued them with ſuch Speed, that he conſtrained them to make a Stand at the ſide of a miry and boggy place, to which was no Acceſs but by a Foord. But the Horſe which guarded the Foord being defeated by the Valour of the Marſhall and the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, the *Engliſh* made a reſolute Impreſſion upon the Enemies Troups of Horſe: and when Sir *William Godolphin*, who led the Lord Deputie's Wing, Sir *Henry Danvers*, *Minſhan*, *Taffe*, *Flemming*, and Sir *John Barkley*, Major Generall, had joyned with them, they renewed their Impreſſion with ſuch Alacrity, that the Rebels Horſe betook themſelves to Flight. To chaſe them it was not thought good: but having gathered their Forces together they ruſhed into the main Battel of the Enemies, (which now quaked for Fear,) and brake quite through it. *Tirell* in the mean time with his Forces and the *Spaniards* ſtood their Ground firmly; againſt whom the Lord Deputy advanced with his Rere: and to perform the Duty not onely of a Generall in commanding, but of a Souldier alſo in fighting, he charged them with three Companies of Sir *Oliver Saint-Johns*, led by *Roe*, and put them to ſuch a Rout, that they retreated confuſedly to the *Iriſh*, by whom they were preſently left to the Sword, and cut down with great Slaughter by the Lord Deputie's Troup of Horſe, under the Leading of Sir *William Godolphin*. *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donell*, and the reſt, preſently betook themſelves to Flight, ſome one way and ſome another, and throwing away their Arms ſhifted for themſelves. Don *Alphonſo O-Campo* was taken Priſoner, with three Spaniſh Leaders, and ſix * Enſigns: 1200 men were ſlain, and nine Colours taken, whereof ſix were Spaniſh. Of the *Engliſh* few were miſſing, but many wounded; and amongſt the reſt Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *William Godolphin*, and *Croſts*. So little Loſs did this great Victory ſtand the *Engliſh* in.

The *Engliſh* purſue them.

A great Fight on the 21. of *December*, upon which very day there was an earth-quake in *London*.

The Rebels flie.

* *Alferez.*

The Lord Deputy having commanded the Retreat to be ſounded, and given Thanks to God amidſt the Heaps of dead Carkaſſes, Knighted the Earl of *Clan-Richard* for his valiant Service, and returned a Conquerour to the Camp with joyfull Shouts and Acclamations, which he found ſafe and no-ways endamaged. For the *Spaniards* in the Town, when they perceived all places well fortified and manned, and had found by former Experience that all their

1601.

Sallies had tended to their own Loss and Dammage, kept themselves in full of Care and perplexed Expectation. And Fortune (as at severall other times) favoured the *English*: For the Wind blew from such a Quarter, that the Discharging of the Guns while they were in Fight was never heard in the Town.

The Advantages by this Victory.

Great was this Victory, and many ways advantageous. For *Ireland*, which was staggering, and just ready to revolt, was hereby restrained from it; the *Spaniards* were driven out of *Ireland*; the Arch-rebell *Tir-Oen* was forced back again to his Lurking-places in *Ulster*; *O-Donell* was compelled to fly into *Spain*; the rest of the Rebels were dispersed into divers Parts; the Queen's Authority was restored; the Insolency of wicked persons restrained; the Hearts of honest men, which were a little before broken and dejected, were cheared up and confirmed; and a perfect and solid Peace afterwards established in all Parts of the Island.

The next day the Lord Deputy commanded *Josias Bodley*, Surveyour of the Works, who had behaved himself gallantly both about the Works and in the Fight, that the Mount which was begun should be finished, and the Trenches drawn nearer the Town. This was six days in doing. Meanwhile *D' Aquila* sent a Letter by a Trumpetter to the Lord Deputy, and desired that some Gentleman of Credit might be sent into the Town, with whom he might parley. For this Business Sir *William Godolphin* Knight was made choice of: to whom *D' Aquila* signified, "That he had found the "Lord Deputy, though a smart and bitter, yet an honourable, Ene- "my; that the *Irish* were weak, uncivill, and (as he much feared) "perfidious; that he was sent by the Catholick King to the Assistence "of two Earls, but now he questioned whether there were any "such Earls in the World, since one Blast of War had blown the "one over into *Spain*, and the other into the North, so that he could "not tell what was become of either of them. He was willing "therefore to treat of a Peace, which might be advantageous to "the *English*, and not prejudiciall to the *Spaniards*; though he wan- "ted nothing to hold out the Siege, and looked every day for fresh "Succours to enable him to accomplish what he came for.

The *Spaniards* demand a Parley.

The Articles of Surrender.

Briefly, after a short Parley, it was agreed betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *English*, being both of them weary of the Siege, "That "the *Spaniards* should surrender up to the Lord Deputy *Kinsale*, "and the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Berehaven* and *Castlehaven*: "that they should depart with their Lives, Goods, and Colours flying: "that the *English* should furnish them with Ships at a reasonable "Rate to transport them into *Spain* at two Voiages: that *D' Aqui-* "*la* should depart last: that they should not bear Arms against the "Queen of *England* before such time as they were landed in *Spain*: "that if in their Return they touched at any Haven in *England*, "they should be used civilly and courteously: that if they ligh- "ted upon any English Ships, they should not be molested: that "whilst

" whilſt they tarried for a Wind in *Ireland*, they ſhould be ſupplied " with neceſſary Victuals for their Money, and no Wrong ſhould be " done them: and for the Ships which ſhould tranſport them, Se- " curity ſhould be given by delivering three Hoſtages ſuch as the " Lord Deputy ſhould make Choice of. 1601.

The Five and fortieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1602.

THeſe Articles being drawn up in Writing on the ſecond of *January*, and ratified on both Sides by Oath, the *Spaniards*, taking the Opportunity of good Weather, ſet Sail from *Ireland*, very much weakned and diminiſhed in Number: while the *Iriſh* fretted and were full of Indignation that they had delivered up to the *Engliſh* by Compoſition all thoſe Caſtles and Forts which they had put into their Hands to protect and ſecure. But as they were about to deliver up *Dunboy*, *O-Sullivant Beat*, who had entruſted the mwith it, ſuddenly ſeized upon it, ſtrongly fortified it, and by his Letters begged of the *Spaniards* to return again. But the Preſident, leſt by ſuch a commodious Harbour and Receptacle the War ſhould be revived again, haſted thither by Sea, (for the March by Land was very difficult,) prevented *Tirell*, who was ready with his Mercenaries to hinder his Landing, and after a bloudy Siege having forced the Caſtle, razed it to the Ground, and thereby timely excluded the *Spaniards* from all Hopes of coming back into *Ireland*, who were now expected to return thither again.

The *Spaniards* at their return deliver the Caſtles to the *Engliſh*, except *Dunboy*. Which is taken by force by the Preſident.

Nevertheleſs *Eugenius O-Hegan*, deſigned by the Pope to be Biſhop of *Roſſe*, by furniſhing them with Money, and giving them Hopes of freſh Succours from *Spain*, ſo confirmed the Minds of thoſe that were before unreſolved and ſtaggering in theſe Parts, that they perſiſted on in their Rebellion. But *Wilmot* in *Kerry*, where he was Governour, and *Roger* and *Gawin Harvey*, Brethren, in *Carbery*, taking their Caſtles, driving away their Cattel, and putting many of them to the Sword, reduced great numbers of them into Order by Force. The Preſident himſelf on a ſudden ſurprized *Cormac Mac-Dermot*, a great Lord of *Muskery*, very powerful in Vaſſals and Adherents, who was accuſed to endeavour Diſturbances, and committed him to Cuſtody: from whence notwithſtanding he ſoon after made an Eſcape. But when he ſaw his Country laid waſte, his Caſtles ſeized on by the *Engliſh*, (for *Wilmot*, about the time of his Eſcape, had by Force taken *Muckron*, his principall Seat, as it was caſually on Fire,) his Son a Priſoner in *England*, his Wife in *Cork*, and himſelf in great Danger of his Life and the Ruine of his Eſtate; he ſubmitted himſelf and begged Pardon: which he obtained upon procuring Sureties. In the mean

The Rebels reduced to Obedience.

1602.

time *Samuell Bagnall* put *Tirell* to Flight, (who was lately come into *Mwkery* with his mercenary Robbers,) took his Caſtles, and chaſed him into the Mountains of *Deſmond*. *Wilmot* alſo did ſo eagerly proſecute the Knight of *Kerry* and other famous Rebels, that with lamentable Howlings they ſubmitted, and betook themſelves to his Protection. *Tirell*, being purſued by the Lord *Barry* and *Wilmot*, withdrew himſelf ſecretly through blind Ways into *Leimſter*. Shortly after *William a Burgh* and *O-Sullivant Bear*, being terrified and put to many Difficulties, left *Bear* and *Bantrey* without Defenſe to be over-run by the *Engliſh*. On the other ſide Captain *Taffe*, who was ſent out by the Preſident, hotly purſued *Eugenius Mac-Carty* and *Donat Keagh* in *Carbery*, and ſlew *Eugenius O-Hegan* the Biſhop, as he was fighting in the midſt of the Rebels with a Breviary in one Hand, and a Sword in the other.

Or driven out of the Countrey.

Biſhop *O-Hegan* ſlain.

Though the *Spaniards* were now driven out of *Ireland*, yet the Queen, having a watchful Eye over the Safety of her People, ſent forthwith to the Coaſt of *Spain* a Fleet of 8 of her Royal Ships, with ſome others of leſſer Burthen, under the Command of Sir *Richard Leviſon* and Sir *William Mounſon*, to divert the *Spaniards* from ſetting their Thoughts upon *Ireland* again. *Leviſon* put to Sea on the 19. of *March*, and *Mounſon* followed him, having firſt ſtayed ſome days for the Low-Country Ships to joyn with him, but in vain. In the mean time *Leviſon* lighted upon a Fleet of 38 Spaniſh Veſſels which brought Silver from *America*, and with thoſe few Ships he had ſet upon them, but without Succeſs.

An Expedition to the Coaſt of *Spain*.

The Spaniſh Plate-Fleet attempted in vain.

After *Mounſon* was come in with the reſt of the Navy, they for many days together hindred all Trade on the Coaſt of *Portugall*. At length they received certain Intelligence, that an huge Veſſel, called a Carack, Burthen 1600 Tun, laden with rich Merchandizes from the *Eaſt-Indies*, was arrived at *Seſimbria* in *Portugall* near Cape *Spichell*: and that there were eleven Gallies riding there at Anchour, whereof eight were Spaniſh, aſſigned to *Frederick Spinola* for the Low-Country War, and the other three were of *Portugall*. *Seſimbria* is a ſmall City lying upon a Bay within the Road, built all of Stone, and ſtrengthened with a Caſtle furniſhed with twelve Pieces of Ordnance. Under the Caſtle rode the Carack: the Gallies lay on the Weſt ſide of the Road, under the Point of a Rock, with their Fore-caſtles forward, in every of which were mounted five Pieces of Ordnance: ſo that from the Caſtle, from the Carack which was like a Caſtle, and from the Gallies, imminent Danger ſeemed to threaten the Aſſailants. Yet was Sir *Richard Leviſon* reſolved, with the joynt Conſent of all the Seamen, to ſet upon them, and to fire the Carack, if they could not take her.

Several Gallies and a Carack ſet upon in the Haven of *Seſimbria*.

The next day therefore, as had been agreed, having a gentle Gale, he ſet up a Flag in the Admiral's Main-top, and *Mounſon* another (according to the Cuſtom of Sea-men) in the Vice-Admiral's Fore-top: and ſhortly after entring with five of the Queen's Ships

1602.

Ships into the Road, they anchoured over against the Gallies, and thundred upon them so furiously with their great Ordnance, that after seven Hours the Marquess of *Santa Cruce* withdrew himself with the *Portugall* Gallies, which he had the Command of: when seeing *Spinola* did not follow him, he returned again. But these Gallies not enduring the Force of the English Ships, they presently shifted every one for itself by Flight. Two of them were taken and burnt, wherein was great Store of Powder intended for the *Netherlands*: the rest being torn and shattered, and the Slaves for the most part slain, with much adoe recovered the Mouth of the River *Tejo*. Now was *Mounson* ready to set upon that huge Carack to fire it: but *Levison* hindred him, and gave the Captain of the Carack to understand by *Sewall* an old Sea-man, that the Gallies wherein he confided were put to Flight, and two of them taken: that he was now Master of the Road: that the Castle itself was not able to withstand the Forces of the *English*, much less was his Carack. If therefore they refused Mercy now it was offered them, they should every man of them find rigorous and severe Usage. The Captain desired that some Gentleman might be sent to him, with whom he would treat at large. *Mounson* was sent: to whom the *Spaniards* propounded these Conditions. "That all which "were in the Carack (for 300 Gentlemen had put themselves a-"board her to defend her) might forthwith be dismissed in Safety "with their Arms: That their Flag might not be taken down: "That the Ship itself and the Ordnance might remain to the King, "and that all the Lading should goe to the *English*. *Mounson* consented that they should be all dismissed within three days: But that the Spanish Flag should be displayed in the English-mens Sight, unless it were at the Stern of the Ship, or that the Ship and Ordnance should goe to the *Spaniard*, this he would not hear of by any means.

The Gallies put to flight.

Two of them taken.

The Carack attempted.

They come to a Parley.

After a long Parley it was agreed, "That the *Portugueezes* should "be discharged within two days, and let goe with their Matches "put out: That their Flag should be taken down: That the Ship "as it was, with the Ordnance and Lading, should be delivered up "without Fraud: and that in the mean time they should not dis-"charge their Ordnance upon the *English* from the Castle. All the Persons were dismissed out of the Carack the same Night, except the Captain and some few others, who were set on Land early the next Morning. The same day was the Carack brought out of the Road, and the *English*, taking the Advantage of favourable Winds, brought Home this rich Prize, (to the Value of a Million of Ducats in the Estimation of the *Portugueezes*,) with the Loss of no more then five ordinary Sea-men.

The Carack yielded up.

Mounson was sent back with some Ships to the Coasts of *Spain*, where he continued till the midst of Winter, to hinder them from any Attempt upon *Ireland*. Whilst he was at Sea making towards *Spain*,

Spanish Gallies bound for *Flanders*.

Frederick

1602.

Frederick Spinola, with six Gallies which came off safe at *Sesimbria*, coasting along by the French Shoar, entred on the 23. of *September* into the British Streight, or Narrow seas, intending to get with them into some Port of *Flanders*. Sir *Robert Mansell* lay in Wait for him with two or three of the Queen's Ships and four *Hollanders* scatteringly up and down. The *Spaniards* first descried two of the *Hollanders* Gallies, and these they resolved to set upon. But then spying one of the Queen's Ships not far off, they turned their Oars, and stood off the rest of the Day, thinking by the Advantage of the Night to attain their desired Haven. From eight of the Clock in the Morning till Sun-set *Mansell* with his Ships and two *Hollanders* held them in Chace. When Night came, the Gallies steered their Course to the Coast of *England*, (coming so near the Shoar, that some of the captive Slaves, shaking off their Fetters and leaping over-board, swam to Land,) and before they were aware fell into a place where one of the Queen's Ships and the other *Hollanders* rode at Anchour. Hereupon *Mansell*, being assured that the Gallies must needs fall in with those Ships, that they might with the more Confidence hold on their Course, turned aside with a Purpose to put betwixt the Gallies and the Coast of *Flanders*. The Ship they lighted upon of the Queen's was called *the Answer*: *Broadgate* the Captain, who upon the Report of the Ordnance, which he had before heard afar off, had prepared himself for Fight, gave them 38 Shot; and the *Hollanders* afterward thundred upon them after the same manner. The Gallies not discharging one Piece of Ordnance escaped by the Swiftness of their Oars; and wandering in the dead of the Night, one of them lighted upon *Mansell*: against which he discharged all his Ordnance, shot her main Mast down, and upon hearing a lamentable Cry drew nearer, offering them Quarter by an Interpreter. But the other five Gallies coming in to her Succour, he let fly a Broad side amongst them. What Slaughter he made, though the Night were somewhat light, could not be discovered. And after this there was not the Report of one Piece of Ordnance heard, till a Ship of *Holland* fell foul upon a Gally called the *Lucera*, or *Phosphorus*, and, tearing away her Rudder, so mawled her, that she sunk soon after with almost all that were on board her. Another Ship of *Holland* by Casualty falling foul of the Gally called the *Padilla*, split it in pieces, and was herself welnigh served in the same kind. Another of the Gallies was cast away by the Heedlesness of the Mariners, whilst it was making haste to *Calice*. Two of them put into *Newport*. *Spinola* himself in the Admirall escaped with great Store of Treasure into *Dunkirk*: who, having repaired these three Gallies, carried them to *Scluis*; and the Year following, in a Sea-fight against the *Hollanders*, was killed with a Cannon bullet, and was highly commended for his Valour after his Death.

The *English* descry them, and give them chace.

They happen upon some of the Queen's Ships.

A Fight between them.

The Gallies defeated.

The death of *Spinola*.

We told you before that the Journey of the Bishop of *London*, *Christopher*

Chriſtopher Perkins and *John Swale* Doctours of Law, whom the Queen ſent Commiſſioners to *Embden* in the Year 1600. to treat with the Commiſſioners of *Denmark*, came to nothing. Now again the Queen ſent to *Breme* about the ſame Affair *Ralph* Lord *Euers*, Sir *John Herbert* the ſecond Secretary, *Daniel Dun* Doctour of Law, one of the Maſters of Requeſts, and joyned *Stephen Leiſter* as an Aſſiſtent to them. The King of *Denmark* ſent *Mauderope Persberg*, *Arnold Whitfield* Chancellour of *Denmark*, and *Jonas Chariſius* Doctour of Law. The *Engliſh* complained that they were denied Liberty of Navigation into *Moſcovy* by the Northern Ocean, and free Fiſhing upon the Coaſts and Iſlands of the ſame; and that extraordinary Payments were exacted of them in the Sound, meerly for paſſing through it. They required, "That the ancient "Leagues between *Henry* the Seventh King of *England* and *John* "King of *Denmark* in the Year 1490. and between *Henry* the "Eighth and *Chriſtiern* in the Year 1523. might be reviewed, and "accommodated to theſe preſent Times: that the multiplied and "uncertain Exactions of new Cuſtoms might be taken off, or elſe "leſſened, and a certain and fixed Rate ſet down in Writing, with "a ſettled ſtanding Rule concerning Confiſcations: that their Ships "might not be ſtayed in the Sound longer then was fit: that the "Complaints of private men might be heard and decided: and that "no Munition for War might be carried into *Spain*. Hereupon it was debated betwixt them, "Whether it were lawful for Prin-"ces to raiſe their Cuſtoms at their Pleaſure, contrary to ancient "Leagues: Whether this were not contrary to Equity, though it "have been practiſed; conſidering that all Cuſtom ought to be "accordant to Truth and Equity: Whether thoſe things which "have been eſtabliſhed upon grave and ſerious Conſideration, and "for ſome time tolerated and permitted on both Sides, can be abro-"gated and made void without manifeſt Wrong to the Pleaſure and "Right of thoſe Princes by whom they were at firſt ſo eſtabliſhed: "Whether thoſe Cuſtoms impoſed by the *Engliſh* upon the *Danes* "and other Forreiners in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, for Merchan-"dize exported and imported, were not more reaſonable then thoſe "which are impoſed by the *Danes* for Paſſage onely, who for their "Charges in ſecuring the Sea-men demand a Roſe-noble of every "Ship, one piece of Money in the hundred, and Laſtage: Whether "Cuſtoms are to be exacted for Paſſage onely, which are no-where "elſe paied but for landing and ſelling the Merchandize: Whether "it be not free for the *Engliſh* to fiſh in the Northern Ocean, and "upon the Iſlands and Coaſts thereof, and to ſail through the ſame "into *Moſcovy*, ſince the Sea is free for all men, and Princes have "no more Dominion on the Sea, to hinder Mariners from the Uſe "thereof, then they have in the Air; according to that Saying of "the Emperour *Antonine*, *I indeed am Lord of all the Earth; but the* "*Law is Lord of the Sea: Judge ye therefore in this Caſe according to* "*the*

1602.

A Treaty with the *Danes* about Merchants Affairs.

The Complaints of the *Engliſh*.

Their Demands.

Severall Quære's propounded by them.

1602. "*the Law of* Rhodes: Whether therefore it were not againſt the "Law of Nations to uſurp and challenge ſuch a Dominion over the "Sea, ſeeing Princes have no Right nor Jurisdiction but in the Sea "that lies near their own Territories, and that onely in order to the "Securing of Navigation from Pirates and Enemies; and the Kings "of *England* have never prohibited Navigation and Fiſhing in the "Iriſh Sea between *England* and *Ireland*, though they be as truly "Lords of the Coaſts on both Sides, as the *Dane* is of *Norway* and "*Iſeland*, who challengeth this Royalty to himſelf upon no other "Account but that. But if Payments are to be exacted from the "*Engliſh* for Paſſage, the Queen may as well demand them as high of "the *Danes* that trade to her Dominions, Kingdoms and Iſlands. Here-

The *Danes* Propoſals, upon the *Danes* propounded, "That ſeeing the King's Father allow-"ed that Navigation for the Queen's ſake, though to his great "Prejudice and Dammage, the Engliſh Merchants might well now "redeem the ſame for 200 Roſe-nobles a Year during the Queen's "Life: That the Goods taken on both Sides ſhould be reſtored ac-

and Complaints. "cording to Reaſon and Equity. Great Complaints and Intre ates they made concerning the Engliſh Pirates, ſaying, "That though in "the Heat of War the Inſolency of Pirats could not wholly be ſup-"preſſed, yet might it by ſevere Puniſhment be reſtrained; otherwiſe "Arreſts and Repriſals were to be granted for repairing of Injuries "and Loſſes, becauſe it highly concerneth Kings to ſee that their "Subjects receive no Detriment: That the *Engliſh* need not complain "of the carrying of warlike Proviſion into *Spain*, ſeeing ſo little was "tranſported by the *Danes*, that the *Spaniards* could eaſily be with-"out it, and did but little advantage and ſerve themſelves by it.

After they had debated theſe things for the ſpace of two Months by Writings delivered in on both Sides, the *Danes* unexpectedly told the *Engliſh*, that they had no Power to re-examine or reſtore the old Leagues, nor either to take off or abate the Cuſtoms and Duties, nor to yield the Fiſhing in the *Iſeland* and *Norway* Seas, without the King's ſpeciall Commiſſion and Authority, and upon ſome certain Conditions: and withall (which moved the greateſt Admiration) they forbad the *Engliſh* to fiſh at the Iſlands of *Feroe*, upon the ſame Penalty as the reſt of the Fiſhings had been forbidden them before.

A new Inhibition of the *Danes*.

The *Engliſh* proteſt againſt it.

The *Engliſh* on the contrary proteſted downright concerning the Nullity and Invalidity of this Inhibition, or of any other Declaration whatſoever made contrary to the Tenour of the Leagues. And when they could come to no other Concluſion then this, that the things treated and tranſacted betwixt them ſhould be referred to their reſpective Princes; and the *Danes* promiſed effectually to intercede with the King for the publiſhing his Toll-books, whereby the Certainty of Meaſures, Numbers and Weights might fully appear; and that there ſhould be no Alteration thereof at Pleaſure, contrary to the Rates ſet down in thoſe Books, which ſhould alwaies remain in the Hands of the Officers of the Cuſtome-houſe; and that as to

A Receſs, and Suſpenſion of the Buſineſs at preſent.

Confiſcation,

Confiſcation, thoſe goods only ſhould be arreſted and confiſcate which were concealed and not marked: the Engliſh Commiſſioners reſted ſatisfied with the *Danes* Promiſes, and the whole Buſineſs was ſuſpended and prorogued till another time, ſaving always to the Queen of *England*, her Subjects and Realm, their due Rights. 1602.

Whilſt theſe things were debating betwixt the two Princes, the Popiſh Church-men in *England* happened into a bitter Quarrell amongſt themſelves. For the *Jeſuites* on the one ſide and the Secular Prieſts on the other fell foul upon one another with ſharp and tart Papers, virulent Words, and contumelious and reproachfull Books. The Secular Prieſts, taking it in great Indignation that *Blackwell*, ſometime a Student in *Trinity* Colledge at *Oxford*, who was wholly at the Diſpoſing and Command of *Garnet*, Generall of the *Jeſuites* in *England*, was made Archprieſt over them, oppoſed his Authority. He therefore firſt deprived them of their *Faculties*, (as they call them;) and a while after, upon their appealing to the Biſhop of *Rome*, procured them by a Breve to be declared Schiſmaticks and Hereticks. This Aſperſion they wiped off, and that by the Cenſure and Judgement of the Univerſity of *Paris* on their ſide. And ſetting forth one Book after another, they highly extolled the Queen, in that from the firſt Beginning of her Reign ſhe had dealt favourably and mercifully with the Papiſts. For they made appear, "That in the firſt eleven "Years of her Reign there was not one Papiſt had his Life called in "Queſtion for his Conſcience or Religion; and that in ten compleat Years after the Bull of *Pius Quintus* publiſhed againſt her, and "the Rebellion of the Papiſts, there were not above twelve Prieſts "put to Death, and of them ſome convicted of Treaſon, till the Year "1580. when the *Jeſuites* firſt crept into *England*. Then they ſhewed at large, "That their wicked Deſigns and Practices againſt the State "confounded all, very much prejudiced the Catholick Religion, and "enforced the making rigid and ſevere Laws againſt the Catholicks. "Yet for all that were there not in the ten Years following above "50 Prieſts executed, and 55 more (ſuch was the Queen's Mercy) "baniſhed, againſt whom ſhe might have proceeded according to "Law. That after that time there were Seminaries erected in "*Spain* for Engliſh-men, by the Procurement of *Parſons* an Engliſh "*Jeſuite*; and out of them were ſent every Year into *England* ſeverall bearded and turbulent Prieſts. That this *Parſons* incited the "*Spaniard* to invade *England* and *Ireland* again: that he printed a "Book wherein he maintained the Title of the King of *Spain*'s "Daughter to the Crown of *England*, and exacted an Oath of the "ſeverall Students in the Seminaries to maintain the ſame: That "*Holt*, of the ſame Society of *Jeſuites*, put on *Hesket* to raiſe a "Rebellion; and *Cullin*, *York* and *Williams*, to kill the Queen. And "that *Walpoole* a *Jeſuite* perſwaded *Squier* to commit the ſame wicked Fact by Poiſon. Inſomuch as the Queen whoſe Judgement it "was that the Conſcience was not to be forced, was neceſſitated to

Quarrelling betwixt the *Jeſuites* and Secular Prieſts.

The Prieſts right againſt the *Jeſuites*,

Juſtify the Queen,

Condemn the *Jeſuites* of ſeditious Practices.

1602.

"uſe Severity againſt this kind of men, unleſs ſhe would betray both "her own and her Kingdom's Safety and Security. *Parſons*, whom they called *Cowbuck*, they taxed as a Baſtard, one of the Scum of the People, a man of a turbulent and ſeditious Spirit, a Sycophant, an Equivocatour, and a Broaker of Kingdoms. The defamatory Libels of the *Jeſuites* againſt the Queen they condemned of Falſehood, and the Authours thereof, of Treaſon againſt God and her Majeſty. Arguing ſolidly, that Faith and true Religion are not to be propagated by Fire and Sword, but by the Spirit of Meekneſs and Gentleneſs. Laſtly, they deſired the Engliſh Papiſts, that they would ſend no more of their Children to be bred up in the *Jeſuites* Seminaries, where they are wont to have the Poiſon of Treaſon and Rebellion infuſed into their young and tender Heads, along with their firſt Rudiments and Principles.

And their Writings as falſe and treaſonable.

In the midſt of theſe Contentions, whether ſeriouſly, or onely cunningly and pretendedly, carried on, (which the Biſhop of *London* cloſely and artificially cheriſhed,) the Privy Councill found, that both the *Jeſuites* and the greateſt part of thoſe Prieſts ſecretly agreed in this, to withdraw the Subjects from their Obedience to the Queen, and to excite the People to promote the Romiſh Religion by force of Arms. The Queen therefore put forth a Proclamation commanding the *Jeſuites* and Secular Prieſts adhering to them immediately to depart the Realm; and the reſt, who were more moderate, and as it were Mediatours, to be gone within two Months, unleſs in the mean time they ſhould profeſs Obedience to their Prince: and that neither theſe nor any others of the ſame Profeſſion ſhould return into the land upon Pain of undergoing the Penalties and Puniſhments due by the Laws. And this Proclamation doubtleſs was publiſhed by God's ſpeciall Providence and Direction, to avert a notorious Villany now hatching. For whilſt theſe things were in hand, *Thomas Winter* (as he himſelf afterwards confeſſed) and *Teſmund* a *Jeſuite* were ſent over into *Spain* from ſome of them, where they carried on a dangerous Plot, for cutting off Queen *Elizabeth*, and excluding *James* King of *Scots* from his juſt Title of Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*.

Both of them agree in miſchief.

A Proclamation againſt them.

Pernicious Deſigns againſt the Queen,

the King of *Scots*,

the Archduke, and French King.

And not onely was this Attempt in *England*, but in the *Netherlands* alſo the mutinous Souldiers were in Commotion againſt the Archduke, and ſome alſo in *France* againſt the King; that a generall Tempeſt ſeemed to be raiſed by ſome malign Conſtellation againſt all Princes.

Biron beheaded.

In *France* the Duke *de Biron* was beheaded, who had been brooding a dangerous and wicked Deſign againſt his Countrey, and provoked the King by ſome exaſperating Expreſſions. What his Confeſſion was I know not, but it diſcovered many, and amongſt others ſo ſtartled the Duke of *Bouilion*, that, being commanded to appear before the King, he refuſed ſo to doe, but, fearing the King's Diſpleaſure, and the great Power of his Adverſaries in the Court, withdrew

Bouilion flies into *Germany*.

drew himſelf into *Germany*. Hereupon the King made a grievous Complaint againſt him to Queen *Elizabeth*, "as if he eſteemed "his Marriage with *Mary* of *Florence* unlawfull, the Pope's Diſpen- "ſation null and void, and conſequently his young Son illegitimate; "that he had deſigned the Prince of *Conde* to the Succeſſion of the "Crown, ſought the Deſtruction of the prime Catholicks, and con- "ſpired to betray the United Provinces to the *Spaniards* for Money; "that he refuſed to be tried by the Parliament of *Paris*, appealing to "the Chamber at *Chaſtres*, which had no Juriſdiction at all in ſuch "Cauſes, and excepted againſt his Accuſers, which it is not lawfull to "doe in caſe of High treaſon. That theſe were but Shifts and Tergi- "verſations, to avoid all Triall, and uſurp to himſelf the Regall Au- "thority. He therefore asked Queen *Elizabeth*'s Advice what he "was beſt to doe in this matter.

1601.

The *French* King's Complaint of him to the Queen.

He asketh her Advice.

She made him Anſwer by her Embaſſadour Leiger in *France*, "That ſhe was very ſorry to hear theſe things; yet ſhe took it for a "great Honour that he had acquainted her with a Buſineſs of ſo great "Concernment. His Moderation ſhe very much commended, who- "upon the Appearance and Notice of ſo great Dangers hearkened "rather to the Advice of his Friends then to the Affections or Paſſi- "ons of his own Mind. As to to the Counſell which he asked, ſhe anſwered, "That if the Proofs againſt him were as clear as the "Charges were odious, he ſhould do well to proceed againſt him ac- "cording to Law; but till ſuch time as the Proofs were apparent, "it would be dangerous for her to give him Counſell, leſt ſhe ſhould "either offend God, if Innocency were thereby wronged and op- "preſſed; or anger the King, if he ſhould have a Jealouſy his Safety "was by her neglected. She held it therefore beſt in ſo uncertain "and doubtfull a matter to be ſilent. Yet ſhe earneſtly beſought "the King to take Counſell of his own Judgement and Conſcience, "and throughly to examine the Accuſations and Confeſſions, whe- "ther they came from men of Credit, not corrupted, and free from all "Suſpicion, ſeeing no man's Innocency is ſafe from the Malice of Slan- "derers; telling him, That bare Affirmations are but ſlender Proofs to "inform the Conſcience of a juſt and righteous Judge againſt a man "of ſuch approved Vertue: That the Crimes objected, till they were "more fully proved, ſeemed as incredible to be found in ſo great a "Perſon, as they were in their own Nature execrable and abomina- "ble. For who would believe that ſuch a man, who had been "brought up from his tender Years in the Fear of God, who had con- "tinued ſo many Years untainted in his Fidelity and Loyalty to his "Prince and Countrey in the midſt of the greateſt Dangers imagi- "nable, ſhould once have a Thought of any ſuch wicked Attempts a- "gainſt his Prince, a Prince ſo highly meriting, or joyn in Deſigns "with men of crack'd Credits and broken Fortunes, betwixt whom "and him there never was any Conformity either in Manners, Reli- "gion, or Party, and from whom he could expect nothing but Trea-

The Queen's Anſwer.

1602.

"chery and Perfidiouſneſs? That it was to be feared theſe Suggeſti-
"ons were firſt coined in the Spaniſh Mint, on Purpoſe to im-
"broil the French again in mortall Wars amongſt themſelves.

The King's Reply.

All this the King heard with great Diſſatisfaction, and preſently brake forth into theſe Expreſſions. *The Queen thinketh better of* Bouillon *then he hath deſerved. He was one of the chief Contrivers of the Earl of* Eſſex *his Conſpiracy againſt her and her Privy-Counſellours. Neither did he deny it when I charged him with it, but put me off with a Smile without any Anſwer.* The Crimes charged againſt him he confidently affirmed to be really true. His Favours conferred upon him he reckoned up particularly: to wit, "That he had taken him into
"his Family; procured him a Rich Match with the Heireſs of the
"Houſe of *Bouillon*; gave him the Poſſeſſion of *Sedan*; choſen him
"to be one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber; and advanced
"him to the Honours of a Marſhall and a Duke. That he was very
"lately reſolved to have ſet open the Gate of Mercy to him, if he
"would have asked Pardon: but ſeeing he diſdained ſo to doe, and
"out of the Guiltineſs of his Conſcience was fled the Land, there
"was no reaſon to offer him any farther Favour. He added, that he
"himſelf had in the like Caſe interceded with the Queen by Letters
"for the Earl of *Eſſex*; but finding the Notorioufneſs of his Offenſe,
"he gave it over.

The Queen's Anſwer.

The Embaſſadour replied, that the Queen had a good Opinion of the Duke in this Reſpect chiefly, "Becauſe he had hitherto appro-
"ved his Fidelity and Valour to his Prince and Countrey upon
"all Occaſions. That ſhe ſhould be very ſorry the matters objected
"againſt him ſhould be found true, as in the Earl of *Eſſex* his Caſe
"they were; yea ſhe ſhould deteſt the man from her very Heart.
"And that this her Advice proceeded meerly from the great Care
"ſhe had of the King's Safety and Security, even as great as ſhe
"could have of her own.

The Opinions of other men in this Buſineſs.

But if any Credit may be given to the French Writers, and the more obſerving men of the *Engliſh*; *Biron*, *Bouillon*, and others, who believed that they by their Fidelity and Valour had advanced the King with the Hazzard of their Lives and Fortunes to the Regall Dignity, when they ſaw the King more favoured and reſpected thoſe men who had lately conſpired his Deſtruction, and repoſed his Confidence in them more then others, as if they were men that had deſerved the beſt, were of fixed and ſolid Principles, and would make Amends for their former Offenſe by their future good Offices; alſo that he conferred Honours upon them, and left thoſe Governments entirely to them which they had ſeized on in the time of the late Troubles; they took very great Diſtaſt thereat, as if he ſuſpected their own Loyalty: and thereupon, and for other Reaſons they had, looking upon themſelves as men that had deſerved much better at his Hands, they began to conſpire together to make their Governments hereditary to them and their Poſterity; and when they could

not

not extort what they would by fair means, they grew more outrageous then profeſt Enemies. For ſome of them were not aſhamed moſt virulently to traduce the King in their Letters to the Queen, not onely as an ungratefull, but alſo as a weak, Prince, and of no Courage, and that he had not vanquiſhed his Enemies by reall Valour, but had reconciled and bought them to himſelf by Promiſes and Rewards. Yet the Queen, being very carefull of the King's Safety and Honour, and pitying thoſe frequent, heady and dangerous Revolts of the *French*, never ceaſed to extoll him as the onely Preſerver and Reſtorer of the before-decaying French Monarchy. 1602.

Theſe things have I interwoven by the way, that the ſolid Prudence of the Queen in adviſing the King, her conſtant Good will to her old Friend, and once Profeſſour of the ſame Religion, and her ſo faithfull Counſell for both their Goods, may be recorded to Poſterity.

About this time alſo ſhe relieved *Geneva*, the Nurſery of the Reformed Religion, which was now by open Force and cunning Artifices attempted by the Duke of *Savoy*; the Prelates and People throughout all *England* contributing a great Summe of Money towards the Relief thereof. Relief ſent to *Geneva*.

This Year departed this Life in the Moneth of *February*, in his very old Age, *Alexander Nowell*, Doctour of Divinity, and Dean of the Church of S. *Paul*'s in *London*; who in the days of Queen *Mary* lived an Exile in *Germany* for the Truth of the Goſpel, which after his Return he ſtrongly aſſerted both by his Sermons and learned Writings. He added to the Revenues of *Brazen-Noſe* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he had his Education, 200 Pound a year, for the Maintenance of thirteen Students; and through the whole Courſe of his Life gave a remarkable Example to others by his holy Converſation. After him ſucceeded *John Overall*, Profeſſour of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, (a man of extraordinary Learning,) through Sir *Fulk Grevil*'s Commendations of him to the Queen: which Sir *Fulk* was a ſingular Patron of Learned men. The Death of Doctour *Nowell*.

Now *Ireland* calleth me again to tell what things were done there this Year. After the *Spaniards* were driven thence, *Tir-Oen* in great Fear made all the Haſte he could by long Marches and croſſing the Country to recover his Lurking-holes in *Ulſter*, loſing a great many of his men, ſwallowed up by the Rivers which had overflown their Banks by reaſon of the Winter-Rains. And from this time forward he could neither reſt in Quiet without Care, nor hope for any Good for the future, whilſt out of an evill and troubled Conſcience he lived deſervedly in a continuall Fear, and miſtruſted every one, inſomuch as he choſe every day new places to hide himſelf in, and preſently quitted them again. *Tir-Oen* at a Loſs.

The Lord Deputy, to refreſh his wearied Souldiers, put them into

1602.

to Winter Quarters, and having ſettled all things in *Munſter*, returned to *Dublin*. As ſoon as the harſher Seaſon of the Year was over, he returned again by eaſie Marches (thereby to ſpread the more Terrour) with a ſtrong Army into *Ulſter*, to encompaſs the Rebels there, (as he had before determined) by erecting Forts, and placing Garriſons round about them, as it were in a Net or Toil. His Army he carried over *Black-water* by Floats of Timber faſtned together; and finding a Foard before unknown beneath the old Fort, he built a Sconce there, which after his own Chriſten name he called *Charlemount*. *Tir-Oen*, being terrified hereat, ſet Fire on his Houſe at *Dungannon*. The Lord Deputy marched forward, and as ſoon as Sir *Henry Docwray* was come to him with his Forces from *Lough-Foil*, he ſent forth Parties into all the Country, cut down the ſtanding Corn, fired the Houſes and Villages, and drove away the Cattle round about.

The Lord Deputy purſueth him.

And buildeth *Charlemount*.

The Forts in *Lough-Crew*, *Lough-Reah*, and *Moherlecow*, (where Sir *John Barkley*, Knight, a ſtout and valiant Gentleman, was ſhot) were ſurrendred to the Lord Deputy; who placed a Fort with a Garriſon at *Lough-Eaugh*, or *Lough-Sidney*, which from *Montjoy*, the Title of his Honour, he named *Fort Montjoy*, and made Sir *Arthur Chicheſter*, Knight, Governour thereof, who for his Valour and Merit afterward ſucceeded the Lord Deputy.

Sir *Henry Docwray* he ſent back to *Derry*, who took *O-Cahan* into Favour, after he had firſt yielded up a great part of his Territory to the Queen, upon Condition that he might hold the reſt by Letters Patents. Then by the Lord Deputie's Command he overran *Omye*, making there a miſerable Slaughter, and drove away *Cormac Mac-Baron*'s Cattel, though not without great Danger. After this the Lord Deputy called him back, and when he had taken the Caſtle of *Agar*, within a few days ſent him Home to his Charge, and with him Sir *Henry Folliot*, whom he made Governour of *Baliſhanon*, firſt with a limited Power of a Deputy under him, but ſoon after (beyond all mens Expectation) with an abſolute one; the *Engliſh* marvelling that he was preferred before *Docwray*, by whoſe means *Baliſhanon* was at firſt recovered. And at the ſame time, to the aſtoniſhment of the *Iriſh*, he received into his Protection *Roderick O-Donell*, a notorious Rebell, neglecting *Neal Garve*, who had been hitherto faithfull to the *Engliſh*, and took ſuch Diſpleaſure thereat, that in a heady Humour he took upon him the Title of *O-Donell* to his own Ruine, exerciſed Tyranny over the People, and compelled them to ſwear Fealty to him, and not to the Queen.

Docwray plagueth the Rebels.

Yet is neglected.

Neal Garve takes the Title of *O-Donel*.

Towards the end of the Year Sir *Arthur Chicheſter* and Sir *Henry Docwray* determined to fall upon *Tir-Oen* on all ſides, who lay lurking in the woody Vallies; but all Approaches were ſo miry, the March ſo cumberſome by reaſon of the thickneſs of the Trees, the Weather ſo foul, and their Scouts ſo perfidious, that they were fain

fain to give over their Enterprize. But (in concluſion) the Garriſons placed here and there by the Lord Deputy, conſiſting of men of great Experience in Military Affairs, and greater Courages, did ſo vex and puniſh the Rebels with often Charging upon them, and croſs Marchings this way and that way, that when they ſaw themſelves beſet on every ſide, every day more and more ſtreightned, and that they muſt like wilde Beaſts hide themſelves among the Woods and Forreſts, a great many of them changed their Party with their Fortune, and began ſecretly to ſubmit themſelves to the Lord Deputy, ſtriving who ſhould be foremoſt; complaining that *Tir-Oen* for his private Grudges had expoſed the Nation to Ruine, and that this War was carried on onely to ſerve his Turn, but was of deſtructive Conſequence to every body elſe. 1603. The Rebels diſtreſſed. Many of them ſubmit.

And theſe that ſubmitted, the Lord Deputy dealt more favourably with, neglecting (contrary to promiſe) ſuch as had faithfully adhered to the Queen. But haply he judged it expedient for the wounded Commonwealth to take reſt, leſt the Wounds by the Cure might bleed afreſh. Neither was *Tir-Oen* ignorant that his Succeſſes had weakened the Fidelity of his Followers, and leſſened his Forces. So as, being weary of his bad Condition, he reſolved to prevent farther Miſchief, in Hope to ſave his Life, which turneth the ſtouteſt Hearts. He ſent therefore ſubmiſſive Letters one after another both to the Queen and the Lord Deputy, and humbled himſelf to them in a lowly manner, with Prayers and Tears begging Pardon of his Crimes, and giving ſuch Signs of his Repentance for his notorious Treſpaſſes againſt God and the Queen, that ſhe granted the Lord Deputy Authority to receive him to Mercy and Favour, in caſe he would beg the ſame upon his Knees before him with that Humility and Submiſſion which in his Letters he pretended. *Tir-Oen* craveth pardon. Offered him upon Condition.

The Six and fortieth Year of her Reign, Ann. Domini 1603.

NO ſooner had *Tir-Oen* Intelligence hereof, but he became an earneſt and daily Suitour to obtain the ſame, employing *Arthur Mac-Baron* his Brother, and others about it: and after he had been many times rejected, at length, upon Promiſe that he would abſolutely ſubmit his Life and Eſtate to the Queen's Will and Pleaſure, the Lord Deputy (who had by ſome of his Friends been acquainted with the Queen's Indiſpoſition, which was the more dangerous becauſe of her great Years,) permitted him to come to *Melliſont*: whither he preſently haſted with one or two in his Company.

Being

1603.

Tir-Oen abſolutely ſubmitteth himſelfe.

Being admitted into the Preſence-Chamber, (where the Lord Deputy ſate in his Chair of State, with a great number of Sword-men about him,) he fell on his Knees at the very Threſhold with a dejected Countenance, being clad in a ſordid and careleſs Habit. After he had lain in that poſture a while, the Lord Deputy beckened to him to come nearer him. He aroſe, and having come forward ſome few Steps, proſtrated himſelf again upon his Knees, and ſaid, *I acknowledge my Sin againſt God, and my Fault againſt my moſt gracious Queen and Soveraign Lady, to whoſe Royal Clemency as a ſacred Anchor I betake myſelf, offering up my Life and Eſtate to be at her Diſpoſing: whoſe former Bounty and preſent Power as I have felt; ſo I moſt humbly beſeech her, that I may now taſte of her Mercy, and be made an eternall Example of her Princely Clemency. My Age is not ſo far ſpent, nor my Body ſo feeble, nor my Minde ſo broken, but that by my valiant and faithfull Service I may yet expiate the Sin of this my Rebellion.*

Proceeding in his Speech, and beginning to complain that he had been injuriouſly dealt withall through the malice of ſome men, the Lord Deputy interrupted him, ſaying, that ſo great an Offenſe was not to be excuſed with any Pretenſe whatſoever: and after ſome few other words ſpoken to him with a majeſticall Authority, (which is a Souldier's Eloquence,) he commanded him to depart; and the next day brought him with him to *Dublin*, intending to bring him thence into *England* to the Queen, that ſhe might diſpoſe of him at her Pleaſure.

The Iriſh Rebellion ſuppreſſed.

Whence it begun, and how it continued ſo long.

Thus was *Tir-Oen's* Rebellion happily brought to an End in the eighth Year after it firſt brake forth, by the auſpicious Fortune of the Queen, and the good Conduct of the Lord *Montjoy* Lord Deputy, (whom King *James* afterward honoured with the Title of Earl of *Devonſhire*.) Which Rebellion begun firſt upon private Grudges and Animoſities, mixed with ſome Ambition; was encouraged by a Slighting of it and a Gripplehandedneſs in *England*; ſpred over all *Ireland* by a Pretenſe of reſtoring the Romiſh Religion, and out of hope of an unbridled Licentiouſneſs and Impunity; got Strength by the eaſy Credulity of ſome, and the ſecret Favour of others that were in Authority, as alſo by one or two fortunate Succeſſes, by the Spaniſh Penſions and Aſſiſtence with men, and by Papall Indulgences; was protracted and ſpun out by the unſeaſonable Emulations of the *Engliſh*, the twofold Government, the Covetouſneſs of the old Souldiers who made a Trade of it, the cunning Shifts of *Tir-Oen*, his diſſembled Truces and Submiſſions, by the Protections granted to Offenders, which were purchaſed with Money, by the Cumberſome Ways and difficult Acceſs to Places, and by the deſperate Temper of the *Iriſh*, who truſted more to the Nimbleneſs of their Heels, then to the Valour of their Hands in the open Field.

The Queen ſickneth at *Windſor*.

The Queen, who had hitherto enjoyed her Health without Impairment, by reaſon of her Abſtinence from Wine and obſerving a temperate

perate Diet, (which ſhe uſually ſaid was the nobleſt part of Phyſick,) being now in her Climactericall Year, to wit, the Seventieth Year of her Age, began to be ſenſible of ſome Weakneſs and Indiſpoſition both of Health and Old age, which the Badneſs of the Weather increaſed, whilſt upon the laſt of *January*, which was a very windy and rainy day, ſhe removed from *Weſtminſter* to *Richmond*, there to enjoy and refreſh herſelf in her Old age, and more freely to attend the Serving of God. Upon which day (whether thinking on her Death, or preſaging what would enſue,) ſhe happened to ſay to the Lord Admirall, whom ſhe always dearly affected, *My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, neither ought any other then he that is my next Heir to ſucceed me.* And the Courtiers obſerved, that ſhe never before more frequented Prayers and the Service of God then now. Who alſo report, that ſhe then commanded that Ring wherewith ſhe had been as it were joyned in Marriage to her Kingdome at her Inauguration, and had never ſince taken off, to be filed off from her Finger, becauſe it was ſo grown into the Fleſh, that it could not be drawn off. Which was taken as a ſad Omen, as if it portended that her Marriage with the Kingdome, contracted by that Ring, would now be diſſolved. In the beginning of her Sickneſs the Almonds in her Throat ſwelled, and ſoon abated again; then her Appetite failed her by degrees; and withall ſhe gave herſelf over wholly to Melancholy, and ſeemed to be much troubled with a peculiar Grief for ſome Reaſon or other: whether it were through the Violence of her Diſeaſe; or for the Want of *Eſſex*, (as *Eſſex* his Friends perſwaded themſelves;) or that, after ſo great Expenſes in the Iriſh War, ſhe was prevailed with to pardon the Rebell *Tir-Oen*; or that ſhe had heard ſome Whiſperings, and had alſo been advertiſed by the French King, that many of the Nobility did by underhand Letters and Meſſengers ſeek to curry Favour with the King of *Scots*, that they adored him as the riſing Sun, and neglected her as being now ready to ſet. Which (as the female Sex and Old age are apt to be ſuſpicious) ſhe eaſily believed, and that not without good Cauſe: for ſome of the Lords of the Court, (to ſay nothing of the Ladies,) who had the leaſt Reaſon of all to have done it, ungratefully in a manner forſook her, whilſt ſhe altered not from herſelf, but they from their Opinion of her, and Reſpect to her; either becauſe they ſaw her now very aged; or were weary of her long Government, (for things of long Continuance, though never ſo good, are tedious;) or out of a credulous Deſire of Novelty and Change, hoping for better Times, deſpiſing the preſent, and forgetting Favours paſt, (the Remembrance whereof is a Burthen to Unthankfull perſons;) finding Fault with the ſtate of things, haply out of a Myſtery and Art of Court, to win Favour with her Succeſſour, falſly believing that the Diſpraiſe of the Predeceſſour is a gratefull and delightfull Hearing to the Succeſſour. And this they did ſo openly, that they quarrelled one with another about it: and others propounded to have the Succeſſour

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Her Inauguration-Ring taken off.

She groweth melancholick. The probable Reaſons thereof.

The Ungratefulneſs of ſome of the Courtiers.

1603.

ceſſour ſent for, whilſt her Recovery was yet doubtfull; ſo as they ſeemed to have fled over to him in their Hearts, though their Bodies ſtayed at Home in *England*. Hereupon ſhe looked upon herſelf as a miſerable forlorn Woman, and her Grief and Indignation extorted from her ſuch Speeches as theſe: *They have yoaked my Neck; I have none whom I can truſt; My Condition is ſtrangely turned upſide down.* And, to increaſe this her Grief and Diſſatisfaction, they made her believe that her Authority among the People ſenſibly decayed: whereas the People (in whom there is always a murmuring and querulous Diſlike of ſuch as are in Authority) complained of nothing ſo much as that the Power of ſome near the Queen, if not above her, was grown too great; and that others were too haſty in catching and ſnatching for themſelves (as is uſuall in ſuch caſes) now they ſaw her grown old.

The Queen's Complaint.

When the Report now grew daily ſtronger and ſtronger that her Sickneſs increaſed upon her, and that, as ſhe had done always before in the prime of her Age, ſo now much more ſhe refuſed all Help of Phyſick, incredible it is with what great Speed the Puritans, Papiſts, Ambitious perſons and Flatterers of all kinds, and other ſorts of men, all of them prompted by their particular Hopes, poaſted night and day by Sea and Land into *Scotland*, to adore the riſing King, and get into his Favour. Whoſe Title to the Succeſſion the Queen (though out of Prudence ſhe declared it not openly, yet) always really and from her Heart favoured, as Juſtice and Equity required: the like did all men of all Degrees and Qualities, who with great Satisfaction and Content had fixed their Eyes and Hearts upon him as her undoubted Heir; though falſe Rumours were ſpred abroad of a Marriage of the Lady *Arbella* his Uncle's Daughter; and the French Embaſſadour did what he could to raiſe Diſturbances, leſt the two yet divided Kingdoms of *Britain*, *England* and *Scotland*, ſhould be united into one. In the beginning of *March* an heavy Dulneſs, with a Frowardneſs familiar to Old age, began to ſeize upon her, inſomuch as ſhe would ſit ſilent, refrain from Meat, fixing her Mind wholly upon her Meditations, and would not endure any Talk unleſs it were with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with whom ſhe often prayed with great Fervency and Devotion, untill by little and little her Speech failed her; and after ſhe willingly heard him praying by her. About this time the Lord Admirall telling the reſt of the Privy Councill what the Qu. at her departing from *Weſtminſter* had ſaid to him by the Bye concerning her Succeſſour, they all thought good that he with the Lord Keeper and the Secretary ſhould wait upon her, and put her in Mind thereof, and acquaint her that they were come in the name of the reſt of the Councill to underſtand her Pleaſure touching her Succeſſor. The Qu. made Anſwer with a gaſping Breath, *I ſaid that my Throne was a Throne of Kings, that I would not have any mean Perſon ſucceed me.* The Secretary asking her what ſhe meant by thoſe words; *I will* (ſaid ſhe) *that a King ſucceed me: and who ſhould that be but my neareſt Kinſman, the*

The Queen groweth worſe.

The King of *Scots* courted by all parties.

The Queen declareth him her Succeſſour.

the King of Scots? Then being put in mind by the Archbiſhop to think upon God; *That I do,* (ſaid ſhe) *neither doth my Mind at all wander from him.* And when ſhe could no longer pray with her Tongue, with Hands and Eyes lift up ſhe directed the Thoughts of her pious Heart to God; and in this very thing ſhe prayed, by ſorrowing inwardly that ſhe could not pray, as was plainly to be gathered by ſome Signs obſerved by the Standers by. 1603.

Her Death.

On the 24. of *March*, being the Eve of the Annunciation of the Bleſſed Virgin, ſhe (who was born on the Eve of the Nativity of the ſame Bleſſed Virgin) was called out of the Priſon of her earthly Body to enjoy an everlaſting Country in Heaven, peaceably and quietly leaving this Life after that happy manner of Departure which *Auguſtus* wiſhed for, having reigned 44 Years, 4 Months, and in the 70. Year of her Age; to which no King of *England* ever attained before.

King *James* proclaimed.

The ſad Miſs which ſhe left of herſelf to the *Engliſh* was much leſſened by the great Hope conceived of the Vertues of King *James* her Succeſſour, who a few Hours after was proclaimed King with the joyfull Shouts and Acclamations of all the People. No Oblivion ſhall ever bury the Glory of her Name: for her happy and renowned Memory ſtill liveth, and ſhall for ever live in the Minds of men to all Poſterity, *as of one who* (to uſe no other then her Succeſſour's Expreſſion) *in Wiſedome and Felicity of Government ſurpaſſed* (without Envy be it ſpoken) *all the Princes ſince the days of* Auguſtus.

FINIS.

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